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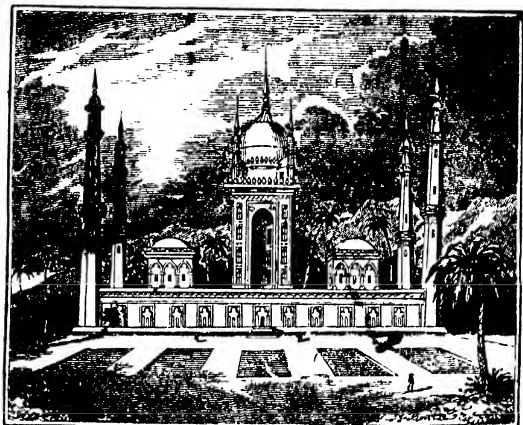
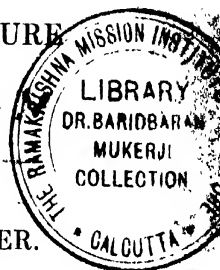


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# THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

No. 67.—JULY, 1829.—VOL. 22.

## DEFENCE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY—INDIAN REVENUE— INDIAN JUSTICE—AND COLONIZATION.

WE are glad to perceive that the seed we have sown is beginning to promise an abundant harvest. For a long period our duty has been somewhat monotonous, from the difficulty of rousing the advocates of that Monopoly against which our labours have been, for nearly six years directed, in England, into any thing like tangible opposition. These labours are now likely to become more varied as well as more vigorous, since we find the advocates of the 'existing system' have been, at length, induced to gird on their armour. Repose and silence were the two great bulwarks of the East India Company and its Chartered Monopoly. As long as any 'agitation of the question,' respecting the benefits or evils, arising from their continuance, could be postponed or prevented, so long was there food for hope to be sustained upon. But if this 'agitation' can only be effected so as to bring them fairly into the field, and to put them on their defence, however high or able their advocates, they are lost beyond all hope of redemption. That 'consummation, so devoutly to be wished,' appears then to be on the eve of being realized. The Directors of the East India Company themselves, made, it is true, but a very poor stand against their assailants in the late Debate in the House of Commons; but some friendly advocates have started up on their behalf in other quarters, and, actuated with that zeal which seems so becoming, when well-paid servants eulogize their honorable masters, they have sent no less than three pioneers into the field. The first has written an article in the East India Company's especially patronized and protected periodical; 'The Asiatic Journal,' published by the Company's booksellers in Leadenhall Street: the second has written a pamphlet under the attractive cognomen of 'Playfair;' and the third has put forth his production as one courting investigation, by giving his name and rank at length, as Mr. Thomas Campbell Robertson, of the Bengal Civil Service.\*

The intention of all these writers, is to refute the arguments which have been recently advanced against the East India Company,

\* Remarks on several recent publications, regarding the Civil Government and Foreign Policy of British India. By Thomas Campbell Robertson, Bengal Civil Service. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street. 1829.

and more especially those adduced by Mr. Rickards, and the anonymous authors of the two works entitled,—‘*View of the Present State and Future Prospects of Free Trade and Colonization in India,*’ and ‘*Reflections on the Present State of British India.*’ We shall examine them each in his turn; but as we think the place of honor justly due to him who comes before the world without concealment or disguise, and who, therefore, evinces his willingness to incur all the responsibility that may attach to his party or opinions, we shall give Mr. Robertson, in this case, precedence. In adverting to the scruples of others as to this point, this gentleman himself avows his belief, that those most capable of commenting effectually upon the publications hostile to the East India Company, are deterred from coming forward by ‘official delicacy;’ and so he himself must play the part of the mighty Ajax, and shelter all the little Telamons of the Monopoly under his shield. Our author would apparently have us to understand by this, that there is a battery of great guns in reserve, which has only to open out to demolish us; and that he himself is little better than a kind of pocket pistol, as compared with the heavy artillery alluded to. This, however, is underrating his own power. Mr. Robertson is, in fact, a man of talent, but upon this occasion he has taken up a weak cause; he is in a false position, and consequently makes a very indifferent appearance. Belial himself, indeed, would have made but poor work with a cause so outrageously wrong as the Monopoly of the East India Company in trade, power, and patronage. The Deputy Chairman of the East India Company, for example, who, whoever else he may be, is certainly not Belial, if we are to judge from his exhibition in the Commons House of Parliament, on the 12th and 14th days of May last, can make nothing at all of the subject. Can *he* be one of the great guns ‘reserving its fire from official delicacy?’

There is one assertion of our author, made at the very outset, which we think is unwarranted by the course pursued by his opponents. He tells us roundly that these opponents, one and all, are ‘animated by a common feeling of hostility towards the East India Company and its servants.’ It is his mistake, to imagine that hostility to a *system* is the same thing as hostility to men: in conformity with this error, he seems to have persuaded himself that if the men be right, so must the system be also. Now, the agents, in this case, are English gentlemen, equal to any of their class. Even a bad system has not deprived them of national feeling and national honour. They are, in fact, no more answerable for all the evils of that system, than the sheriff and his officers are answerable for the crime of the malefactor, at whose execution they are called upon by the law to assist. In not one of the works to which our author alludes, can we discover a shade of personality or vituperation of persons, as unconnected with measures and principles. Mr. Rickards especially takes various opportunities of doing justice

to the good intentions and abilities of the home authorities, of the local governments, and of the public servants in general, at the very moment, too, that he is exposing, with irresistible skill and success, their blundering and pernicious system.\*

Before analysing the work now under review, it is necessary that we should examine the author's own qualifications, for the task he has undertaken. The subjects treated of by his opponents are pretty extensive. They embrace the manners, habits, and history of all the Indian races subject to the dominion of Great Britain. They embrace the agriculture of India, the trade of India, and especially its commercial relations with Great Britain. They embrace all the revenue systems of India from the earliest to the latest time: they treat of certain monopolies, not of a very benevolent description, exercised by the East India Company, and finally they discuss the merits and demerits of European Colonization in India.

The author's qualifications, according to his own statement, are these; he was one year Judge and Magistrate in the lower provinces of the Bengal Presidency, and seven years in the upper provinces in the same capacity, and he passed three years with the armies in Ava in a diplomatic situation. Moreover, he is a civil servant of the East India Company. With all the rest of India, except the places just named, he professes to be unacquainted; he knows nothing of Madras, he knows nothing of Bombay. With the subject of commerce he is, by his own account, wholly unacquainted. Of his knowledge of the state of Indian husbandry, there are no indications whatever; he seems never to have been employed in the revenue department, and to have given very little of his attention to it; and as to monopolies, there is nothing in his work to shew whether the Hindoos eat dear and dirty, or cheap and clean salt—whether dysenteries or alligators be most efficient in carrying off the manufacturers; or whether the Company derives a profit of 8 or of 800 per cent. from the exclusive sale of its opium †.

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\* Take the following sample:—‘In these principles every one must applaud the intention of the original projector of the scheme; and it is but justice to the Court of Directors to add, that the whole of their printed correspondence, on this head, indicates an anxious desire to see these principles carried into full effect. Their letters abound with excellent instruction, sound philosophical views, a constant desire to promote the general welfare, and more especially to guard the lower classes against oppression; but the system of land taxation which we had adopted from our predecessors, the amount of that tax, and the machinery by which it was realized, opposed insurmountable obstacles to the accomplishment of the Court's benevolent views.’—*Richards's India*, p. 570.

† ‘As I intend to confine my remarks to those topics with which I have had opportunities of becoming conversant, it is not my design to touch upon the subject of trade, or to question any assertion connected with the two sister presidencies of Madras or Bombay.’—‘I know nothing of Southern India &c.’ pages 2 and 40.



The first point upon which our author touches, is the prejudice of caste among the Hindoos, as far as these relate to their capacity of becoming consumers of European products. Upon the whole he allows that the Hindoos have no prejudices of such a nature as to make them unprofitable customers; he does not even deny that the prejudices of caste are giving way in Calcutta and its vicinity.

‘Eventually,’ says he, ‘perhaps the disappearance of this ancient body (the old chiefs of Bengal) will not be much to be deplored, as the race now rising to fill their place are likely to be less deeply imbued with the prejudices of their superstition, and better fitted in consequence, to receive and communicate that knowledge which Europeans alone can impart. The rising class alluded to is composed of the *debris* of the ancient gentry blended with numerous families whom commerce and speculation have, during the last half century of tranquillity, raised to opulence. It is in Calcutta, and its vicinity, that individuals of this class are most frequently to be found, who evince a taste for European science and general literature. The progress that some of them have made is said, by those best qualified to judge, to be amazing; while the disposition evinced by them to aid establishments for the promotion of education, justifies a hope, that much may be effected through their agency, towards diffusing that general information by which alone any real change can be operated in the religious or moral condition of their countrymen.’ This is good and liberal, but our author is not satisfied to rest here; he fears that virtue has not kept pace with knowledge, and considers that the effect of the relaxed Hindooism, very discernible in Calcutta, is questionable on the moral conduct of the people.

Touching the carnivorous propensities of the Hindoos, there is some information about their not being reluctant to partake of venison and the flesh of the wild boar—a minute matter which it was superfluous to rehearse, after Bishop Heber had already informed us that a Raja of high rank and great power slaughtered 60,000 animals in a fortnight, and that Bramins themselves not only eat flesh, but with a versatility of character worthy of the heroic ages, play at once the part of butchers, cooks and priests. On this point our author is of opinion that had Bishop Heber consulted young men who were in the habit of going out on hunting parties, ‘he could not have sailed from England in such ignorance as he appears to have done.’ This is followed by a piece of very good advice, which we wish had been given effectually about the year 1813, viz. to put no reliance on ‘the fading recollections of some superannuated servants of the Company.’

The next subject which our author takes up is the land revenue. Mr. Rickards, by laboured researches, carried on through 355 pages, has shewn that the land revenue system in India, is one of the most barbarous and oppressive institutions, in every form and modification of it, which the world has ever known. He has shewn

that in one part of the country, and that, too, where the system is least oppressive, the government tax was assumed at half the gross produce of the land on a clumsy and conjectural estimate of it. He has shewn that the British Government attempted to create a Hindoo aristocracy, by flinging to the alleged proprietor a tithe of its own moiety, which is nearly the same thing as if the Government of this country were to annihilate all existing proprietary rights,—reduce the tithes to one half their present amount,—declare that the clergy who received these tithes were the proprietors of the land, and would answer every useful purpose of a natural aristocracy, and then taking to itself forty per cent. of the gross produce as tax, call upon the world to admire its justice and its liberality, but above all its moderation ! He has shewn, and our author acknowledges it, that nearly all the native gentry of the country were ruined by this effort to elevate them.—He has exhibited the government in another part of India assuming fifty, fifty-five, and even sixty per cent. of the gross produce of the soil as its inherent right\*. He has exhibited it attempting to make a yearly survey of every field in a territory of 154,000 square miles,—keeping an account current with every peasant of an agricultural population of thirteen millions and a half; in short, endeavouring to do that for an empire which no proprietor of common sense in this part of the world would attempt to do for an estate of 500 acres. Doing all this, Mr. Rickards has exhibited the same government praising and be-praising itself for its tender and humane attention to Hindoo usages—deprecating *unhal- lowed* change, and aiming, but happily aiming in vain, to fill its pockets in strict conformity to ‘ native custom.’ Mr. Robertson reads all this, and without any examination of the merits, or demerits, of the system, only says quietly, that the government must have money to pay their civil and military disbursements. With respect to the most exquisite branch of the case, the special darling of the Directors, as above depicted, our author covers himself and his employers with the broad shield of his ignorance, and when he speaks of the effects of the system upon the condition of the people within the circle of his peculiar knowledge, the scope of his argument is to the following effect.

The peasantry of Bahar are better off than the peasantry of Ireland; the peasantry of the North-western provinces are not so well off as the peasantry of Bahar, and the peasantry of Bengal are the most miserable of the three. He does not state what propor-

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\* ‘ But this cannot be considered to be a fair comparison, as the calculation of the expected revenue has been made after allowing the cultivators a share of only forty per cent. of the produce, whereas the proposed field assessment has been formed after allowing them forty-five per cent. of the produce, which the collector states to be the usual rate throughout that part of the country.’—*Revenue Selections*, vol. 3, p. 514.

tion the discomfort of the latter bears to that of the fortunate inhabitants of the Emerald Island\*.

Our author brings forward a solitary case of peculiar moderation in the land tax, not however particularly well authenticated. This was the instance of an estate of the net rental of 30,000*l.* a-year with an assessment of 3,500*l.* The tax here is between eleven and twelve per cent., and therefore exceeds, what was no trifle, the income tax of Great Britain, of which the assessment was not estimated on the actual proceeds, but on a rental calculated at one-fourth and one-fifth of the gross produce. It considerably exceeds the amount of the tithes in this country, which Paley, himself benefitting by tithes, had the candour to acknowledge was one of the most burthensome and mischievous taxes ever imposed upon industry. Mr. Robertson does not inform us whether the estate in question was fairly assessed, or under assessed, when the tax was fixed in perpetuity; he makes no reference whatever to the original principle of the assessment, which was to take 'one half the gross produce,' and give a tithe of this half to the alleged proprietor. About one-third part of the whole country at the period of the assessment was reckoned, by the very framers of the assessment itself, to be uncultivated and unreclaimed. After population, and with it cultivation, had been advancing for thirty years, our author seizes upon this period for estimating the moderation of the original assessment. This is utterly preposterous. The tax paid on the land rent just now by the different states of the American Union, is extremely moderate—nay, trifling—but if it had been assessed when the population was small and a greater part of the country a wild, it would have been intolerable. Mr. Robertson charges his adversaries very liberally throughout his performance with unfair and over-rated statements. We leave it to his own candour to consider, whether the example now adduced does not render himself liable to a sharp retribution for a similar offence.

The original assessment in the state in which the country then

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\* Mr. Robertson, who does not seem to have served much in lower Bengal, has rather an unfavourable opinion of the inhabitants of that part of the country. It is not his wish 'to disparage the people,' but he adds, notwithstanding, 'As the subjects of a jurisdiction, they are the most troublesome race in India to govern. They are as slippery as eels and as petulant as monkeys; humble in one's presence, contumacious at a distance. When in numbers they are not to be made contented.' These 'discontented eels' and contumacious monkeys, however, are the only people in India who have made any sensible and considerable progress in civilization, since the establishment of the British authority. They are by far the wealthiest people in India, and although there is 'no making them contented,' there has been neither rebellion nor commotion among them for above sixty years. We should not be surprised if this race, so 'troublesome to govern,' were a little inconveniently clamorous for more justice than is at present administered to them.

was, must be considered a violation of natural rights, and grievously oppressive in point of amount. While this was the case, and the East India Company were receiving, or believed themselves to be receiving, about forty per cent. of the gross produce of the land, the permanent assessment had their heartiest applause. It was a noble, a generous, a disinterested measure. The assessment in time 'righted' itself. One-third of the area of the country was uncultivated at the time it was made; there was room for increased population, and there was room for extended agriculture, and both naturally took place. Some cultivated lands too had altogether been omitted in the assessment; the tax fixed in perpetuity no longer increased with every increase of culture; the country enjoyed tranquillity, its foreign commerce increased, and even British capital was indirectly and *clandestinely* applied to the improvement of the land. From these causes, the original assessment ceased to be the scourge it was, and became comparatively moderate. From the moment that these happy consequences followed, the East India Directors denounced their old favourite as a measure of singular ignorance and improvidence; and for the last twenty years they have never ceased to deplore, that the pledged faith of the British nation for the perpetual settlement could not be revoked in order to enable them again to take forty or fifty per cent. of the accumulated industry and improvement of the six and thirty years which have elapsed since they unhappily committed their first error.

The favourite system since then has been to subject the country, from year to year, to the scourge of a new assessment; and even where a perpetual settlement was solemnly pledged twice over, they have obstinately persevered in refusing to redeem it. Our author charges all the misery which ensued from the original perpetual assessment, to the sale of lands for arrears of tax. He thinks the Native inhabitants would have preferred, as he expresses it, to have been scourged, imprisoned, and put to death, to having their lands sold. Never for one moment does he touch upon the cause which rendered it necessary to sell the lands, the exorbitant amount of an assessment which the owner was wholly incapable of paying. This is like blowing a man's brains out and laying the whole blame upon the pistol.

The utmost amount of the rent of land in England, or, indeed, in any other country, is one-third, one-fourth, or one-fifth of the gross produce, according to circumstances. If the government of this country were to assess the whole lands of the kingdom even at these reduced rates, returning a title of the tax to the proprietor; can our author for a moment believe that one proprietor out of a thousand would be able to pay such an imposition, or escape utter ruin, if it were literally and rigorously exacted? Forty per cent. was the amount of assessment assumed in Bengal, and wherever

this was literally exacted, that is, wherever there were not omissions in making the assessment, the proprietors were of course ruined, and it is unanimously admitted, that in the course of a few short years, a greater and more sudden revolution in the state of landed property took place, than the invasion of the Goths and Vandals produced in Italy!

Mr. Robertson amuses himself in one place by fancying what kind of advice Mr. Rickards, and the author of the '*Reflections on the Present State of British India*,' would have given to 'Clive, Hastings, and other distinguished men,' on the subject of the land revenue, had they been admitted into their councils. The author of the work last named, be he who he may, is evidently a man of sense and information, and we think it would have done no harm to the 'distinguished men' in question to have taken a little counsel from him. As to Mr. Rickards, knowing him to be a man of honour, of comprehensive views, and of intimate knowledge of his subject, we think it not improbable that he would have spoken in council, as follows: 'This country, to be sure, gentlemen, has been mis-governed from time immemorial, and the barbarous governments which preceded the British have been in the habit of taking one half the gross produce of the land in the shape of tax, but this is not the custom of your country. There is no necessity for your continuing to misgovern the country, or to extort from its inhabitants a tax more oppressive than ever you heard of in any well-governed country, merely because barbarians have done so before you. The Hindoos will not complain of your moderation, this is not one of the innovations that will impair the stability of your power. No doubt you want money to carry on the business of government, but if you will be pleased to put the sums which you have extorted for your own private use into the public treasury, their very respectable amount will relieve the public wants, and enable you to behave with moderation towards the inhabitants.' To Lord Clive in particular, he would probably have said, 'I find, my Lord, that you, and your Council and others, besides your salaries, have pocketed bribes from the Native princes in three short years, to the extent of nearly two millions sterling, and that you yourself in particular, contrary to your duty, accepted an estate of 30,000*l.* a-year during the same period.' On the subject of monopolizing 'the internal trade in salt, tobacco, and betel-nut,' he might justly have said, 'What business, my Lord, has an English nobleman with dabbling in salt, tobacco, and betel-nut? Either, my Lord, leave what you have filched on this head in the pockets of the people, or if absolutely necessary, and it cannot be helped, take the amount and place it in the public coffers to pay the charges of the great work in which you are engaged. Be assured, my Lord, that your Lordship's great qualities will not be in the least impaired by your having purer hands.' Even to Warren Hastings,

although he did not stand in need of it to the same extent, very serious and sound advice might have been given of the same nature.

Our author's 'imaginary conversation,' is to the following purport. 'Money to be sure you must have, for without money you cannot command troops; and without troops you cannot resist your French, your Mysorean, or your Mahratta foes. But perish our possessions rather than our principles. Convoke a meeting of dusky delegates, and though you may not, in the present prevailing ignorance of the Oriental languages, be able to make yourself intelligible to them, yet persist in the attempt to obtain an unpolluted revenue; and if you fail, and are suffocated, like your predecessors, in another black-hole; I, if I can manage to escape, will immortalize you in a pamphlet.' From what has already been stated, it is plain that 'the distinguished men' were amenable to counsel of a much more palpable and practical character than is here insinuated. 'I fear,' says our author, 'that I may seem to treat this part of the question with 'undue levity;' but it is not the 'levity' of the subject that is so remarkable, as the disrespect with which he talks of pamphlets. How could Mr. Robertson think of sneering at the immortality conferred by a pamphlet, seeing that he himself, at the very moment of writing this inconsiderate sentence, was in the very act of preparing to perpetrate the publication of one?

With respect to our author's remark, that the Company must have money to carry on its government, our answer must be similar to that of the French Minister of Police to the rogue, who said that the prosecution of his calling was necessary in order to enable him to live. The Minister thought there was no absolute necessity for his living at all; and on the same principle we really can perceive no necessity for the Company's living, or even if they should live, that they should live by plunder! We put it to Mr. Robertson, who is himself a judge, whether it be absolutely necessary that a collector of taxes, or a commissioner of taxes, should receive exactly the same remuneration as a Judge—whether it be absolutely necessary that an opium agent, or a salt agent, or a tea agent, should receive twice as much, or three times as much, as a Judge or a Secretary of State, and whether in all his reading he ever found such a state of things to exist in any part of the universe, ill or well-governed. We further ask him, whether he thinks it absolutely necessary that some half million sterling should be yearly sunk in making bad silk, and in other mercantile projects of equal wisdom; or whether there be a positive necessity for wasting at least half a million more, in maintaining an imperial fleet, armed *en flute*, for the conveyance of teas and stores, and pig iron and pig-lead, and worleys and long-cells, and red night-caps. To understand these matters, Mr. Robertson must betake himself to that commercial knowledge which he now disclaims; but which, however, is necessary to any one who ventures to form a judgment of the Company's government, and is especially incumbent

on the agent of a joint-stock association with whom it is a favourite maxim, that commerce and sovereignty are inseparable, and that the one cannot prosper without being mixed up with the other. If all that we have enumerated, and a great deal of the same kind that we have not enumerated, be not necessary, neither is it necessary to subject the Indians to a system of heavy and oppressive taxation, under which it is morally and physically impossible that they, or any other people, should emerge from poverty and barbarism.

The most laboured portion of our author's performance is, as might be expected, that which treats of the immediate department in which he was himself employed—the administration of justice. Even here, however, we have nothing better than mere extenuation of existing evils. One of his anonymous opponents had, with some reason, enumerated among the obstacles to the successful employment of capital in the improvement of the soil, the mal-administration of justice. He had stated, that in the Courts of Justice, no civil suit was brought to a decision under three years from its institution; and that such suit was often prolonged to seven. In reply to this, Mr. Robertson produces a statement for one year (1825), and for this he says he is 'indebted to the kind communication of a friend.' This document makes the case, in some measure, better, but in some measure also worse, than we had supposed it. The courts are six in number, rising in gradation of rank and power; and from every inferior court there is an appeal to the one immediately above it; and in the higher courts there may be three successive appeals, not to mention a fourth, to his Majesty in Council, in England, in particular cases. In the lowest court, the delay is six months, and in the second, nine months and fifteen days—pretty well for mere courts of conscience, where the process is summary. In these two courts the Judges are Natives. In the subordinate European court, the average delay is two years and three months; in the district court, the delay is two years, seven months, and fifteen days. In the first appellate court, it is three years and fifteen days; and in the supreme appellate court, four years and three months. Now, the Natives, being somewhat of a litigious disposition, are rather partial to appeals. Suppose that a suitor appeal from the subordinate European primary jurisdiction, to the one immediately above it, and so on to the final appellate jurisdiction, his suit, in this case, from its first institution, will, on an average, endure just twelve years and two months.

We have other authorities, however, on this subject, besides the single year adduced by our author. These are the various papers printed by the East India Company themselves, called 'Judicial Selections,' under which unassuming title we have two large folios, containing, between them, 1707 pages! By these it appears that, in the three years, ending with 1815, the average delay for the six

courts of Justice, beginning with the lowest, was as follows:—six months, eleven months, seventeen months, thirty-six months, forty-eight months, and seventy-five months. In this case the course of appeal, to which we have already alluded, would have lasted fourteen years and eight months. One might as well be put in Chancery at once! The average delay, immediately after 1815, was as follows:—nine months, nine months, fourteen months, thirty-seven months, thirty-six months, and thirty-nine months. In 1821, we find a considerable reduction, and the periods were these:—six months, eight months and a half, fourteen months, twenty-six months, twenty months, and thirty months. By the statement exhibited by our author, the delay in four years, it appears, had increased by fifty-five per cent. The fact is, that in this matter there is prodigious fluctuation, for when the causes on the file increase enormously, the practice is to appoint assistant Judges, whose services are discontinued when what, to Indian legislators, appears a *decent* reduction in their amount takes place.

The average delay, throughout the whole Presidency of Bengal, however, it should be noticed, conveys little idea of the delay in particular parts. Litigation in the Western provinces, as our author himself admits, is by no means so prevalent as in the Eastern, or old provinces. But, in justice to the inhabitants of the latter, it ought, at the same time, not to be forgotten, that their greater population, greater wealth, and more extensive commerce, necessarily cause more business to the courts than among their poorer neighbours to the westward. From the same authority which we have already quoted, we have an account of the state of the administration of justice in the district of Burdwan, for nineteen years. This district is one of the finest portions of the old province of Bengal. According to Major Rennell, it contains 5174 square miles; and Mr. Bayley, by one of the most careful censuses ever taken in India, estimated its population, in 1814, at 1,450,000, which gives 280 inhabitants to the square mile, being much more than double the computed average of all India, and at least half as much more as the average population of the Western provinces. In the first year of the period to which we have alluded, or within nine short years of the institution of the present form of judicature, the number of causes in arrear was 9020. There were at this time only three courts in the district. The delay in the lower court, was seven months and a quarter; in the second, twenty-five months; and in the third, nine months and a half. In 1804, a new court was established, and an assistant Judge appointed. On the average of the six years, from 1804 to 1809 inclusive, the average number of cases depending was only 8911, and the average delay in the respective courts, ten months, twenty-three months, two years and ten months, and two years and eleven months.



In the succeeding years, the arrear of causes, in the lowest courts of all, decreased very greatly, but it was augmented in a still greater ratio in the higher courts. In 1815, the number of causes in arrear, in the superior court of the district, was 3058, and the average delay exactly thirteen years. In 1819, the number of causes in arrear was but 391, but the average delay, notwithstanding, was thirteen years and eight months. In 1820, or the last year of the series, the number of causes undecided was reduced to 5385, and the delay in the superior court was reduced to ten months. It was much reduced, also, in the two courts of summary process, but then, in the subordinate European court, the number of causes depending was much greater than in any preceding year, and the delay amounted to three years and a half. Upon the whole period of nineteen years the average annual number of causes in arrear amounted to 6979; and in the two European courts, the average delay was, for the higher, four years and twenty-two days; and for the lower, two years and eleven days. In these nineteen years the number of causes was 132,602; allowing only one plaintiff and one defendant to each suit, and two families, or ten individuals in all, to have been interested in the decision, it appears, that in the moderate period in question, which is considerably short of the average duration of human life, within eight per cent. of the whole population of the district, must, (criminal cases excluded) have been engaged in litigation.

In the year 1814, which, as already mentioned, was that in which the census of the population was taken, the number of causes depending was 5866. The delay in the different courts in the same year was as follows, beginning with the lowest,—eight months, six months, three months, and six years and ten months. Now, suppose in this last case an appeal had been made from the subordinate European Court in the district, to the highest appellate jurisdiction at the Presidency, the delay in bringing the cause to a decision would have amounted exactly to seventeen years and four months. Even if the appeal were from the superior district court, a case of very frequent occurrence, the delay would have amounted to seventeen years and one month! The letter, containing the statements to which we now allude, is dated the 8th of December, 1824, and signed by the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Honorable the Court of Directors.

The Fifth Report of the House of Commons, written in 1810, complains loudly of the delay in the administration of justice, and, quoting the words of one of the Company's own judges, apologizes for the inhabitants taking the law into their own hands, seeing that the usual process of the courts 'threatened to exceed the probable duration of their own lives.' Mr. Robertson is exceedingly angry with the Fifth Report, and denounces it as 'a record of the days of our fathers,' or, 'the annals of a period long since passed.' This period

long since passed, however, is but eighteen years. Fourteen years later, and which brings us down to within five years of the present time, matters were pretty much in the state in which they are described in the Fifth Report, as is shewn by the loud complaints made by the Court of Directors, in their letter just quoted, and still more satisfactorily by the statements which accompanied that letter. Has our author no deference for authority? Does he not know that the very part of the Fifth Report to which he objects, was written by a Director of the East India Company,—by a member of the very body to which he himself belongs,—by a gentleman, who, like him, has filled judicial situations, and under the very same Presidency? In short, does he not know that that portion of the Fifth Report, which relates to Bengal, was framed by the late Mr. Davies, a Civil servant of the East India Company, and one of the most able and liberal men which that Civil Service has ever produced? In fine, does not Mr. Robertson know that the ‘collective wisdom’ of the nation abetted Mr. Davies in his opinions, by adopting them as their own?

The administration of civil justice then, notwithstanding our author’s attempt at extenuation, is undoubtedly in a very deplorable state; and we are clearly of opinion that as long as it is conducted by unprofessional and uneducated strangers, whose numbers no financial resources can effectually augment, on the present system, it is physically and morally impossible that the matter should be otherwise. In the year 1823, the total population of the Bengal Presidency, subject to the judicial regulations, was rated, or rather prodigiously underrated at 57,000,000 of inhabitants, spread over 328,000 square miles, and the total number of European judicial officers employed in the administration of justice to this mass of human beings, was 137, including every sort and description, belonging to whatever court, whether of primary or appellate jurisdiction. Every man then had to his share 416,058 inhabitants, and 2394 square miles of jurisdiction. These 137 Europeans, with a few ill-paid and corrupt Native servants, are called upon to administer, not only civil, but criminal justice and police, and to perform every ministerial office connected with all these. Is it in the power of possibility that the delays of justice in such a situation should amount to any thing less than a denial of it? Under the Madras Presidency the matter is no better. The Court of Directors, in a letter dated the 11th April, 1826, gives a statement, exhibiting the population of eight districts belonging to this portion of the British dominions, and the average number of inhabitants to each is 1,182,581. Supposing, and this is the utmost, that there were two European judges, and it is to be recollected, that an appeal from the one always lies to the other, each would have for his share, the administration of justice, civil and criminal, with the performance of all ministerial offices attached to either, over 591,290 inhabitants.

But the strangest thing of all in this strange affair is, that the Madras authorities took it into their heads some years back, that their judicial officers were too numerous, and in six of the most populous districts they accordingly dispensed with the few that existed, and, (an easy metamorphosis in India,) converted the collector of taxes into a judge, leaving to this officer criminal and civil justice, judicial and ministerial,—police,—the collection of the land revenue, on the complex system already described,—the collection of excise duties, and the management of monopolies among 1,182,581 inhabitants; they allowed this important functionary *one* assistant, but *one thousand* would probably have been nearer the measure of his wants!

The annals of mankind surely can exhibit nothing parallel to this; and we put our author's ingenuity at defiance to discover a single instance. After quoting the statement for 1825, he conceives that he has satisfactorily made it out, that the administration of justice is not, as he expresses it, in the 'hopeless state' which it has been asserted to be. In the same letter of 1824, which we have already quoted, we have before us a statement of all the causes instituted throughout the Bengal Presidency, in every court, and for seven years from 1814 to 1820 inclusive. In 1814, the number of causes put on the file was 167,613: in the two years succeeding it, there is a great reduction of the number, but in the three following there is an augmentation. What does the reader imagine is the cause of the diminution of suits referred to in this statement, and the subsequent increase? Why, regulations made by the government to make access to the courts more difficult, and afterwards partially rescinded. We give the explanation in the words of the Honorable the Court of Directors themselves.—'Some of the differences in the table may be thus accounted for; but the general falling off in the institution of suits, in the years immediately succeeding 1814, is, no doubt, to be chiefly ascribed to those provisions of the regulations which added to the expense of suits in the first instance, which limited the jurisdiction of the Moonsiffs, and which imposed restrictions on the admission of the suits of paupers.' By the same authority it appears that, in the year 1798, the number of suits instituted was no less than 382,483. Stamp duties, on law proceedings, having about this time been imposed, the number gradually fell off; and, in 1805, after we had received an accession of 18,000,000 inhabitants, it fell to 268,687. In 1813 it was only 184,790. In the following year, a new regulation threw additional difficulties in the way of the administration of justice, and the suits instituted amounted only to 118,809. In 1816 they fell to 106,285. Next year some of the difficulties were removed, as already mentioned, and the number rose to 119,041; and they continued to augment until 1820, when they were 175,270. In the year 1798, the number of suits decided was 346,574. In 1805,

with the accession of subjects already mentioned, they were only 271,109. According to Mr. Robertson's statement, in 1825 they amounted only to 166,504. The quantity of judicial business then, had fallen off to less than one half of what it was seven-and-twenty years before, after an addition of nearly one half to the whole population.

Such being the case, there seems no ground for supposing that we have made any very extraordinary progress since 'the days of our fathers,' or that justice is better administered in India, in these modern times, than we find it to have been in the 'annals of a period long since past.' It was bad enough in 'days of yore;' it is worse now. Our author has alluded, with a triumphant air, to the vast number of causes decided by summary process, and not included in his table. We have no means of determining what the number of these was in the year 1825, to which he refers; but in 1820 they amounted only to 47,347, and, on the average of the two preceding years, they were only 37,089. Adding the largest number to his statement, the whole causes decided in 1825 would amount only to 213,851, which, supposing no cases to have been decided by summary process in 1798, would make the judicial business of the former less than that of the latter by 132,723 suits.

After such explanations as we have now given of the *reduced business*, in civil judicature, we confess we receive, with considerable distrust, our author's assertion respecting recent improvement in the state of the police in the Eastern provinces, particularly when there is no explanation accompanying it. With respect to the Western provinces, as far as we can comprehend his statement, which, however, is very imperfect and unsatisfactory, in 1813, the number of gang robberies, robberies by highwaymen, footpads, and hired assassins, together with the number of violent affrays, amounted to 1111. Three years beyond that, they were reduced to 692, and two years later to 601; in 1819, they rose to 805; in 1822, they were 603; and in 1825, 668; being 67 more than they were seven years earlier. In the three last years named, we have an additional article of crime not inserted in the three preceding years' statement, viz., thefts of property exceeding the value of 5*l.*, a sort of grand larceny for India. What number of these larceny cases may have been included in the 'violent affrays,' in the statements from 1813 to 1818, we are not informed. In 1819, the number of these cases of larceny was 2499; six years afterwards, their diminution was only 49 below the number stated. The number of murders in the year 1825 was 361. Seven years earlier, the number, as far as the imperfection of our author's statement exhibits them, was but 18: this, however, is highly improbable, and, therefore, if we take the proportion of murders to other offences, as in 1825, they would amount to 324. This crime was, therefore, largely on the increase. Professional assassination on the high-ways and in the

dead of the night, as the same is described, by the illustrious traveller Bernier, to have been practised in the glorious days of Aurungezebe, and probably also in the reign of King Porus, had increased under British auspices in seven years by ninety per cent !

After the favourable account given by Mr. Robertson, of the improved state of police in Bengal, and the diminution of crime, the reader will be hardly prepared, perhaps, to hear from the best authority, that the police is better, and crimes rarer, under the most anarchical Native Government of India, than of the Mahrattas, than under the British ! The authority to which we allude is that of Mr. Elphinstone, the late governor of Bombay, a man who is no stranger to any part of India, and who is perhaps one of the most talented and best informed that the service to which our author himself belongs, has produced for the last thirty years. ‘Judging,’ says he, ‘from the impunity with which crimes might be committed, under a system of criminal justice and police such as has been described, we should be led to fancy the Mahratta country a complete scene of anarchy and violence, no picture, however, could be further from the truth. The reports of the collectors do not represent crimes as particularly numerous. Mr. Chaplin, who has the best opportunity of drawing a comparison with our old provinces, thinks them rarer here than there . . . . . Gang robberies and highway robbery are common, but are almost always committed by Bheels and other predatory tribes, who scarcely form a part of the society ; and they have never, since I have been in the country, reached to such a pitch as to bear a moment’s comparison with the state of Bengal, described in the papers laid before Parliament.’

Mr. Elphinstone, after this statement, proceeds to give a judicious account of the superior prevalence of crime in the British dominions, and, among other causes, enumerates ‘the general revolutions of property, in consequence of our revenue arrangements, which drive the upper classes to disaffection, and the lower to desperation.’ ‘The delays of trials, the difficulties of conviction, the inadequacy of punishment, the trouble and expense of prosecuting and giving evidence,’ and last, but certainly not least, ‘the dread’ which the Natives entertain for those very courts of justice which our author so good-naturedly extols. In quoting the authority of Mr. Elphinstone, and other functionaries of the Indian Government, we are aware that we lay ourselves open to our author’s censure. ‘It is amusing,’ says he, ‘to observe how unceremoniously our Indian reformers appropriate to their own use, the labours of the public functionaries.’ In the name of reason, from whom else are the reformers to draw their information, when the functionaries in question, not only claim a monopoly of information, but take the utmost pains to exclude all others from the means of obtaining it ? If these functionaries insist themselves, that their sources of information are the very best, why should they complain when others

make use of them ? Our author might as well say, that a judge and jury ought to discard the testimony of every witness in a case ; and that the one should give his charge, and the other its verdict, on their own ' certain knowledge and mere motion,'—the old royal road to instruction ! \*

As to the costs of procedure in India, Mr. Robertson has given what appears to be a very satisfactory statement. In the three subordinate tribunals, he estimates the costs of suit, when the value of the thing litigated is 50*l.* or under, at twenty-two per cent. If there should be an appeal then from the lowest successively, to the highest of these, the costs of course would be respectively forty-four and sixty-six per cent. We may easily persuade ourselves that under such circumstances, there must be very few appeals indeed, for it cannot be worth while to cast lots whether a man shall gain a hundred pounds, or inevitably lose sixty-six,—and his time, and his patience, and his temper. In suits where the matter litigated is from 50*l.* to 500*l.*, the costs are sixteen per cent. In the inferior appellate Court, the charge is nine, and, in the superior, six per cent. If a suit for 500*l.* then, be appealed from the district court to the provincial court, and from the provincial court to the superior appellate court, the whole costs will amount to thirty-one per cent., or to little short of one third part of the whole property litigated. The whole period spent in litigation in this instance, according to our author's own statement for the year 1825, will be nine years and eleven months. What with the loss of the use of the property, or loss of interest and loss of time, it must appear pretty certain, that the appeal to which we here allude, if the different character of the suitors be duly estimated, must be much more hopeless to an Indian, than a Chancery suit in England would be to an Englishman.

Taking our author's own statement, the number of petty suits, that is, of suits of 50*l.* and under, amounted in the year 1825, to 155,846, which is in the proportion of about sixteen and a half to one, to those above that sum. But of these suits, again, no less than 150,651 were for sums of five pounds or under, a matter to be expected from the poverty of the people. In above ninety parts, therefore, out of a hundred of all the suits, the costs are twenty-two per cent., and in the remaining fraction but sixteen per cent. ; or to be more explicit, the expense of justice to the poor, when there is no appeal, is by thirty-seven per cent. more than to the rich, and if the poor should appeal, it is seventy-eight per cent. more. In the inferior tribunals, that is to say, in the Courts in which the thing litigated does not exceed the value of five pounds, the process is in some measure of a summary nature. In England, the advantage of

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\* Report of the Hon. Mr. Elphinstone, 25th October, 1819.—Revenue Selections, vol. iv. p. 179.

such courts is the small expense attending them. In India, the case is exactly reversed, and even the average delay, by our author's shewing, is no less than eight months. Such are Indian courts of conscience !

Mr. Robertson himself in one place gives a curious sample of the state of the laws. Juggoo (there is nothing romantic or musical in Indian names), is the owner of a field which supports himself and his family. A rich neighbour, by name Sumbhoo, takes a fancy for the field in question. 'What is poor Juggoo to do,' says our author, and then he proceeds to inform us of the nature of the dilemma in which this Juggoo is placed, and the course which Juggoo pursues in the sequel. The Court of Justice is exactly fifty miles off, and Juggoo, in all human probability has some serious apprehension of the twenty-two per cent., or the forty-four per cent., or the sixty-six per cent. of costs of suit, not to say of twelve false witnesses whom the rich man can bring forward without the smallest difficulty, at the rate of, probably, about two shillings per head, to swear any thing on earth. He naturally prefers a summary mode of procedure, and therefore, without fail, institutes a criminal prosecution against the wealthy oppressor. 'No,' says Juggoo, (proceeds our author,) 'I will say nothing about the property, but just swear flat (flatly?) that Sumbhoo has broken my head, and get Ruggut and Jewun, whose fields are next to mine, and who also are afraid of Sumbhoo, to support me.' Off he goes accordingly to the English Judge, accompanied by his two worthy coadjutors, and in due course, they swear assault and battery against Sumbhoo, who, to avoid the 'summary process of arrest,' gives up the field. There is one little difficulty here. Why did not the rich man's twelve witnesses come forward in this predicament to relieve their patron, and swear that Juggoo's head, instead of being broken, was as sound as any head could well be expected to be, that had just given vent to a deliberate perjury? Our author, in reference to this case, and in extenuation of the delay in civil suits, shews that many cases virtually civil are decided, and we allow very naturally, judging from this example, in the 'criminal department!' He himself, to a certain extent, admits, that if the Courts of Justice were more numerous, Juggoo and Sumbhoo cases might be less frequent; but after all he is disposed to ascribe their occurrence for the most part to the inherent lubricity of the Native character, and indeed, the rehearsal of the anecdote just mentioned, is forthwith followed up by his invective against the inhabitants of Bengal, already referred to.

To the total absence of physical means for conducting the administration of justice in India, is to be added the intricacy of the proceedings—their being carried on in a language equally foreign to the Judge and to the people—and, without any reproach to them, for they do not claim it, a want of all legal training and judicial knowledge on the part of the Judges. Speaking of the country courts,

after seven years' experience, Sir Hyde East, the Chief Justice of Bengal and an eminent lawyer, passes the following just censure upon them, writing if we remember well, about the very year 1825, which is that of our author's peculiar eulogy. 'Such is the state of business in these courts, the uncertainty of the system of law, and the delay and vexations of a protracted attendance, that many persons prefer to abandon their just demands rather than pursue them. . . . The inexperience of the Judges and the badness of the law, are the principal causes of the expense, uncertainty, and the delay of the present course, and arise from the too early employment, in judicial offices, of very young and inexperienced men, who, having never studied law upon any system, must necessarily be unacquainted, for the most part, with its principles and practice; and, as matters are now contrived, have very little opportunity of profiting by the example of others, who have not long preceded them in the same helpless condition. There is little or no continuity of knowledge and experience in the present system. The young Judge must set off with a small stock in hand—he leaves no ear-witnessing successor to the hard-earned experience which he afterwards acquires. This begets the necessity, and has enforced the providing, of checks upon checks, not only to correct the final errors, but even to guide the interlocutory proceedings of such magistrates; thence the cumbrous machinery, box within box, appeal upon appeal, which overloads the proceedings of the country courts, and leads to insuperable vexations and delays, with proportionable expense. There is seldom any tolerable certainty even when a cause is to be heard, and the parties are accustomed to retain agents, at monthly salaries, to give them information of it.\*

The condemnation of the Court of Directors themselves, although more measured, is scarcely less decisive. 'In the conduct,' say they, 'of trials, in unravelling intricacies of particular cases, in eliciting truth from witnesses, in appreciating evidence, in applying the law to the fact, Indian Judges, unprepared by education or otherwise, for the judicial office, have many peculiar difficulties to contend with. The code of regulations by which they are bound, consists almost entirely of rules of procedure; the Mohammedan and Hindoo laws are the guide for their decisions in certain cases only; and, in all others not specially provided for, the Judge has no law but that of his own conscience. For propriety in the proceedings of the Courts, therefore, little security is to be found in the state of the law, and of the judicial establishment.†

It is quite wonderful after all this to find our author, not only vindicating the country courts, but attempting to draw a favorable

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\* Letter of Sir E. H. East to the Earl of Liverpool. See previous Numbers of 'The Oriental Herald,' in which this correspondence is published entire.

† Judicial Selections, vol. iv. p. 32.



comparison between the laws administered in these and in English courts of justice. After enumerating the delays of process, and its expenses, he ventures to compare them with the delays and expenses of English justice. This is of the same complexion with his estimate of the condition of the peasantry of India, by the standard of happiness and comfort among the peasantry of Ireland! The laws which are the object of his approbation, were deliberately framed only two and thirty years before the period which he quotes, and intended for a poor and ignorant people of very simple habits. Can he really think that such a judicature as ought to have been formed under such circumstances, can be a fair subject of comparison with a complex code of laws, which has been accumulating since the Saxon heptarchy,—which is in operation among a wealthy people, of relations the most complex, agricultural, manufacturing, commercial and political? The advantages of the English law in its application to India (and not one of them is possessed by the Indian judicature) consist in this, that the judges are men of legal education, and habits of business,—that they understand the language in which justice is administered,—that they are independent of the local government and irremovable by it, and that they are assisted by a bar possessing as much knowledge, as much ability, and as much industry as themselves. Administered by such men, almost any code of laws would be tolerable. But what the effects of a clumsy and unsuitable code, administered by men notoriously wanting in all the qualities we have enumerated, and not only without the assistance of an enlightened bar, but encumbered by a crowd of corrupt and ignorant servants, must be, we leave it to the reader to judge, if indeed the facts before adduced have not already satisfied him on this subject.

In common with the King's Judges, however, it ought in justice to be noticed, that the judicial servants of the Company possess, in an eminent degree, honour and integrity,—the very qualities for which they are least likely to receive credit in this country. They often possess zeal, and sometimes industry. All these are no doubt valuable qualifications, but common sense forbids us from imagining that they constitute every requisite for the judgment seat.

The great defect of the English law in its application to the people of India, consists in its being burthened with useless technical forms. This disadvantage of it was purely incidental. The charter and statute gave the first judges the power to regulate the process of their court, and the first judges being pedants, adopted by choice, the forms of Westminster Hall. In those parts of India, where English law is not burthened with technical forms, its administration is cheap, expeditious, and effectual. Not only is the process less intricate than that of the country courts, framed by the very same judges who imposed technical forms on the King's Court, but

we will venture to assert that the expense is not one-half, nor the delay one-tenth part of what it is in these. We refer more particularly to the case of Prince of Wales' Island, where British law was administered for near twenty years, by a King's Recorder, to the entire satisfaction of a heterogeneous population of some 60,000 inhabitants, composed of Englishmen, of Chinese, of Arabs, of Hindoos, and of Mohammedans of Hindoostan,—the judge receiving no higher remuneration than a judge of one of the country courts, and for many years, at least, being entitled to no retiring pension.

In Bengal, the special jurisdiction of the King's Court, as is sufficiently known, is confined to the town of Calcutta, even its suburbs being generally under the authority of the Company's regulations. Mr. Rickards has contrasted the security and prosperity of Calcutta, and of the other towns similarly circumstanced, with the insecurity and poverty which prevail in the provinces. Mr. Robertson, having the range of about 328,000 square miles, fixes upon the suburbs in question for instituting a comparison between the effects of 'Indian laws,' and 'English laws.' 'Now,' says he, 'is it correct to say that this latter jurisdiction (the Company's) exhibits, in point of happiness, wealth and population, a melancholy contrast to the former? Is it correct to say that the people evince a disposition to migrate from the one into the other?' Nothing can be more unhappy than the selection which Mr. Robertson has here made, and we are confident he made it, as well as uttered his triumphant interrogatories, in profound ignorance of the real circumstances of the case. All commercial business of the least importance is transacted within the absolute strict limits of the town of Calcutta, within the strict boundary of the King's Court, and every merchant and other man of business has his office or counting-house here, and if he had not, no one would enter into engagements with him. Every such person, of whatever colour or complexion, although residing in the suburbs, is construed to be amenable to the jurisdiction of the King's Court. Perhaps 50,000 of the inhabitants of Calcutta sleep in the suburbs, but every one of them, notwithstanding, is within the jurisdiction of his Majesty's Court. All Europeans in the suburbs, even when they have no offices in Calcutta, are strictly subject to it. Moreover, the whole of the River Ganges, with every person, and every thing upon it, from Calcutta to the sea, is amenable to the same jurisdiction. The wealth accumulated under the protection of the Royal Court, and which has little room for investment within the narrow bounds of the town, overflows upon the suburbs and nourishes them; and these suburbs, besides, not to say their magistrates, have the obvious advantage of being controlled by the public opinion of the most enlightened and intelligent community in India. Do these suburbs then, receiving as they do unquestionable and direct benefit from the King's Court, form a fair subject of comparison between the

laws of the East India Company and the laws of England, or is this writer justified in preferring them to the remainder of the 328,000 square miles, of which he has taken no notice?

Mr. Robertson hints that the inhabitants of the village of Howrah, one of the suburbs in question, and which he calls, 'a rich and populous place,' petitioned the local government not to be placed under the jurisdiction of the King's Court, such matter having once been in contemplation. He was 'told' by 'the best authority,' that this took place some twelve or fifteen years ago.' It would be very convenient to have 'the best authority,' named in respect to so extraordinary a circumstance, and some absolute date assigned for the alleged transaction, instead of 'some twelve or fifteen years ago,' which is no date at all. This seems the more necessary since a petition of the nature alluded to is believed to be in direct opposition to certain prejudices recently evinced by the Indians in favour of English law, as shewn by their petitions to the King and Parliament, claiming an extension of the very rights which they are here represented as deprecating.

Mr. Robertson admits with candour, that the King's court, after all, is 'a wholesome check upon the government, and is of incalculable benefit to the country.' 'Civil justice also,' he allows, 'is *probably* better administered within its jurisdiction, than within other parts of the country.' Without the slightest reference to superior legal knowledge, legal skill, and legal experience, or the superiority of the code of laws administered, our author coolly ascribes the whole advantage to mere superiority of physical number in the judges.—'Thirty persons are employed,' he says, 'in the administration of justice,' upon a space not so large or so populous as the town of Benares, where two at the utmost do the whole business. There is a thoughtlessness, or at all events great unsoundness, in this comparison between Calcutta and Benares—Benares is an inland town without any foreign commerce, and, in comparison with Calcutta, with a very small commerce of any kind.—Calcutta has a foreign commerce with nearly all the world, and perhaps a moiety of all the foreign commerce of the Indies. The jurisdiction of the country court of Benares, is strictly limited to the town of that name. The King's Court at Calcutta, has an admiralty jurisdiction extending from the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan. All British-born subjects whatsoever, whether residing in Bengal or in the Nativestates, are subject to its authority. All Natives in the service of the Company are amenable to it for wrongs and trespasses, and all Natives whatsoever, (and this comprehends nearly the whole class of persons who have commercial dealings with the people of Calcutta,) entering into a written agreement to submit to its decision, are amenable to it.

Quitting the administration of Civil justice as rather a hopeless case, our author turns to inform us, that he has 'heard' that in

point of police the cities of Moorshedabad, Patna, and Benares, 'were some years ago better governed than Calcutta,' and he adds, that this would be made apparent by a comparative statement of crimes committed, &c. &c. And so it would if we had the statement, and that the statement was authentic; but the statement is not forthcoming, and thus our author leaves the superiority which he claims, in a state of uncertainty. The three cities above named, in the order in which we have mentioned them, are computed to contain respectively 150,000, 300,000, and 600,000 inhabitants. Calcutta contains 400,000. Does the inconsistency of imagining that one English gentleman, 'or at the utmost two,' can do that better for 600,000 persons, than thirty can for 400,000, not occur to our author; or would he claim for the class to which he himself belongs more than mortal powers, ubiquity or omniscience? Does it not occur to him that if two magistrates be necessary for Moorshedabad, there ought, to secure equal efficiency, to be four at Patna, and eight at Benares; or that if two be sufficient for Benares, one is enough for Patna, and that poor Moorshedabad requires, by the same rule, only the fraction of a judge. But really, if crime be so rare in the Native cities alluded to, we can only conclude that their inhabitants are the very best people alive; and do in reality govern themselves, for to imagine that one or two individuals, however gifted, can efficiently control the police of 600,000 souls, or of half the number, or of one fourth the number, is not to be credited for a moment by any person of common reflection, especially when it is considered that these magistrates have on their shoulders, also, the whole civil, and a great part of the criminal administration of justice, over the same hosts of men.

The most curious charge made by our author against the King's Court, refers to the burning of widows. The reader will suppose, upon the bare mention of this circumstance, that these abominable suicides, or murders, are perpetrated in the very streets of Calcutta, and within the special jurisdiction of his Majesty's court. No such thing. In Calcutta they are illegal, but they are not so within the Company's jurisdiction; and so here then, and beyond the pale of English law, they take place frequently. Our author, who had before spoken so handsomely respecting the suburbs of Calcutta, and challenged a comparison between them and the town itself, now turns round, and charges upon the English law the abomination that is actually perpetrated under the Company's law. Why, the police of London, that will not allow a 'ring' to be formed in Grosvenor-square, or St. James's-square, might as well be charged with countenancing 'the fight,' that actually takes place at Moulsay Hurst, because the gentlemen of 'the fancy' sally forth from the metropolis, and proceed clandestinely to a spot beyond its jurisdiction, where the nuisance is tolerated.\*

\* Mr. Robertson is, it seems, against any attempt at abolishing the prac-

It is quite impossible that any reasoning can be more inconclusive than our author's on this point, and we recommend it to him to reconsider it. Must it not appear obvious to him, that if the same laws existed, and the same public opinion were in operation throughout the rest of India, that prevail in Calcutta, there would at once be an end of the immolation of widows?

There is one point connected with the administration of justice, to which we shall shortly allude. The proceedings of the country courts, it is sufficiently known, are conducted in the Persian language, which neither plaintiff, nor defendant, nor witnesses, nor prisoners, nor prosecutors, understand at all, and which the Judge, being a stranger, always understands very imperfectly. Our author is one of the abettors of the Mussulman prejudice, which would preserve this dialect in judicial proceedings, in preference to a language which some one or other of the parties interested might understand. 'The Persian,' he observes, 'is a most flexible, comprehensive, and, what is of some importance, quickly written language.' Of what use are flexibility and comprehensiveness to those who do not understand the language, even admitting such attributes to belong to this rude dialect; it would be much better for such performers, if it possessed neither the one nor the other quality; for it would then be more attainable, and consequently more useful. As to the quality of its being 'quickly written,' the reader will be a little surprised when we inform him, that it is so very difficult to write,

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tree of widow-burning, 'yet, let be borne in mind,' says he, 'that if we try and fail, we shall only aggravate the very evil we propose to abolish.' We abolished the practice of throwing children to sharks and alligators; we abolished the practice of destroying female infants, but we have not, by doing so, aggravated the very evils which we proposed to remedy. These matters are not above thirty years old, but our author does not appear to have thought of them; he prefers making a comparison between Indian widow-burning and European duelling, which is about as appropriate as drawing a parallel between a squabble at a country fair and the Trojan war, or Napoleon's invasion of Russia. Touching this subject of widow-burning, by the way, our author relates an anecdote, derived from 'unexceptionable authority,' which savours somewhat of 'the prejudice of his caste,' as he himself repeats the expression. A young widow announced her intention of destroying herself on the funeral pile of her husband, and the youthful Magistrate of the district offered her 500*l.* if she would desist, with a similar sum to the Brahmns, if they would forbear being accessaries. This is just exactly such an act as we should have expected from a generous and warm-hearted English youth. Our author, however, instead of assigning it to the national character, as we should naturally have looked for, challenges all the saints in England to produce the like. He would give us to understand, in short, that the vulgar punchbeck of the national character was transmuted into pure gold, by passing through the alembick of the East India College at Hertford, and the writer's buildings at Calcutta. 'Will any of the declaimers about the suttee pretend,' exclaims he, 'to place themselves, in point of sincere zeal for its suppression, on a par with the young magistrate just alluded to?'

that no Englishmen ever acquires the art of writing it at all. We have heard of a single instance, but we have never seen one, of an Englishman who had so far mastered the Persian language, as to be able to write a common letter in it. The Mohammedan natives of India, who begin to practise from infancy, acquire an adequate proficiency; but this is out of the question with those who never attempt it before manhood. When written intelligibly and distinctly, it is always written slowly; and, from the very nature of things, cannot indeed be otherwise, for many of the letters are separate and distinct from those which precede and those which follow them. Though forming a beautiful character when slowly written; yet, when written quickly (that is, with comparative quickness, for in this particular it by no means equals European writing), the Persian becomes an unseemly scrawl. In such a scrawl, witnesses are summoned, decrees and writs issued to parties who cannot understand one letter of what is addressed to them, and records are kept, to comprehend a page of which, the Judge would require an hour, and a dictionary, and perhaps the assistance of his preceptor into the bargain. How long is this absurd mummerly to be persevered in? Mr. Elphinstone, himself a Persian scholar, and a Persian traveller, had the good sense to banish the Persian as the language of law proceedings from Bombay, substituting for it the vernacular languages of the people, which, although not the right course to pursue, is undoubtedly an improvement. In this matter there are unquestionably serious difficulties to surmount, as was the case with the Normans in England, the Spaniards in America, and many other conquerors; but surely the cultivated language which alone the Judge understands,—which alone those who control the Judge understand,—which the Natives are well disposed to understand,—and which is the only one in which sound legal knowledge can be communicated,—deserves a preference over unwritten dialects, and above all, over a foreign speech unintelligible to every party concerned!

With respect to the great question of Colonization or settlement, there is, undoubtedly, some confusion in our author's expression of his sentiments touching it. Sometimes he seems to approve of it, but soon he flies off, 'hints at a fault and hesitates dislike.' The first passage we have on the subject is to the following effect. 'To the good that has, in this division, resulted from the presence of respectable British settlers (for such they may be regarded), as indigo planters, I am very ready to bear witness.' The districts to which our author here alludes, are portions of the province of Bahar, in which he himself served. By his account, the European indigo planters here amounted, ten years ago, to forty in number; and we believe we may add, that they are the most numerous and wealthy body of this description in India. Shortly afterwards he observes, that the indigo planters of the district in question, 'are,

as a body, very superior to those in the lower provinces, among whom, especially in the vicinity of Calcutta, adventurers are to be found, whose conduct is often such as to bring disgrace upon the British character.' With respect to the planters in the Western provinces, where our author served many years, he thinks proper to observe a profound silence. The amount of his testimony then is to the following effect. In one part of the country where he had personal and official knowledge of their conduct, he is 'ready to bear witness to the good' which the indigo planters have effected. In another part, where he has had long and ample means of ascertaining, he makes no objection whatever to their conduct; and in a third, where it does not seem that he had any means at all, 'adventurers are to be found whose conduct is often such as to bring disgrace upon the British character.' The two first parts of the statement would be good evidence in a court of justice. The surmise contained in the last would be scouted in any court, and is of no value any where else. We are not such abstract admirers of the British character, as not to believe that very discreditible characters may not now and then be found in every class or body of it, from the nobility downwards, nor can we bring ourselves to imagine that there is any ground for supposing that the indigo planters of Bengal are exceptions. Even the class to which our author himself belongs, and it is a highly respectable one, now and then gives birth to a rogue of this description, or, as our author himself, with a bashful and reluctant censure, denominates unhappy persons of this class, 'those civil functionaries in Bengal, whose conduct has reflected least credit upon the body to which they belong,' and who shrink 'from appearing before a tribunal composed of members of their own service.'\*

Even in respect to such of the indigo planters, as by our author's account are calculated 'to bring disgrace upon the British character,' the danger to be apprehended from their settlement, judging from the simplicity of the remedy which he himself proposes, does not appear to be very imminent. 'If persons of this stamp are to be indiscriminately admitted to the interior,' says he, 'a few European police officers must be attached to every magistrate's court, for the purpose of executing such processes as he may have occasion, for the preservation of the peace of his district, to issue against them.' Native officers, he observes, are unfit persons to be employed on such occasions, because if the European be refractory, he defies them, and if submissive, they abuse their power. Is this all? A few European constables then, it seems, are considered in 1829 a sufficient security against the danger, which in 1813 was represented as 'threatening the very existence of our Indian Empire!' To judge however from the good conduct

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\* 'The circumstances alluded to are notorious, and recorded in print, p. 63.'

of the indigo planters in the only part of the country of which our author speaks from his own proper knowledge, even the small precaution which is here suggested does appear to be absolutely indispensable. It is singular, indeed, that throughout his publication, not one instance, authenticated or unauthenticated, is adduced, of violence or misconduct on the part of a private European settler in India. Where does the reader imagine our author goes to for a case in point? Why to Egypt,—‘to the canal that leads from the Nile to Alexandria.’ Upon that canal he finds ‘a party of English artificers, who were attached to a steam dredging boat employed in deepening it.’ Mr. Robertson enters into conversation with one of these judicious and enlightened persons, touching the character of the Arabs; and this person, not appearing to be an Oriental scholar, gives him the following account of his customary exordium when he attempted to discourse in the Arabian language. ‘For my own part, Sir,’ says the worthy in question, addressing our author, ‘whenever I try to speak to these fellows, I always begin or end by knocking them down.’ The Arabs of Egypt are looked upon by their Turkish masters as little better than slaves; and Mohammed Ali exacts from them every species of forced service, giving them nothing but a few ‘boiled beans’ and some hard blows for their pains. He places in authority over them in various departments (he being a reformer, after the fashion of the East), a number of Europeans of all nations, uneducated, and of the lowest description. One of this crew talks, but he does nothing more than talk, after all, of quickening the attention of the degraded peasantry in question, to a more lively perception of his bad Arabic, by knocking them down; and so from this instructive fact is to be deduced—the danger of European settlement in India under the British government! Our author being in Egypt, why did he not at once go back to the days of the Pharaohs and the Ptolemies, to shew the dangers of Grecian colonization in the first case, and of the Roman colonization in the second; for, without the smallest exaggeration, they are infinitely more in point than the example he has quoted.

In speaking of the dangers of our position in India, Mr. Robertson observes, that ‘by far the most formidable discontent is that which arises out of the want of sufficient stipendiary employment for the middle classes, and the absence of suitable objects of laudable ambition to those of the higher ranks.’ This is most true; but never for a moment does it occur to him that the very system he endeavours to vindicate is, itself, the grand cause of this evil. The class to which he himself belongs, exercises a complete monopoly of every office of honor or profit to which a Native could be eligible. Sir Henry Strachey, the most enlightened and able man ever employed in the judicial service of the East India Company, (no ground, we hope, for our author’s frequent objections to his testimony,) observes, that the Natives are, ‘from temper, habit, and peculiar circumstances,



in many respects fitter for the office of a Judge than the servants of the East India Company ; and that, through the monopoly of office created by the Company, they are ' depressed and humiliated,' being ' confined to subordinate and servile offices.' He thinks, in their judicial capacity, they require no European superintendence ; and that they would perform every necessary function for ' somewhat less than one-tenth of the salary' of one of the Company's European Judges.' If this be true, and it would not be very easy to gainsay it, the existing Courts, so wholly inadequate, might at once be raised to ten times the present number ; and the present monopoly of judicial office is, of necessity, an enormous nuisance. But our author's objections are, of course, not against the monopoly, but against an influx of European adventurers, who might possibly interfere with the servile offices at present held by the Natives of the country. The answer to this, as far as it deserves one, is plain. The white and the black subjects of his Majesty are equally interested in the good government of India ; and if the European can perform the same duties to the state better and cheaper than the Indian, he is entitled to a preference : if the Indian can perform them better and cheaper than the European, then he is entitled to the preference. Distinctions and exclusions are the real evils of the present system, and there are no others, as far as this case is concerned.

Our author next proceeds to exhibit, according to his view, a case of the utmost possible difficulty to the Colonist ; and, for this purpose, he selects a particular part of the country,—that ' which stands (lies ?) between the Ganges and Jumna.' Here, the inhabitants of each village have a common property in the lands annexed to it. ' If,' says he, ' an European agriculturist were, *by any means*, to get himself recognized, by competent authorities, as proprietor of the lands belonging to a village of the description under consideration, he must make up his mind either to acquiesce in, or to dispute the privileges claimed by, the different classes of the community.' Now, we ask what authority, in a country where there is the least semblance of justice, could possibly be competent to convey to an European, or to any other purchaser, the proprietary rights, if such exist, of third parties ? To acquire a comprehensive right of property in the lands in question, the right of every peasant, whatever it may be, must be paid for, as well as the rights of those that are above the peasant. If partial rights only are purchased, like manorial rights in this country, then the purchase-money is proportionally small, and the returns for the capital will be small also. If the fee simple be purchased, then a large price must be given, and the profit or revenue returned will be proportional. If the rights of the peasantry, in the case alluded to, be not a saleable thing, there is an end of the transaction : there can be no purchase and no sale. If neither manorial rights, nor freehold, nor copyhold rights can be purchased, nor any thing that bears a resemblance to them ; in short, if all rights be in a state of uncertainty, abeyance,

and inextricable confusion, not a thing very probable in any condition of society, then the estate is not a vendable commodity at all. No capitalist, ordinarily sane, would attempt to invest his money in it ; and, of course, there is no danger to be apprehended from colonization, where colonization cannot take place.

Our author observes that if partial rights only were bought, the European purchaser would, in that case, not have 'sufficient' to 'subsist on'—totally forgetting that for limited rights a limited sum only will be paid, and that the advantages derived may be as large in proportion as when the most extensive rights are obtained by a larger investment. In another place he supposes the probability of an European purchaser getting his throat cut by possessing himself of lands, on the conditions he supposes, and really if there were no laws to appeal to, we do not see what better treatment a man could expect who, without giving an equivalent, by fraud or violence should assume rights belonging to others. But in fact the whole affair is a matter of pure imagination.

Another objection of a very singular description, stated by our author, is, that every Englishman who becomes an Indian landlord, will not stay in India. The answer to this may be brief—some will stay and some will go away. The first settlers, at least, will desire to return to their native country, but as there is not the slightest probability that every Englishman who purchases land will be able, during a temporary residence, to make an independent fortune sufficient to allow him to live in a country where the necessaries of life are four-fold dearer than they are in India, the probability is that the great majority even of these will continue in the country. The desire to return to England will be smaller on the part of their descendants, and of these, a few of the wealthy only will either reside in, or visit Europe. If an Englishman, during a temporary residence in India, invest his capital in land, and returning to England draw his rents there, he notwithstanding confers a great benefit upon India, because he leaves his capital behind him for its improvement. If, becoming a landlord, he reside permanently in India, his personal superintendence of his property, and his example among his neighbours will no doubt confer still greater advantages; but signal benefit is assured in either case. We do not say that such objections as are here urged, are capious, but we assert that they amount, after all, to mere nibbling at a great question.

Mr. Robertson would give us to understand that there is no encouragement for new settlers in the capacity of artisans, tradesmen, shopkeepers, &c. He observes 'that there are already many such at all the principal stations at the Bengal Presidency, and that they do not appear to have ever been able to extend their custom much beyond the limits of the European circle in which they live.' There are persons, he adds, who would attribute the circumscription of the European trader's dealing to 'the tyrannical character

of the government.' He considers it 'useless to argue' with persons who consider the government of the East India Company tyrannical, and he adjudges the gulls who give credit to the impugnors of acknowledged virtue and freedom, to be in a still more awkward predicament. 'Those who can believe,' says he, 'all the trash that is written on this head, are past the reach of reason and argument, and must be left to their prejudices.' 'The impossibility of any government, however cruel, preventing people from going to a shop to purchase commodities if they wish to buy them,' he thinks is sufficient answer to the class of reasoners alluded to. We notice here that our author does not advert to the obvious, clear and satisfactory case of a country being so cruelly ill-governed as to leave few goods in the shop to sell and little cash in the purchaser's pocket to buy with, or to a state of things making any approach to this. Are heavy taxation and mal-administration of justice, as far as the purchaser is concerned, with deprivation of English law, and liability to banishment without trial, with a positive interdiction from dealing in some of the staples of the internal commerce of the country, as far as the seller is concerned, no adequate causes for circumscribed sales? Is a law prohibiting the establishment of British agriculturists, no reason for restricted sales with the British shopkeeper? or is the industry of the town and the country for the first time in the annals of mankind, to be considered distinct and unconnected? 401

We come now to our author's main objection to Colonization—the climate. Replying to one of his opponents, he observes. 'The English are, as he says, but sojourners in the country, for to them it is forbidden ground. True, it is forbidden ground, but in this sense it is forbidden by nature. Are the very laws of nature to be reformed, and the climate, now so uncongenial under the present oppressive system, to be ameliorated by the liberal measures in agitation?' Here, Nature and the East India Company are represented to be marching hand in hand, although modesty precludes the insinuation that it is the 'march of intellect' they are conducting. Now, with respect to this affair of climate, we think a few short words will settle the matter. In most parts of the British territories there is a regular summer and winter, the latter extending from November to March, or for five months, during which the climate throughout is temperate and fine. In many parts again this winter extends for six months. The ground every morning is then covered with hoar-frost, and the climate is equal in beauty and salubrity to the finest Italian spring. The rest of the year is hot or wet, but not unhealthy. In some parts again there are extensive and fertile table-lands, where the climate is temperate throughout the whole year. We can see nothing in the soil or seasons of India, beyond those of any other warm country, to prevent the European race from being there acclimated. With the first settlers

there are times in which the heat will be inconvenient to the European constitution, and so are there in the great majority of other countries in which Europeans have been settled for the last three centuries. Our author would have this matter settled by an anecdote; but the anecdote must be very good indeed, that can settle the most important question connected with the legislation of above one hundred millions of people. The story refers to Aboo Talib Khan, the only Indian of rank who ever visited England, and whose curious account of his voyage, the reader will find in an English dress. This gentleman returned to India, and was employed in the department of the revenue, in the dreary province of Bundelcund, which lies to the west of the river Jumna. 'One morning,' says our author, 'he called upon the judge of the district, with whom his manners (acquired during his residence in England) had placed him upon a more intimate footing than is generally established between the European and Native functionaries in India.\* It was at the most sultry season of the year, and while the hot winds were blowing with their utmost fury. Aboo Talib called his English friend to a window, and pointing to the dreary scene without, the arid plain, the lurid atmosphere heavy with dust and breathing intolerable heat, the brown and burning winter (summer?) of a torrid clime, he exclaimed, 'Look at that, Sir! Do you think that God Almighty ever meant this country for an Englishman to *reside* in?' The reader, we have no doubt, will be surprised to find that the person who here denounced the connexion between Englishmen and India as so unnatural, was himself of the pure blood of the Patans, and that his forefathers, in times not very remote, emigrated from Afghanistan, a mountainous country extending from the 32d to the 10th degree of latitude,—of which the average temperature throughout, is nearly as cold as that of England, and of which the temperature of particular parts, is infinitely colder. Aboo Talib, in short, had been duly naturalized, as Englishmen would be also if their settlement did not militate against the patronage of the East India Company. A great many of the Mohammedan settlers in India are of the same lineage with Aboo Talib, and, although in some cases they have intermarried with Indians, they are, even under such circumstances, still to be distinguished from the latter by their more manly and vigorous frames. Only two degrees further north, than the spot to which the anecdote refers, and within the British possessions, is to be found an extensive colony of the same race and of the pure blood of the Afghans, the Rohillas, who after near 130 years residence in India are little distinguishable, in person or manners, from the inhabitants of the parent country,—a matter which most English sojourners in India have an opportunity

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\* The familiarity implied in the fact of one man calling to another to look out at a window, and making an observation on the weather, does not appear to us to require the apology which our author has given in the text.

of determining for themselves, by comparing them with the merchants of that parent country, who in caravans yearly visit Hindostan. But the inhabitants of still colder countries have settled and colonized in India, such as the Usbeck Tartars of Balk, Bokhara and Turkistan, mountainous regions extending from the 40th to the 50th degree of latitude, and from the nature of their physical geography, greatly colder than England.

Mr. Robertson and other advocates of the existing order of things in India, will not cast their eyes around and notice what has taken place even in respect to the colonization of the European race, in other warm regions of the earth, during the last 330 years. In Mexico there are 1,200,000 colonists of the European race, a large proportion of them of the pure Spanish blood. Humboldt, who had seen them, declares, that even in the hot plains under the very equator, porters and other day labourers, being genuine creoles, are not inferior, in vigour, health, or length of life, to the same class of men in the plains of Andalusia. In Brazil, which extends from near the equator to the 35th degree of latitude, the settlers of the European race are said to amount to 800,000. In our own West India Islands there are 80,000 of the European race, one little island alone containing 16,000 'true Barbadians,' priding themselves most particularly upon the purity of their descent. Our American descendants do not find warm climates to disagree with them: they have long colonized Georgia which stretches to the thirtieth degree of latitude, and they are now peopling Louisiana, and the Floridas, the one extending to the 30th, and the other to the 25th degree of latitude, and consequently, therefore, five and ten degrees nearer the equator than the northern boundaries of British India. The Russians, a prodigious change for them, have colonized in the warm countries of the Crimea, Astrakan and Georgia. All this experience is lost to such reasoners as we have to combat. They turn away from the view of the wide world, and, with a little microscope of their own fabrication, take a peep at British India—where colonization is rigorously interdicted! In reply to the experience of 330 years, a puny child, or an elderly gentleman with an indifferent liver, is through that medium exhibited to them, just as if puny children and bad livers were not to be found in all countries, where there are puny parents and a due share of intemperance. India, however, according to our opponents, is not America or the West Indies. Certainly not; but it is something better than either. It is, at least like them, part and parcel of the habitable globe, and situated in the same climates. India, to our certain knowledge, has been cleared, peopled, and occupied pretty much as it now is for between two and three thousand years, and, probably has been so for twice as long. It is still more certain that the New World, for the most part, was a wilderness about three centuries ago, when it first began to be colo-

nized by Europeans, and by far the greater part of it is so down to the present day. A country that has been long occupied and long cleared, is notoriously more healthy than one that has been newly cleared, or is not cleared at all. It is rational on these grounds, to conclude, that India is more healthy than America, and we, in reality, know that it is so. Tropical India, therefore, is a more suitable country for colonization than tropical America, as far as the mere question of salubrity is concerned. The different races of men may, in fact, be acclimated anywhere that there is food for them. All tropical America is, at the present day, more or less peopled by colonies of Europeans; and on the other hand, we have about a million and a half of Negroes from tropical Africa, living, and even thriving, as far as their unhappy state will admit, in the temperate regions of the same continent, from the 30th to the 50th degree of latitude. Man, indeed, is the easiest of all animals to naturalize in strange climates and strange situations, scarcely excepting a hog itself, or a dog, or a crow, or a sparrow, or that amphibious and ambiguous creature a rat, of which, as is well known to naturalists, the most thriving breed in this country is of Indian origin. So much for the interdict of the Almighty, as represented by our author in the character of Aboo Talib Khan.

If India was not made for Englishmen to reside in, for whom then was it made? The inference intended to be drawn, no doubt is, that it was made solely for Hindoos and Monopolists,—the one to be ground to powder, and the other to enjoy snug patronage. That it was not exclusively made even for the Hindoos, is attested by the presence of fifteen millions of colonists from Persia and Tartary, for the better part of seven centuries; and if one half of what we have alleged in the course of this short essay be true, it would be an irreverent insinuation against the justice of Providence, to imagine that it was made exclusively for the East India Company.

Our author asks one of his opponents, whether he would 'recommend the repeal of the Act of Parliament, which precludes Englishmen from purchasing or farming lands,' and then borrowing from 'The Edinburgh Review,' for the year 1807, he describes the interdict in question as a measure beyond the reach of Greek and Roman virtue, adding, in the words of the Critic, that the bare mention of an act of such disinterestedness and generosity, (that is, the exclusion by the East India Company of their *countrymen* from all participation in the soil of India, in order that they might *themselves* draw on the whole rack rent), struck foreigners, and especially 'Frenchmen of high distinction,' with astonishment.

We have a few remarks to make upon this high-toned ebullition of our author. First of all, there is no Act of Parliament of the kind he alludes to. The interdict is created by a local, or bye-law of the Honorable East India Company, dictated pretty much in the

same spirit as their prohibition to export long-ells to, or to import Tea from, China. Instead of being a measure of disinterestedness, probably no government ever enacted so sweeping and comprehensive a measure of selfishness and mischief, for it is one which interdicts in a manner more complete than any other that could possibly have been framed, the extension of British commerce, the improvement of the soil of India, and the civilization of its inhabitants. As to the astonishment of foreigners, we will venture to assert, that no enlightened foreigner would express any other feeling than astonishment, at the folly and weakness of the British nation, for putting up for a moment, with a law so detrimental at once to the mother country and her colony. The only two literary foreigners of distinction who have given their attention to Indian politics, as far as we know, are Messrs. Say and Sismondi, and, instead of praise of the measure in question, our author will find in their works, strong and repeated deprecation of it, as at once absurd and pernicious.

But now to the Review itself. We beg to say, that the writer who places the patriots of Leadenhall-street above the patriots of ancient Greece and Rome, was himself a hired servant of the patriots in question. The Reviewer, in short, who, according to our author, deprecates, 'with such force and eloquence,' the abrogation of the bye law of the East India Company, was the late Professor Hamilton, of the Company's college at Hertford; an eminent Sanscrit scholar, no doubt, but one of the keenest and most dexterous opponents, even of the partial measures of liberality pursued in 1813, and which have since been followed by results so triumphant and so confounding to persons of his way of thinking. The same publication, 'The Edinburgh Review,' contains several Indian reviews by the same writer, and in the same spirit. How they came there, is more than we can pretend to explain, but surely there they are, and side by side with others of a totally opposite character, of course not at all noticed by our author, although in them he will see the very measure advocated, which Professor Hamilton deprecates!

We have only one word more to say on this point. Mr. Robertson complains of the unfairness and injustice of quoting as authority, the Fifth Report of the House of Commons, dated in the year 1810, and here we have him lauding the individual opinion of, to him, an anonymous writer, dated three years earlier; neutralised as it is all the while, by opinions wholly at variance with it, in the very same publication. Does it not occur to this gentleman, that if the facts recorded in the year 1810, belong to 'the days of our fathers,' the opinions given in 1807, must of necessity belong to 'the days of our grandfathers;' what right then has he, rejecting the facts of our fathers, to quote in support of his own views, the notions of our grandfathers, or of our grandmothers either?

We shall conclude this article by a short extract from the historian of British India, on the subject of Colonization, and we do so the more willingly, since its bearing has more particular reference to the department in which our author himself was employed, and which is the especial object of his approbation. 'If it were possible,' says Mr. Mill, 'for the English government to learn wisdom by experience,—which governments rarely do,—it might here, at last, see with regret, some of the effects of that illiberal, cowardly, and short-sighted policy, under which it has taken the most solicitous precautions to prevent the settlement of Englishmen in India; trembling, forsooth, lest Englishmen, if allowed to settle in India, should detest and cast off its yoke! The most experienced persons in the government of India describe, what to them appears the difficulty, almost, or altogether insuperable, of affording protection either to person or property, in that country, without the assistance of persons of the requisite moral and intellectual qualifications, rooted in the country, and distributed over it in every part. They unite in declaring that there is no class in India, who possess these qualifications; that the powers necessary for an efficient police cannot be entrusted to the *Zemindars*, without ensuring all the evils of a gross and barbarous despotism. And they speak with admiration of the assistance rendered to government, by the gentlemen distributed in every part of England. Is it possible to avoid seeing, and seeing, not acknowledge, the inestimable service which might have been derived, in this great exigency, from a body of English gentlemen; who if they had been encouraged to settle, as owners of land, and as manufacturers and merchants, would at this time have been distributed in great numbers, in India. Not only would they have possessed the requisite moral and intellectual qualifications—things of inestimable value; they would have possessed other advantages also of the highest importance.'

The passage which we have now quoted, is taken from the first edition of Mr. Mill's work, dated in 1817. In the second edition dated three years later, and after he had been two years in the service of the East India Company, the same language is repeated word for word. In the third edition, dated in 1826, when he had been eight years confidentially employed by the East India Company, in the very line of duty to which the passage refers, and when he had access to every document, public or secret, that could tend to disabuse his judgment, if it had been wrong, we have it once more repeated without alteration. This is surely as good testimony for continued mal-government and perseverance in error, on the part of the East India Company, as could well be adduced; and we must add, that the acuteness and integrity of the witness are as much beyond suspicion, as the excellence of his opportunities are beyond doubt. Mr. Mill is, indeed, the ablest man that has for



many years been associated with the affairs of the East India Company, and moreover, he is the only philosopher that ever has been associated with them. It is only to be regretted, that his being in their service, has prevented his continuing to write in exposure of the evils of their system : while no counter-balancing good can be perceived from any influence, that he might be supposed to have exercised over the conduct of his employers, by his advice, or opinions.

We have, however, one objection to make to Mr. Mill's censure, and it is this, that the censure is confined to the local governments in India. We leave these, with all the reprobation which Mr. Mill has bestowed upon them, but we must also beg leave to include the home authorities, namely, the Hon. the East India Company, for their just share. The judge is sufficiently blameable who, from ignorance, feebleness of judgment, or unworthy motives, passes a wrong judgment ; but the witness who, from interested motives, gives false testimony calculated to mislead the judge, or who corrupts or brow-beats him, is surely not exempt from blame. The East India Company indeed, stand in need of no accessaries. Before the government ever interfered with them at all, as far as India was concerned, and when they were simple traders, their persecution of 'interlopers' was just as inveterate, as their hostility to Colonization has become since fortune, or rather misfortune, made them territorial sovereigns.

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#### LIBERTY.

BREATHES there the man, whose scivile breast  
Is sunk in languor's fatal rest,  
Whilst o'er him, 'mid the gathering storm,  
Oppression rears her hateful form ?  
Who, when her foot to earth would tread  
Those rights for which his father bled,  
Hopes not, nor strives to stay their fall,  
But one by one resigns them all ?  
Breathes such a man ? I will not ask  
What country gave him birth :  
He did not spring from English mould ;  
For such a soul, thus tame, thus cold,  
Would rouse his angry sues of old,  
And drag them back to earth.  
Breathes there a wretch, whose feeble eye  
Ne'er pierced the film of slavery—  
Who never felt the glow of shame  
O'erspread his cheek at Freedom's name ;  
Nor blush to see himself accurst,  
Of slaves, the veriest and the worst ?  
Breathes such a wretch ? O'er Eastern climes,  
Unheeded, let him roam ;  
His law a haughty tyrant's frown ;  
A den of slaves his home.

## VOYAGE ON THE NILE, FROM CAIRO TO THE CATARACTS.

## No. V.

[From that portion of Mr. Buckingham's Unpublished Manuscripts, from which the materials of his Lectures on Egypt are drawn.]

*Ruins of Antinoë and Hermopolis—Egyptian Manners—National Songs of the Ancients—River Scenery.*

Miniet, November 6.

THE heat of yesterday's ride had so oppressed us, that we were desirous of avoiding it in part by setting out from hence at an early hour, and were accordingly stirring at four o'clock. Traversing a beautiful country where the groves of palms were still thicker and of fuller foliage, the villages more numerous and of larger population, we passed over the canal of Rouda, and reached that village about eight o'clock.

Crossing the Nile to Sheikh Abada, on its eastern bank, we were joined on landing by all the children and the major part of the men and women of the village, who, before we had passed their streets, came running towards us with coins and medals found among the ruins near them, which they would have sold for little more than the value of their metal, but which it was not convenient to me then to purchase. My refusal even to receive them, occasioned me to be considered a very singular being, as all Frank travellers who had come to see the ruins here before us, had bought them up with avidity.

We had scarcely left the huts of the miserable village, before the ruined arches of Antinoë rose from among the palms amid whose foliage they were embosomed, and from the contrast of the surrounding country wore an air of grandeur in decay, seeming more venerable in decrepitude than imposing in beauty. What remains of the first structure, seen on coming from the river, was the grand entrance to a square court, encompassed by four wings, forming altogether a building of some magnificence, if one may judge from the ranges of pillars yet partly standing, which appear to have supported the surrounding galleries, and to have formed a square piazza, similar to that of the Royal Exchange in London. The entrance is formed of three arches, the central one exceeding the others in height and breadth, like that which leads into the square of Somerset House, the wings being each ascended by narrow and winding flights of steps, the northern one of which is blocked up by the falling in of large stones from above, and the southern rendered nearly impassable also from the same cause: each of these staircases were lighted by small windows placed at regular distances, and each led off into horizontal passages at different

heights. On reaching the summit of these winding ascents, the three arches of the grand entrance are found to form separate galleries communicating with each other, the northern one being in a dilapidated state, while the lofty arch of the central one is partially injured by the falling in of some of its roof, and the southern one remaining nearly perfect. This entrance, facing toward the east, communicated with the interior of the city, while the grand front of the pile which terminated the square of the court, must have been towards the Nile,—enjoying thus a charming prospect and delightful situation, as it is but a short distance from its banks. Among the columns of the piazza, it is remarkable that there are many of red granite, surmounted with Grecian capitals of the white free stone of the neighbouring mountains, so that the shafts might have been selected, perhaps, by the founders of Arsinoë from the ruins of the Egyptian city, which is conjectured to have stood here; and even now, indeed, the iron firmness of these masses bid fair to resist the ravages of time, till long after their capitals shall be mouldered away.

Departing from the eastern entrance of this building, and pursuing a street which runs nearly due east from it for about a mile; we traversed heaps of columns, masonry, brick, pottery, &c., scattered about in all the wreck of destruction, until arriving at the end of it, we found it terminated by two square pillars of masonry, about fifty feet in height and twenty-five feet apart from each other, both surmounted with Corinthian capitals and surrounded at their bases with the ruined fragments of the pile which they had once supported. This street, from its length, breadth, and uniform terminations in grand and corresponding edifices, must have been extremely noble in appearance when perfect.

On returning to the centre of its length, we found that the city was here intersected by another street of similar dimensions to the one described, crossing it at right angles, by running north and south in the direction of the Nile. The northern termination of this street displayed also the ruins of a noble edifice, of which, like the eastern one, we found only some detached pillars standing, surrounded by the fallen masses of masonry in one undistinguished heap. At the point of intersection, where these grand avenues crossed each other and formed the centre of the city, were to be seen a range of square columns still standing, and which, connected with the bases of other fallen ones, and the traces of foundations still discernible amid the sand, gave the plan of a building upwards of two hundred feet square, occupying the immediate centre of the whole, and commanding from all sides a view of the avenues which led to it from the four quarters of the city. The southern extremity of this street terminated also in a lofty pile, the remains of which are still more perfect than any of the others, consisting of two square pillars of the same style and dimensions as those at the

eastern end of the first street, connecting a wall through which is a grand entrance leading to an inner portico, supported by four fluted Corinthian columns, two of which are standing perfect, their shafts each in five pieces, while the third has lost its capital and two pieces of the shaft, and the fourth is nearly destroyed.

In traversing the heaps of ruins which are everywhere scattered through the interior, we found that several of them, and particularly those towards the south, bore evident marks of fire—black bricks, cinders, charcoal, burnt bones, &c., were thickly strewn about the surface. Indeed the complete demolition of so recent a city as the present, when compared with the more perfect state of many Egyptian remains, could not easily have happened, without the agency of this destructive element, as the few portions which have been enumerated, with some solitary columns in different parts, are all that is left standing of it, and in many places the ruins of fallen edifices are now completely covered by the sands of the neighbouring desert.

The plan of the city appears to have been bold and uniform, and from its thus forming a perfect square, it was probable that the terminating buildings now seen at the end of each of the principal avenues, had been originally the grand entrance gates to it from without, particularly from their corresponding situations, in facing the four quarters of the compass and from their uniformity of structure; while the western pile, fronting the river, or the central edifice of the city, might, as a regard to security or to pleasure predominated, have formed the palace.

Our excursion, performed fasting, and unsheltered from the heat of a scorching sun, reflected with increased power from the whitened surface of this desolated spot, brought us back to the village of Sheikh Abada, weary and faint with hunger. Under the shade of a spreading tree near the water's edge, we sat to repose after our fatigues, and allayed the pain of the moment by copious draughts of water. We enquired for bread, only a few cakes of which were to be found in the village, and these were brought to us by the Sheikh himself, with some roasted Indian corn, and dates, laid on thin cakes to be presented to us. We were seated upon the grass, which formed our table, and accompanied by the venerable old man who entertained us in the feast, while the villagers formed a circle around us, and the roasted corn and dates being soon dispatched, the bread on which it had been served to us soon followed, all of which reminded me forcibly of the description given of the landing of *Aeneis*, on the Latian shores, where Virgil says :

‘ Beneath a shady tree, the hero spread  
His table on the turf, with cakes of bread, }  
And with his duck, on forest fruits he fed  
They sat— and not without the god’s command )  
Then homely fare dispatched, the hungry band

Invade their trenchers next, and soon devour,  
 To mend their scanty meal, their cakes of flour.  
 Ascanius thus observed, and smiling, said,  
 ' See ! we devour the plates on which we fed.'  
 The speech had omen that the Trojan race  
 Should find repose, and this the time and place,  
 Æneas took the word, and thus replies :—  
 (Confessing fate with wonder in his eyes)  
 " All hail, O earth ! all hail, my household gods !  
 Behold the destined place of your abodes !  
 For thus Anchises prophesied of old,  
 And thus our fated place of rest foretold,  
 When on a foreign shore, instead of meat,  
 By famine forced, your trenchers you shall eat  
 Then ease, your weary Trojans will attend,  
 And the long labours of your voyage end.'—Æneis. B. 7.

Here, however, the resemblance terminated, for instead of finding that repose promised by a fixed residence, the prospect, to me at least, was still alas ! far distant, and I had many a long and weary voyage to accomplish, before I should probably be enabled to hail my household gods, or even to snatch a moment of repose with them in the bosom of their home.

Our own boat had not yet arrived, and as there was not a tempting shelter to detain us here for the night, we proposed going from hence to Hermopolis, and after our visit there proceed to Melouai to sleep. With this view, therefore, we crossed over to the opposite village of Rouda, in the same small boat that had brought us from thence, and after stationing an Arab here to forward our Reis still further on to Everamoun, where we would join him on the following morning, we remounted about three hours after noon.

Passing through a country equally rich with the path we had traversed yesterday, we reached Archemouneen about an hour before sun-set. The village, large and populous as it may be, possesses nothing worthy of attention to one who is full of anxious haste to visit fragments of other days, nor did its wondering population, though they thronged around to stare at us, arrest our progress for a moment.

We passed rapidly over the ruined vestiges of the Grecian city, now almost indiscriminately mingled with the sandy soil on which it stood ; when towering over the brow of a gentle hill that happily obscured its view until our near approach, the majestic portico of the Egyptian temple rose so suddenly to the sight as to appear like the fairy creation of the instant ; and, equal in beauty to the best productions of Greece or Rome, it seemed, in the stern confidence of its eternal durability, to satirise their scattered vestiges, and mock the puny durables of their feeble strength. The pause which succeeded to this impression of the moment, when I checked the bridle of my horse to enjoy the unobstructed view of its chaste yet grand

design, was an interval of silent pleasure that I would willingly have prolonged; but the sun was fast approaching the Lybian rocks, and our destined shelter for the night was yet some distance off. When I dismounted and approached its gigantic columns, I know not whether their colossal size, their rich invention, or their exquisite finish, attracted my regard most strongly; but this I perfectly remember, that while lost amid the varied and commingled feelings which the pillared portico of this massive pile inspired, regretting the lost language of its inscriptive figures, and admiring the happiest union of pure simplicity, luxurious ornament, and everlasting strength, I felt beneath its awe-imposing roof a sensation of humility and respect which Antinocæ with all its beauties of the picturesque, or all the sadness of its desolated ruin, had not the power to create.

Denon's view of this beautiful monument—this precious relic of the highest antiquity, as he has well called it—was as fresh in my recollection as if he had been absolutely before me, for I had pored over it for hours in succession, and always with new and increased expectations. There are inaccuracies in his delineation it is true, but they are too trifling to be censured, and may well be forgiven, from the unfavorable circumstances under which his hasty sketch was taken; his design upon the whole has great merit, and there is no less truth than modesty in his avowed conviction that the production of his pencil could but faintly express the sensations which this noble fabric conveys; because, as he observes, although a drawing can sometimes give an air of greatness to little things, it always diminishes the effect of great objects,—and never was the truth of that remark more powerfully confirmed than here.

The view which he has taken is of the south front, and his proportions are correct. The inner range of columns, being the most perfect, are well defined, but the square blocks which appear to form the bases of the first range, by ascending to an uniformity of height in the drawing, convey an idea very distant from the truth. The fact is, that these pillars being built of solid circular masonry, and afterwards finished by the addition of those detached pieces of marble, which form the flutings and rings of the shafts in a species of mosaic, if one might use that term, having lost this marble coating about their bases, show the interior masonry of the columns irregularly injured. Instead therefore of these being square blocks, as represented in the plate, they are circular masses of cemented stone, of which the pillars were composed; the easternmost ones being the least deranged, while the westernmost have suffered considerably from the ravages of some despoiling hand.

The projections of the masonry beyond the diameter of the two central columns, prove that they were engaged with some connected portion of the building, which is conjectured, with great show of probability, to have been a vestibule or court, leading to the sanc-

tuary, rather than the sanctuary itself. I could see nothing of the winged globes on the architecture and frieze, as Denon has given them, nor of the ovals between the double flutings of the cornice. A portion of the solid roof itself has fallen in on the northern front of the portico, between its central columns, and from that which remains perfect we could perceive that the whole of the ceiling was covered with a close and perfect sculpture of diagonal lines, bordered with groups of small hieroglyphics, cut in relief below the level of the surface, and in high preservation. Painting has also been used with good effect upon the columns, in giving a contrasted prominence to the circular rings between which the flutings of the shafts are included, and the azure colouring is still fresh and unfaded; but the most admirable perfection is displayed in the close jointures of the small pieces of marble which form the exterior coating of the shafts, and defines its ornaments, as no cement of any description has been used to strengthen their connexion; so that they owe their beauty of union and length of durability simply to the perfect fitting of their respective parts.

The sculptured and painted hieroglyphic figures are so numerous, that it would require some days to copy them with accuracy, for though many of them are large and conspicuous, as if forming of themselves some distinct and perfect allusion, there are in many other places lines of smaller figures, as if forming inscriptive sentences, the repetition of the same animal frequently occurring even in the shortest line, so that their syllabic combinations are as discernible as in the detached letters of our own Roman character; and the lines themselves being arranged in the same way as Scriptural maxims, exclamations of praise, holy precepts, &c., selected from the Bible or Koran, are exhibited in conspicuous parts of Christian, Jewish, or Mohammedan temples.

This custom of using short and expressive sentences in religious worship, can be traced to the highest antiquity, as we find amid the directions given for the fashion of the holy garments to Aaron, in the Exodus, the breastplate, the ephod, the robe, the mitre, and the girdle, an injunction to that effect: 'And thou shalt make a plate of pure gold, and grave upon it, like the engravings of a signet, HOLINESS TO THE LORD!' Chap. xxviii. v. 36. And it is generally agreed among the learned, that painted and sculptured figures preceded all other methods in use for that purpose, since they were the common symbols of words before letters were known. At what period we may venture to date the first origin of painting, says Mr. Beloe, is a subject involved in great difficulty; perhaps we are not extravagant in saying that it was known before the time of the Trojan war. The following note is to be found in Servius, Annot. ad Eneid. 2, v. 392: 'Scutis Græcorum Neptunus Trojanorum fuit Minerva depicta.' With respect to the Egyptians, it is asserted by Tacitus, that they knew the art of designing before they were

acquainted with letters. 'Prima per figuras animalium Egyptii sensus mentis effingebant et antiquissima monumenta memorie humanæ impressa saxis cernuntur.' *Annal. lib. 10. cap. 14.* Again, the first introduction of letters into Greece, has been generally assigned to Cadmus, but this has often been controverted, no arguments having been adduced on either side sufficiently strong to be admitted as decisive. It is probable that they were in use in Greece before Cadmus, which Diodorus Siculus confidently affirms. But Lucan, in a very enlightened period of the Roman empire, without any more intimation of doubt, than is implied in the words 'famæ si creditur,' wrote thus, in his *Pharsalia* :

Phœnices primi, fama si creditur, ausi  
Mansueti audibus vocem signare figuris  
Nondum flumineas Memphis contexere biblos  
Noverat, et saxis tantum, volucresque fereque  
Sculptaque servabant magicas animalia linguis.

Phœnicians first, if ancient fame be true,  
The sacred mystery of letters knew,  
They first by sound, in various lines designed,  
Expressed the meaning of the thinking mind.  
The power of works by figures rude conveyed;  
And useful science everlasting made.  
Then Memphis, ere the reedy leaf was known,  
Engraved her precepts and her arts in stone;  
While animals, in various order placed,  
The learned hieroglyphic column graced.—Book iii.'

To this opinion, concerning the use of hieroglyphics, Bishop Warburton accedes, in his '*Divine Legation of Moses* : ' he thinks that they were the production of an unimproved state of society, as yet unacquainted with alphabetical writing. With respect to the same opinion, expressed by Herodotus, many learned men thought it worthy of credit, from the resemblance betwixt the old Eastern and earliest Greek characters, which is certainly an argument of some weight. The Romans confessed that they had them from the Greeks ; the Greeks from the Phœnicians ; and these, perhaps, under Cadmus, might have had them originally from Egypt, when the sacred character became to be written more currently among them. This current character, indeed, such as it is found upon the fillets of mummies, sepulchral tablets, &c., can be traced, in different stages, up to a close affinity with the hieroglyphic symbols themselves ; which, like the ancient Hebrew character, abandoned for the Chaldaic, seems almost irrecoverably lost, and renders it, at this distant period of time, extremely difficult to say, whether they were purely symbolic, or, like the Chinese, verbal at the same time.

If the design of this noble portico be imposing, and its dimensions colossal, the execution of its minute ornaments are not less perfect ; and interest one by the suggestions and enquiries to which they lead,



as highly as the grandeur of its architectural beauties. By a measurement on the spot, we made the diameter of its columns nine feet, the whole length of the portico a hundred and twenty, and its present height sixty. But instead of viewing, as I had expected, a gigantic pile, the highest merit of which was the immensity of its scale of proportion, I was still more delighted by the admirable finish of its execution, and interested by the variety and antiquity of its details.

I had been so fully and agreeably occupied, in fact, with the new and innumerable beauties which every where presented themselves, that it had grown dark without my having been conscious of the passage of time; and when we remounted, the pale moon had succeeded to the empire of her illuminating lord. In traversing the hills, which are formed by accumulated heaps of ruins, to the south of the temple, immense blocks of stone, some small portions of granite pillars, and other inconsiderable vestiges of the ancient city are met with; but though, for two or three miles in circumference, the earth is darkened by the scattered fragments of bricks and pottery, yet nothing remains standing to furnish the least traces of an edifice, except the superb and isolated portico; and this rears its lofty front with so much majesty, amid the silent melancholy of the desolation over which it reigns, that it cannot but be approached with reverence, and quitted with regret. For myself, indeed, I turned to look back upon it, as if I had been quitting the mansion of my fathers; and when, as we descended into the valley, it gradually sank behind the hill which first obscured it, there was something of pain and sadness inspired by the idea of its being hidden from me for ever.

By the favour of a brilliant moon and good roads, we reached Melouai, a distance of five miles only, about nine o'clock. The approach to this place is extremely prepossessing, from the air of lightness and gaiety given to it by its surrounding gardens and whitened mosques, heightened, perhaps, at the same time, by the delightful serenity of the evening. On entering this town, my servant desired to know whether I would visit the 'Turkish governor, or allow him to conduct me to the dwelling of two of his countrymen, resident here, who do not meddle with 'the drugs of death,' it is true, but, like the Grecian Esculapius of Minict, they were distillers of 'the water of life.' I retained the impression of our last night's entertainment, with the Aga of Benchair, so strongly, that this latter proposition was most agreeable to me; and we accordingly hastened there for shelter. My preference, however, was far from being a happy one, for, although I enjoyed my supper with an excellent appetite; drank so copiously of their aqua vitæ as to inconvenience myself, yet not sufficiently so to convince them of my being a friend to their establishment; and retired to my mat before midnight: the boisterous congratulations of this patriotic coalition, now increased by all the Greeks of the village, continued until day-break, and allowed me not a moment's repose.

Melouai, November 7.

In our morning ramble through the principal quarters of Melouai, visiting the bazars, coffee-houses, &c., we found it, in every respect, superior to the town of Miniet, though marked only as a village on the map. The houses were better built, and much more numerous; the population of a healthier aspect; and something like an air of propriety, at least comparatively speaking, reigned throughout its streets. Some very agreeable gardens, too, enlivened the environs of the town, and the mosques were in a better style of architecture than we had yet seen.

It is said to owe these distinctions to the circumstance of its having been the former residence of the Mamlouks, during their dominion in Upper Egypt. As it was then, also, the head-quarters of female licentiousness, so it continues to enjoy that distinction to the present day.

Among the entertainments of the morning, which commenced at sun-rise, a party of *almehs*, or public singers, were sent for to excite our imaginations by their lively dances, and sooth them by their sadder strains. Their attitudes and movements were such as would not be tolerated in many parts of Europe; and were not much to my taste; but I confess their songs interested me deeply. The music, to the measure of which they sang, was harsh, abrupt, and often discordant; but there was a wildness of transition in its melody, which partook so much of sentiment, that it was impossible, even under all the disadvantages of its execution, to listen to it unmoved. This was more particularly the case in the song in praise of the lovely daughters of Melonai, where all the beauties of Eastern imagery seemed to have been called in, to express the varied emotions of love—from the first glow of passion to the thrilling ecstasy of consummation, as well as that of ‘*Ya Leila! Leila!*’ O Night! O Night! which was sung by one of them in tones so touching, that even the coarse and brutal spirits of those who formed our audience were sensibly affected, and many of the younger females who had gathered round us in the court, absolutely melted into tears. Both of these songs are popular, and the latter seems to be universal throughout Egypt, as we had often heard it sung by men and children on the Nile; and since it is not the music of it which produces its saddening effect, the language and sentiment must be astonishingly powerful, and yet simple and natural at the same time, to unloose the springs of sensibility in minds not likely to bid them flow from affectation. As far as the disadvantageous medium of imperfect interpretation could qualify me to judge, the sorrows and heart-rending misery of unpropitious love predominated in the strain, though rays of hope occasionally brightened up the eyes of those who listened, as well as of her who sung; and, indeed, the magic of its effect was its best and amplest comment.

I cannot but confess that, though the stanzas were detailed to me in imperfect fragments, and the music of it indicative of any thing but love, I was not free from the contagion of the general melancholy, that was strongly marked in every face. There was an inexplicable something that bore down all considerations, and excited both my wonder and admiration.

Mixed with sadness, as were the sensations which this scene inspired, it gave me the clearest possible idea of that feeling which is called *national*; and which is often roused to such enthusiasm by the 'Rule Britannia' of our own floating Isle, the 'Marseilles Hymn' of France, the 'Song of Liberty' of the Swiss, the 'Hail Colombia' of the Americans, and even the 'War Song' of the Savage Indians. We see too, that in every age and nation, among every tongue and people, this has been the same. The Songs of Israel were renowned even among her enemies, from the 'Ode of Triumph' for delivery, which Miriam echoed to the Jewish leader, chanting to the sound of timbrels and the dance,—'Sing ye to the Lord for he hath triumphed gloriously, the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea,'—down to the days of their captivity, when their conquerors, as if in mockery, demanded from their virgins one of the Songs of Zion, the very remembrance of which so touched their hearts with sadness, that they hung their harps upon the willows, and by the waters of Babylon they sat down and wept. Among the Egyptians too, the gravest and most austere of nations, the magic of this charm was not unknown. Herodotus, the faithful pourtrayer of their manners, has not omitted to observe this trait: when speaking of them, he says, 'They contentedly adhere to the customs of their ancestors, and are adverse to foreign manners.' Among other things which claim our approbation, they have a song which is also used in Phœnicia, Cyprus, and other places. Of all the things which astonished me in Egypt, nothing more perplexed me than my curiosity to know whence the Egyptians learnt this song, so entirely resembling the Linus of the Greeks. It is of the remotest antiquity among them, and they call it *Maneros*. They have a tradition that Maneros was the only son of their first monarch, and that having prematurely died, they instituted these melancholy strains in his honour, constituting their first and, in early times, their only song.' This Linus, we learn from Diodorus Siculus, was named after the first inventor of melody among the Greeks, and we are told by Athanasius, that the strain so called was peculiarly melancholy. Linus is said also to have been the first lyric poet in Greece, and was renowned as the master of Orpheus, Thamyris, and Hercules. Plutarch, indeed, mentions, from the authority of Heraclides of Pontus, certain dirges which were composed by him; and it is known that his death gave rise to a number of songs in honour of his memory, to which the venerable Homer himself, one of the earliest of the poets, pointedly alludes in these characteristically expressive lines:

‘To these a youth awakes the warbling strings,  
Whose tender lay the fate of *Lamus* sings;  
In measured dance behind him move the train,  
Tune soft the voice and answer to the strain.’

Song in Greece, indeed, says Mr. Beloe, is supposed to have preceded even the use of letters; and it is beyond a doubt, that not only the Egyptians, Hebrews, and Greeks, but also the Arabians, Assyrians, Persians, and Indians of the East, had national songs among them. The scene before us, therefore, derived, from its illustrations of antiquity, an additional charm.

With the hope of breakfasting on board our boat, we left the town at nine o'clock, having as yet taken nothing but *aqua vitæ*, pipes, and coffee, which was profusely served to all our party, and walked to the village of *Evaramoun*, which being seated on the edge of the Nile, forms the scale or port of *Melouai*. Neither had our boat yet arrived, however, nor were provisions of any kind to be procured in the village, although the Sheikh entertained us with a pipe, as an allayer, or rather temporiser, of the appetite for the moment; when some small barks passing upward from below, having answered us on hailing, that our *Cayasse* was under way for this place, we walked along the western bank of the river through *Zaish*, *Benediah*, &c., under the hope of meeting her in her progress.

Our fasting journey of seven miles on foot through dusty roads, beneath a noon-day sun, and without a breath of air to temper the excessive heat, was but poorly repaid, however, by the disappointment of finding that our boat had not even yet reached *Rouda*. We remained here some few moments in suspense, allaying the pain of hunger and thirst from the muddy water of the Nile, since here also we could procure no food, not even dates or bread; nor could we find asses on which either to return to *Melouai*, or proceed farther down the bank of the river in prosecution of our search. In this dilemma, a young Arab girl, of whom we enquired as she passed us journeying from below, informed us of a boat being moored at *Gerandoul*, when making an effort, at least, to hope that it was our own, we pushed on to terminate this fatiguing excursion.

Faint as our hopes were when we last set out, they were happily confirmed, and the pleasures of recovering food and rest was of itself so tranquillizing to the temper, that I forgot all the angry expressions which I had prepared for the *Reis*, who from stupidity or design, I know not which, had anchored here on the evening of yesterday, and here intended to remain. We had no sooner stepped on board, however, before the sail was again unfurled, and a gentle air now sweeping the water, we once more glided along without fatigue.

On passing Sheikh *Abada*, the southern group of the ruins of

Antinoë are seen from the river ; but though its present mouldering state, and the effect of the foliage by which some of its parts are hidden, give to it an air of the picturesque, yet when contrasted with the colossal majesty of Hermopolis, it sinks into insignificance. At Everamoun we were again detained while my servant rode to Melouai for some articles which we had left there in the morning, and profiting at his return by the continuance of the breeze, we pursued our course up the Nile, the banks of which were on both sides beautifully fertile, when the midnight calm obliged us to moor abreast of Shekh Said.

Passing Manfalout, November 8.

Making sail at day-break, we coasted along under the high and rocky mountains of the eastern shore of the Nile, which continues to grow still bolder as we advance to the southward, pointing its rugged promontories into the stream itself, and having its perpendicular cliffs washed by the eastern waves which play at their feet. The composition of these mountains appears to be a mixture of sand, shells, and earth, deposited in layers of strata forming the arc of a circle, like the surface of banks and shoals in the sea, their curves becoming more and more sudden as they approach the top, till they at last partake of the form of the summit itself. The shells are infinitely varied both in form and size, and created in me all that degree of surprise, so simply, yet so well elucidated by Brydone, on Etna, in the lines of Pope, on an occasion, too, not dissimilar to the present.

‘ The things, we know, are neither rich nor rare,  
But wonder how the devil they got there ’

They offer, indeed, many interesting suggestions relative to the antiquity of our globe, and corroborate the universal tradition, that it has suffered, at different periods of time, powerful revolutions ; as here the very bowels of the mountains are filled with marine productions, and present an appearance of the sea itself having being turned into dry land. The extreme friability of this composition, though inconvenient to the inhabitants of the country, by the fine and imperceptible dust with which it fills the air, during the prevalence of high winds, is, nevertheless, highly beneficial to cultivation, since there are no spots throughout all Egypt more abundantly fertile than those small patches, which skirt their bases ; receiving, with the mud of the Nile, a portion of the saline dust of these masses, which, like the sea-sand so often used on the coasts of England, appears to possess the virtue of enriching the manure ; while the occasional intervention of these luxuriant vallies, gives a beautiful relief to the sterile aspect which the lofty and overhanging hills produce.

In the cliffs at Ebraas are some larger excavations in the rock, which, from being without hieroglyphics, as well as from their

form and situation, do not appear to have been tombs, and give great support to the argument of M. de Pauw, who says :—‘ Egypt had likewise caverns, which were never used as sepulchres ; such was that of Diana, or the Speos Artemidas, still seen at Benihasseen, and the figures sculptured there have certainly not been sculptured by the Greeks. Many others of the same kind were cut in the rocks of Ethiopia (Alvarez Rerum Ethiopicar) ; where, we learn from Bermudez, the priests initiated, or offered sacrifices, and even retired to study. Thus Synesius—‘ *Prophetæ Egyptiorum non permittunt ut metalli artifices, sculptoresque Deos representent, ne a recepta abeant forma : sed illudunt vulgo, dum in templorum atriis accipitrum ibidumque rostra sculpi curant, subeuntes interea sacra subterranea quæ profundis illorum mysteriis velamento sunt.*’ We have been told of a certain Pamerates, who did not leave those dreary abodes during a period of twenty-four years ; and it is generally supposed that Orpheus, Eumolpus, and Pythagoras, were admitted there also.—Sect. vi, p. 40. Beneath these caverns, near the water, is a fragment of rock, which appears to have been partly fashioned into the figure of a sphynx, and subsequently abandoned ; or, if finished, to have been so injured and disfigured, as to have its features now no longer traceable : while the projecting capes, formed by the eastern cliffs, at every sudden curve of the river, gives an interesting variety, even amidst their barrenness ; and the few detached plots of cultivation, interspersed along their bases, add to its effect.

The approach to Manfalout, which we were abreast of about four o’clock, is uncommonly beautiful, and highly superior either to that of Miniet, or of Melouai. The soil on which this town is situated, is about the height of the Kentish coast, near Margate, in England, to which place, from some of the leading features of its situation, it struck me as bearing a faint resemblance ; but the fine green carpets of verdure, which surrounded it, and the groves of palms, and detached clusters of other trees, which occasionally intercept the view of the whitened mosques and terraced roofs of the buildings, give it a higher richness of scenery, as a picture. It is nearly opposite to the town of Manfalout that the eastern ranges of hills, which are called ‘ Gebelen Mokattum,’ or the hewn mountains, terminate, and cultivation again begins to take a wider spread : the quarries which are supposed to have furnished the materials for the pyramidal dwellings of the dead, being happily exchanged for groves and plains, that teem with blessings for the living.

At sun-set we met a fleet of boats from Kench, with corn, jars, and Nubian slaves on board, for the market of Cairo. These vessels were all laden above the gunnel, on which a weather-board had been raised fore and aft, and plastered with the mud of the Nile. They were, indeed, so heavily burdened, badly equipped,

and unskilfully managed, that they could only float down with the current when the wind was light, and anchor when it freshened, though they kept their sail furled, and large lateen yard aloft, whenever the wind was not right aft. The moon continuing to light us on our way, we still pursued our course with a steady and moderate breeze, finishing an excellent day's run, by mooring at the village of El Hamram, the scala of Siout.

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THE CRESCENT.

BY THE REV. SAM'L. JAMES ALLEN.

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[The subject of the following poem, is the historical fact, that, by the sudden radiance of the moon, in a night of more than ordinary obscurity, the attempt of Philip of Macedon, to carry Byzantium by assault, being defeated, the Crescent, in commemoration of this deliverance, was assumed as the standard of the city. This device having been retained as the standard of Constantinople, during the period when it became the head of the Eastern empire, it has descended to the Mohammedan sultans, as their emblem for the sovereignty of the Eastern world.]

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At length the slow receding Sun,  
 A truce to mortal combat told,  
 Still were the bands of Macedon,  
 And still Byzantium's guarded hold,  
 Still was the earth, and still the sky,  
 And still the waters ran beneath;  
 But stiller those who darted by  
 The gloomy wall or turret high,  
 To do the deed of death.  
 Gently they paced in ceaseless fear,  
 Lest those who watched above should hear,  
 They trembled in the deepest shade,  
 And fancy deem'd their march betray'd—  
 They trembled lest the moon's pale light,  
 Should give their wiles to mortal sight,  
 Before the pre-appointed hour,  
 When Philip's art and Philip's power,  
 Should crush the frightened foe, and gain Byzantium's tow'r.  
 Well might they dread, for while their train,  
 Some rested on the tented plain,  
 And some assailed the sable fort,  
 Low delving at its secret port,

Sadly they viewed the increasing moon,  
 Now through the heavens but faintly gleaming,  
 Now brighter shining forth, and soon  
 Far o'er the waters gaily beaming :  
 And soon did she the gloom dispel  
 That late the sable turret bounded,  
 Though like beleaguered citadel,  
 She shone herself with clouds surrounded.—  
 The watchful guardian of the wall,  
 Beheld, rejoiced, and fear'd withal.—  
 Well might he fear, that night of gloom,  
 Almost had sealed his mortal doom,  
 Well might he joy to view below,  
 By the glad beam, the lurking foe,  
 And by Byzantium's bands prepare,  
 Vengeance on those who linger'd there.—  
 One moment saw the warriors out,  
 One moment put the foe to rout,  
 One moment sunk the clamours loud,  
 The Moon resumed her sable shroud,  
 And o'er the city and the plain,  
 Midnight resumed her silent reign

The bold besiegers backward driven,  
 Byzantium hailed the Queen of Heaven.—  
 Though changed in lords and chang'd in name,  
 Her radiant standard was the same ;  
 And now while Othman's hardy race  
 Hold empire o'er the conquer'd place,  
 The silver *Crescent* lingers yet  
 On gilded mosque and minaret,  
 Or marks in Mahmoud's flag unfurl'd  
 The Sovereign of the Eastern world.  
 Fit emblem of the changing fate,  
 Of that once proud now abject state—  
 Fit emblem of the wavering light,  
 In those degraded realms of night,  
 The wavering light by science thrown  
 Where once her fairest glories shone,  
 The vanish'd light of liberty  
 That once illumed the orient sky,  
 But this the last, the deepest loss,  
 The prostrate splendor of the Cross,  
 Since Truth's bright sun in darkness set,  
 And rose the Moon of Mahomet.



## STEAM NAVIGATION EXTENDED AND MADE PROFITABLE.

AMONG the various suggestions arising out of the application of STEAM, as a power for promoting maritime conveyance, we have seen none that appear to us more worthy of repetition and commendation than those which have been put forth by Captain M'Konochie, of the Navy, in a small pamphlet published by Mr. Richardson, under the title given above. We have read it with the attention it so truly deserves, and can safely say, that there is no portion of it that does not deserve the earnest consideration both of the rulers and merchants of this country, as well as of India. The peculiar application of the latter part of his suggestions to the British dominions in the East, warrant us, indeed, in transcribing very largely from every portion of the work; which we do the more readily, from a belief that our pages will convey the information it contains, over a more extensive space than they would be likely to travel in their original form. The following are the more important portions to which we desire to draw the attention of our Indian and English readers.

The great misfortune under which the country now labours, is over-production—and *steam* has been the chief agent in causing it. Were this commanding power, however, as extensively employed in facilitating the *distribution*, and by consequence the *exchange* and *consumption*, of our manufactures, as in thus creating them, much relief would progressively, but certainly be obtained. And this view of the subject opens up a wide field of interesting, and, if properly managed, of profitable speculation, the *consistent* following up of which, on the part of capitalists, would be at least one step—and, it is believed, a very important step—towards a change in the present aspect of commercial affairs.

A first object with us now appears to be, to facilitate *communication*, as much as possible, everywhere:—but especially to employ *British skill* and *capital* (none can have a nearer interest in the success of the measure) in improving the coasting and other domestic communications of those markets, of which, although the principal points may be glutted with our commodities, it is reasonable to conclude, that the more retired districts would yet furnish a large demand. And Steam Navigation is especially suited to effect such a purpose.

The present mode of applying Steam to Navigation is however too *expensive*:—and besides, wherever it is introduced, it *competes with existing shipping interests*,—a great objection to it in every case, but especially disadvantageous where any feelings of national jealousy are superadded to the other difficulties attending innovation. The plan proposed in this pamphlet differs from it in both particulars. It is eminently economical: and with a little variation,

according to circumstances, can be applied to every ship or boat, serving, not injuring their owners.

The great objections to the present mode of applying Steam to Navigation are its inordinate expense, and the little stowage left for goods, even in the largest Steam-boats. And the consequences of the two circumstances are, that these vessels are only used as packets—and, if not improved on, will probably be, at no distant period, laid aside, for they nowhere yield a profitable return. The following considerations then are deemed important, as bearing directly on these points.

1. A mere abatement in the speed at which Steam-boats are usually impelled, would be productive of great economy. The resistance to a vessel's passing through the water, and the expense at which that resistance is overcome, increase nearly as the cube of the speed gained: and thus, after a good medium pace is obtained, an addition to it can only be purchased at a most extravagant cost. The following table illustrates this very strikingly. It gives the powers by which a vessel can be impelled at the several velocities.

3 Miles per hour,	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ Horses.
4	13
5	25
6	43
7	69
8	102
9	146
10	200

2. As steam-boats, however, are at present fitted, they can take little or no advantage of the above principle. Their power is *invariable*, or nearly so—one large engine, or two made to work together, and thus, to every practical purpose, one. At a given pace, however, the resistance will vary from hour to hour with the weather, and the power should vary too. Steam-boats sought to be worked *economically* should be fitted with three or four *small* powers, arranged so that one or more may be applied, precisely as required; and thus favourable circumstances would give a saving, as adverse ones must always cause expense.

Lastly. Steam-boats in which *economy* is studied, should *tow*, not *carry*. The machinery of a Steam-engine takes up so much room, that the remaining capacity, however filled, can never defray the expense, or yield any return; and, besides this, there appears to be something in the principle of traction favourable, wherever it is applied, to the transport of heavy burthens. A horse will *draw* more than he will *carry*. A loco-motive engine of only eight-horse power, drags ninety tons *after* it, and cannot stir with even a half of that *above* it. It has been ascertained in river-navigation, that *one-third* of the power will track a vessel, at a given rate, against

the stream, that is necessary to impel her at the same rate, if embarked on board. And every seaman who has sent his boat a-head to tow, in a calm, must have been sensible that the same power employed on board, would not have produced the same effect. There are two ways, however, in which this principle may be applied.

Where voyages are long, and the sea-room is abundant, it does not appear advantageous to employ steam at all, as the *only*, or even as the *principal* moving power. Vessels on such services are generally large; and large Steam-vessels labour under this disadvantage,—whatever their power, the *fulcrum* against which it acts is merely the water opposed to their paddles, and these cannot be enlarged in anything like the proportion in which the weight and resistance of a large vessel rise above those of a small. But moreover, wind costs nothing; and, on a long stretch, the balance of chances is so much in favour of a *sailing-vessel's* progress, from the speed with which a fair wind impels her, and the greater number of points of the compass which give a fair than a foul wind, that not much is to be gained by the punctuality of steam. (The *Enterprise*, for example, was three days longer on her passage to India, than a trader, the *Betsy*, from Bordeaux, which sailed about the same time.) Still, if some aid could be thus procured, to meet occasions of long-protracted calm, or to assist a ship's boats when employed under favourable circumstances, it would seem of great importance; and this would be effectually obtained by each ship's embarking a small power, say of two, four, six, or eight horses, according to her size, together with a boat fitted to receive it, employing them in *towing* as required. And such an addition to a ship's stores would, in fact, be repaid in a single voyage to one bound within the tropics, where calms are frequent, and boat-service severe. And would be equal to an *insurance* where the navigation is intricate, and the importance of an occasional tug in light weather, or of being able to lay out an anchor at short notice, is consequently great;—this last being an operation, by the way, on which, more than any other, the fate of a ship and cargo will frequently depend, and which is yet scarcely practicable at all, at present, for merchant vessels, unless in very favourable circumstances, from their scant of hands.

In river or coasting Navigation, however, or where the voyages are otherwise short, and the navigation is confined, a more complete form of the system would seem infinitely better. Strong and powerful, but not large Steam-boats should be employed in *towing*, from port to port, small vessels without regular masts, but possessed of the means of stepping juremasts when it may appear desirable to make a little sail. These vessels having their holds clear fore and aft, would carry very large cargoes for their size. They would be equally punctual and secure, deeply laden, and flying light. They

could have most comfortable cabins on deck, and thus carry passengers, as well as goods; yet not being entirely dependent on passengers, they would not be obliged to lay by every winter, as most Steam-packets now do. The Steam-power would thus work the whole year for its owner, instead of the half only. besides which, it would not be detained at the end of every short voyage, unloading and loading again; but, with a fresh supply of fuel, would be immediately ready to proceed with another vessel. And there can be no doubt, that if worked, besides this, as above suggested with regard to speed and command of power, a Coasting Trade could be thus maintained even more cheaply and safely than by Sails, and much more conveniently.\*

This then is the system of Steam-Navigation proposed; and so obvious, and, it may be said, unquestionable are the general principles on which it is founded, that, perhaps, it might be safely left to rest on their merits alone. If the benefits arising from the use of Steam in Navigation, are to be extended, or even maintained, it must, in some way, be made to *pay*, which it nowhere does now: and *economy* in its application must therefore be a first object of study—not be systematically disregarded. A great effect must accordingly be sought from *small* powers, not a small effect from *great* powers. A reduction of speed to a *medium*, and the use of a variable power to meet a varying resistance, are obvious methods to attain this end. And substitution of *towing* for *carrying*, seems to be at sea precisely what the transition from the pack-saddle to the wheel-carriage was ashore, without roads to cut, or hills to climb, and with some other advantages, peculiar to itself—in particular with an actual hold of the water, by means of the Steam paddles, to be used as a *fulcrum* against which to act; whereas loco-motive engines, and it may be said horses also, have for this purpose only the friction arising from their own weight. The best and most popular argument, however, in favour of any system, is the practical one showing the value and extent of its applications; and a very few of these will therefore now be noticed.

After detailing the advantages of employing Steam-launches in ships of the navy, which would be eminently useful, the author proceeds:—

Steam-launches would next especially benefit traders to the East Indies. These vessels have to cross the Equator twice in the course of their voyage, and are each time perplexed with calms and baffling airs, through which if they could be thus certainly impelled at the rate of fifty or sixty miles a day, they would probably shorten the average duration of their passage, by not less than three weeks. Besides, a large sum of money has been subscribed in India, to be

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\* See on this head, however, a Paper “On the most effective Employment of Steam-power in Navigation,”—*Edinb. New Phil. Journ.* April, 1829.

paid to any person who shall accomplish the voyage, more or less by Steam, within a given time; and this also might be thus gained. And, at all events, India would be much more essentially benefited by the introduction of a system which would shorten *every* passage out and home, than by any single exertion of this sort, though possibly more splendid. And the recommendation of a ship to passengers would be very great, were she furnished with this assistant to her other powers of motion.

The Straits of Malacca and China Seas are, on the other hand, peculiarly fitted to be improved in their navigation, and to have the resources of their respective shores developed, by the introduction of the more complete form of this system. The communication between Penang and Singapore, and all the neighbouring coasts, is embarrassed by the monsoons, (frequently near the land dying into calms), and it is, at all times, further perplexed by currents, and narrowed by the jealousy of some, and rendered anxious by the treachery of others, of the native tribes. The improvement, then, would be immense, were Steam-Navigation on this plan introduced: and the extreme facility of being thus towed about, would, in all probability besides, extraordinarily stimulate native enterprise, and open new markets to commerce sooner than any plan which could be devised.

And the same may be said of the west coast of South America. There the wind and current both set constantly to the N. W., and a very frequent fog hangs over the shores of Peru. The consequence is, that although the passage from Chili to Peru is short when the destined port is hit, this is often a very difficult operation; and, when not accomplished, a long delay is unavoidable. The return to the southward, on the other hand, is always tedious; and the result of all is, that the mutual intercourse is on the smallest possible scale, every market rises and falls according to its own supply, and foreign commerce to each is a mere lottery. There is nothing, then, so much wanted in that quarter of the world, as a free port, (if possible insular, and British, at Juan Fernandez perhaps, if it could be obtained,) which, by a well-arranged system of country navigation, should have a constant communication with all parts of the main coast, and elicit the resources of the smallest, as well as of the greatest markets. Such an establishment would anticipate a century of the natural or neglected growth of those countries: would be, at the same time, a stock exchange, whence every vibration in their entire demand or supply would be felt in this country like a pulse:—and perhaps the amount of British capital already invested in them, would alone warrant such a further exertion on our part, to hasten its productiveness, and facilitate its communications. But from the local circumstances already adverted to, it may be safely said, that only Steam-navigation, or rather only Steam-towing, could effect the ultimate object. A free port could

do little without *it*, although *it* could do much even without that, for the natural consequence of an easy communication is to produce a level, without assistance. And it may be added, that there is coal in Chili, and wood also very cheap;—and that the speculation would be thus easy and lucrative to whoever embarked in it.

The communication between Fernando Po and the rivers in the Gulph of Benin, from which so much has been augured for the civilization of Africa, must in like manner remain incomplete, without the same powerful agent. And the navigation between this country and the Baltic, is also precisely that for which it is especially suited, the channels being narrow, the course devious, (requiring several winds to sail it,) and occasional delays, vexatious as hazarding detention.

The advantages of Steam-tugs, to the coasting trade of England, is then made apparent; and the whole is followed up by these remarks :

But there is another point of view in which the subject seems yet more important, and the commencement of the system, were it even only at first on the scale of an experiment, yet more worthy of the capital and enterprise of Great Britain. The times have borne, of late years, very hard on our merchants. Consumption has in no degree kept pace with production; and the pressure has now continued so long, that it has produced on the public mind a feeling of apathy on the subject, which is, in truth, the worst symptom of the disease. Time, it is said, will work a cure: but what cure—and how wrought? Will it not be the cure of exhaustion, and founded on the ruin of large masses of the community? for things which merely jar, may indeed thus be reconciled—but where absolute contrarieties meet, one or other must be destroyed! By an analogy, however, very common in the history of human agencies, the cure in this case seems to be derivable, in some degree at least, from a judicious use of the very cause of the disease. Steam has been the great agent in exciting the *production*, it should now be employed in facilitating the *distribution*, of our manufactures. We have hitherto attempted to force a foreign trade, by heaping our commodities together in distant, isolated markets; and we have not adverted to the fact, that these markets have very limited outlets into the interior, and along the coast, of the countries in which they are placed. Our great object should be now, therefore, to improve the *domestic* communication of these distant countries; and for this purpose nothing would seem so well calculated as the system which has been here shortly reviewed. It is eminently a *coasting* system; and it just so happens too, that almost all the points now left in the world, of any promise in the way of markets, are situate within or about the tropics, and are thus peculiarly adapted for its application. One tug would be easily able, in such climates, to tow several other vessels at a time. And if

these were Native boats, and laden on Native account, they would be just so much the better suited to the great end—for they would then embark Native interests in the agency of our trade.

And to conclude :—the career thus traced for Steam, as applied to Navigation, is surely more worthy of the magnitude of the discovery, than any at present open to it. The powers now used are gigantic : and they are literally thrown away, on mere speed, on the conveyance of pleasure parties, on the amusement, perhaps in some degree on the convenience, of life : but they are scarcely at all applied to its real business. It would be difficult to find a stronger presumption than is furnished by these circumstances alone, that they are yet in the infancy of their application, and that the change which is to make them *useful*, is to come.

To this very clear and conclusive exposition, Captain M'Konochie subsequently appended, by way of supplement, a smaller sheet, 'On the Present Commercial Distress, and its Remedy,' in the views of which we entirely concur ; and with it we therefore close our notice of this interesting, and though small, important Work.

One of the most remarkable, and at the same time most alarming 'signs' of the present times, is the little reliance placed by merchants in the efficacy of their own exertions in improving the state of trade. Scarcely a vestige of speculation is left among them ; they look exclusively to Government for relief ; and differing among themselves, even as to the principles on which that relief may be given, they occupy the time, and harass the feelings of Ministers, by complaints and representations which, as now made, can have no possible good effect. For, indisputably over-production is the disease. It is felt in every branch of trade, every manufacturing country—under its pressure, goods are everywhere selling at a loss :—and the longer this continues the worse it must become, because a greater number of manufacturers must, from day to day, be reduced to this necessity. But under such circumstances, what can legislation do, of any considerable avail ? Will a tax taken off here, or a drawback given there, enable a manufacturer who insists on a profit, to compete successfully with one who is fain to put up with a loss ?—Or can mere cheapness force consumption, when all are needy, and the most minute attention is now paid to economy, in families even where but lately the word was unknown ? The thing is impossible ! Judicious regulations are the *food* of trade, but alone they are not its *medicine* :—they must be coupled with some more specific relief, especially in the present crisis, or any cure they can work must be fraught with an amount of individual suffering, of which as yet, perhaps, we see only the commencement.

What is then the specific remedy alluded to ?—In reply it is asked, What is the remedy resorted to in analogous circumstances, and with success ?—When the course of a river is interrupted, or

its natural outlet is inadequate to discharge an unusual flow of water, and it covers the adjoining country, do the sufferers fold their arms, and call upon Hercules, and content themselves with merely propping up, each his own wall, the richer and more influential among them comforting themselves with the consideration that *their* houses are strong, that others may fall, but *theirs* will stand, and, when the tempest is over *their* rents will proportionally rise, as though individuals could flourish when a community is ruined? Assuredly this would not be the conduct of a population suffering under a plague of waters,—and ought it to be that of British capitalists, similarly circumstanced, at this time? In addition to whatever precautionary measures a sense of *individual* danger might suggest in the case supposed, new *sluices* would be sought by which the inundation might be discharged, for the *general* benefit;—precisely what our merchants do not now even attempt; and which yet seems the only avenue left for their salvation.

The next question then is, how are these new *sluices* of consumption, these new markets, new customers to be obtained?—and the answer is obvious, by facilitating *communication* in all directions, by all means, and in all countries. A secluded population contents itself with its own coarse manufactures, which yet would be very glad to have better if they could be brought to it, and if the equivalents could be conveyed away. And a good market is not that alone which has a good port, or a large resident population,—but that which having these, (or wanting them even, for they are not indispensable,) has also an easy communication through the whole adjoining interior, and thus distributes its supplies, and draws in its returns, from an extended circle. The first object with capitalists now, therefore, should be, to give this character to as many points as possible, by improving *inland* communication everywhere,—by every means,—but especially, it is believed, by an extended, economical, and effective employment of Steam Navigation, wherever it can be introduced. Steam has been a chief agent in causing *over production*; to restore the balance, its commanding powers should be now cast into the opposite scale, that of *distribution* and *consumption*,—and the field for such an undertaking is really immense.

Throughout the vast continent of India, not a steam-boat is on any river but the Ganges; and even on it they stop at Calcutta, precisely where, if it were necessary to choose, they had better begin. All the other interior communications are in the same imperfect state; travellers are borne about on men's shoulders, and the very mails are conveyed on foot. The same thing occurs in South America, the sea-coast of which is only approached by British ships at a few principal points,—the communication between which and the intervening coast and interior, is everywhere slow and laborious, although the river and coasting navigation might be



there the most convenient and extended in the world. The intercourse between Singapore and the shores of the China Sea is chiefly maintained by annual arrivals of country boats coming with one monsoon, and returning with the other. West Indian and Coast of Africa navigation are alike embarrassed by calms and prevailing winds. Even on the continent of Europe, the ordinary course of trade between London and Vienna, is two months, although by steam-boats on the Elbe, Rhine, and Danube, (towing the ordinary river craft, and thus serving existing shipping interests, not competing with them,) it might be brought down to as many weeks. And it is not too much to say, perhaps, that in the present circumstances of trade, one effective improvement on any of these points, however small, (but recognising a principle, and beginning to act on it,) would be a greater gain to the country, than a dozen facilities given by mere fiscal regulation :—precisely as in the case already cited as parallel, a single mouse-hole which would really discharge a portion of the waters of an inundation, would be a greater *general* benefit, than a thousand arrangements for their mere distribution, or for the protection of individual interests against their pressure.

The views here brought forward then, and which are strongly recommended to consideration, may be thus summed up :—1. Legislative enactments for the encouragement of trade are not to be altogether neglected, for in their place they may do much but under existing circumstances their value seems to be greatly over-rated. 2. New outlets for our goods are much more wanted,—to be acquired by improvement in the inland and coasting communications of all countries ;—and if even gratuitous subscriptions, or in certain cases government grants, were requisite for the purpose, they would be well bestowed, for if even a tenth part, for example, of the capital which has of late years been swept under ground in South America, had by some happy accident been equally sunk in improving its interior communications, its market would be now a hundred-fold better than it is ; and it is never too late to begin in the right course. 3. No such things are, however, wanted, if capitalists will but once more pluck up a good heart, and look rather to their own exertions, than to legislative enactments, for getting them out of their present difficulties ; for there is scarcely a single speculation of the kind, which would be anywhere entered into, which if properly conducted, and not on too great a scale at first, would not yield a return. 4. In connexion with these views, improvements in the application of Steam to Navigation, and its more extended employment, seem to be of more general interest and importance, than may at first sight appear even possible. It must be made less expensive, more convenient, more certain, more generally applicable in nearly all circumstances. (It is believed that, besides what may be gained by improvements in machinery,

a great step would be made towards the attainment of all these objects, by systematically abating the speed at which Steam-boats are now impelled, and by employing them rather in *towing* than in carrying,—making them thus, as it were, post-horses, capable, when in order, of being constantly employed, without delay arising from loading and unloading, or when accidentally disabled, of having their places supplied by other boats, without detaining a whole cargo while they are under repair,—as boats also, enabling them to ply in shallower water than is possible when both the machinery and cargo are embarked in the same bottom finally, making them *serve* existing shipping and boating interests, instead of, as now, entering into an injurious competition with them wherever introduced.) But by whatever means the above objects are pursued, it is important to observe, that the degree in which they may be attained, the degree in which river and coasting communication can be thus made extremely cheap and easy, without requiring either skill or exertion from those benefited by it, will be the measure at once of the extent and value of the whole system.—

5. And lastly : It might not be unworthy then, even of his Majesty's Ministers, to consider how far it would relieve themselves, as well as serve the state, if they were directly to encourage, and bring forward such schemes. The canker of over-production is eating into the capital of the country, and destroying, from day to day, a large portion of that embarked in manufactures. Merchants are looking on in dismay, almost acquiescing in the certainty of a catastrophe ; some holding the language of complaint, others of resignation, but none endeavouring, by any active speculation, to avert the evil. To trust to time only, for the cure of such a state of things, or to assist it merely by legislation, seems little better than agreeing to an amputation. On the other hand, the whole spirit of the day is against magnificent projects, or schemes of any sort requiring concert and combination. What then seems alone to remain ? Why, just such a still, small plan as this, a whole indeed, but composed of many independent parts, none of them requiring a large risk, yet each of them calculated to be in itself productive, besides the ultimate good it may achieve. In conjunction with whatever other measures were deemed necessary, it would do much were it once distinctly contemplated, and that feeling of contempt overcome which is too often excited when great results are sought to be connected with small means. Government could easily achieve this ;—individual speculation once aroused, would soon fill up the whole opening ; and in the renewed hope and activity which would be thus excited, there would be even present relief.

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ON SIR JOHN MALCOLM'S MINUTE ON NUZERANA, DATED  
JUNE 10, 1828.

1. THIS tax would be so oppressive, that on that account alone it ought not to be imposed ; and so inefficient that it would not be worth collecting. A tax of 100 per cent. on income, at each succession by inheritance, would be raised by mortgage at a ruinous rate of interest ; and could not be equally distributed without being converted into an *annual* tax on income of three per cent. (reckoning 33½ years to a generation), and then the amount would not do more than pay the expense of collection. Equally unproductive would be the proposed Nuzerana on commissions to civil officers.

2. If a Jagurdar has an estate in perpetuity, it would not be just to subject it to any tax that would not equally affect every other species of income. If he has an estate for life, it may be sold at his death. If he is bound to maintain troops, that service may be commuted for an annual rent, or a cession of land.

3. Sir John Malcolm refers to the 'heavy stamp duties on proving wills,' &c. as being 'exactly of the same principle as Nuzerana in India.' It is an essential difference in *principle*, that in England such duties are not levied on *landed*, but only on *personal* property : and with respect to amounts, the probate duty is about one per cent., and the legacy duty two or three per cent., *i. e.* about one fiftieth part of the proposed Nuzerana !

4. 'It is argued,' says Sir John Malcolm, 'that if the Nuzerana presses hard upon the income of the direct heir, (*i. e.* fifty per cent,) any addition (*i. e.* 100 per cent.) will plunge the inheritor into difficulties and distresses, that will unfit him for the duties he owes to the state. But, it may be answered, that such inheritor is not likely to have been educated in the same habits of extravagance as the direct heir ; that when adopted he is likely to be a minor, and that when it is considered that the introduction of the rights of inheritance to this description of property to distant heirs, would be a generous boon on the part of government, it would have a perfect right to impose restraints upon inheritors of this class ; and to take such security for the payment of its dues, as would, at the commencement of possession, be likely to inculcate the necessity of economy, and to avert instead of producing distress.' If a Jagurdar has an estate in perpetuity, it would be a most grievous exaction to take from his heir, if a nephew, or adopted son, one year's income. Such an heir is likely to be educated in the same habits, and to the same expectations, as a son ; but what pretence is there for describing those habits as *extravagant* ? Granting the improbable supposition that, at the death of the last possessor, the estate was free from other incumbrances, the tax would deprive the

new possessor of *half* his income for *several* years; and what sacrifices are implied in such contraction of expenditure, what abridgment of rank and comfort, may be conceived. Would it be reasonable to expect gratitude as for 'a generous boon,' from a man suffering such privations, without any extravagance, or mismanagement on his part, while his neighbours were exposed to no sensible inconvenience from the effects of taxation? Such stupid rapacity could only proceed from the barbarous principles of a Feudal, or Asiatic government. By such means Sir John Malcolm proposes 'to avert instead of producing distress''

5. Sir John Malcolm says, 'We cannot proceed in opposition to the usages of the people; or are almost equally limited by the operation of our own laws and acts. Few sources remain that offer a prospect of that increase of means, which our necessities so imperatively demand.' There are no 'usages' which would prevent the application of British capital, skill, and industry, to the agriculture and manufactures of India, or the effect of British example in exciting a taste for the conveniences and luxuries of civilized life;—the only possible means whereby taxable wealth can be created. How foolish is it to complain of a want of resources, if we will not resort to the obvious and only practicable means of relieving our urgent 'necessities,' and are content to be 'limited by the operation of our own laws and acts.'

6. If Sir John Malcolm were sincere in his desire, to secure the existence of a body of landed gentry in India, he would be an advocate for, instead of an enemy to, permanent settlements. He either overlooks, or is ignorant of the effect of that great measure, when he said that, if we do not prevent the further absorption of the territories of the remaining princes and chiefs, India will be reduced to a condition where 'none, of a Native population of one hundred millions of men, can rise beyond being soldiers of subordinate classes, merchants, cultivators, public servants, menials, and labourers.' His own maxims of government ensure that consummation, as well the permanent limitation of the sources of taxation and of all the elements of a well constituted society.

Sir John Malcolm has seen much of India, and written much about the affairs of the country. To the frequent repetition of his name, as connected with Indian affairs, can be alone ascribed the over-rated reputation he enjoys. With all his information, which is abundant, there is no man, perhaps, that has ever written so many pages to so little good purpose as Sir John Malcolm. He appears to have no fixed principles of any kind; but, like a ship without a compass, he is driven in any direction in which the winds or currents of the moment happen to be setting; and this direction is as frequently the wrong as the right one.

## THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S MONOPOLY.

[It is gratifying to witness the degree of interest that has been excited in all the large sea-ports and mercantile towns of England, on the subject of the East India Monopoly; and we are persuaded we cannot do better than bring before our Indian readers especially, (who, but through this channel, would have no opportunity of seeing them,) some of the able articles which have been communicated to the provincial papers on this topic. The following is one of this description, from a late number of 'The Glasgow Chronicle.' Another, from a Correspondent of 'The Scotsman,' will be found in a subsequent page.]

THE period is now approaching, when the East India Company's Charter expires—no more, it is hoped, to be renewed. The prospect of this event, so important and interesting to every department of this great commercial country, has produced a mighty and simultaneous movement in some of our leading cities, where the wrongs inflicted by the continuance of the unjust and invidious Monopoly of the Company have been most sensibly and directly felt; and the advantages to be derived from its contemplated abolition most duly appreciated. In these discussions the town of Liverpool has spiritedly taken the lead.

But the question of the East India Company's Monopoly is one not of merely local or limited interest, or which affects the welfare of one or of a few particular districts;—it is a question of great and national importance; and one in whose solution and adjustment are deeply and essentially involved the honour and prosperity of the whole British Empire. Viewing the question in this light, it is hoped the merchants and citizens of Glasgow, whose interests are inseparable, will not be backward in giving public expression to those patriotic and enlightened sentiments which characterised the proceedings of the late Meeting in Liverpool. The success of the wished-for measure, like that of every other measure affecting the public welfare, will much depend on the earnestness and universality of the public expression.

It is admitted, on all hands, both by the advocates and opposers of the present restrictive system, that, to its connection with India, and its ascendancy over that vast and invaluable territory, this country is indebted for much of that commercial and political greatness, which gives her so conspicuous an elevation amongst the nations of Europe. India has for ages been the fertile, exhaustless source of wealth and luxury, not only to the countries of Europe, but to the nations of a remote antiquity long before their existence. It has successively been conquered and held in aggrandising vassalage, by all those powerful dynasties that have existed and flourished since the deluge. Placed by the hand of Providence in a clime the most bland and propitious, rich in industry and in every luxurious production, yet feeble and defenceless, India seems to have been destined by the same all-wise hand to be the garden of the world,

the hot-bed of luxury, from whence distant and less tropical continents should be supplied with those elegancies and refinements, which nature had denied them. Towards this rich and envied region, the eye of the warrior and of the merchant have instinctively turned, the one lured by the love of gain, the other impelled by ambition; nor were their views disappointed.

The Assyrians, Egyptians, Phœnicians, Jews, Grecians, Romans, and many other ancient nations which, in addition to their warlike achievements, are known to have cultivated the arts of peace, and cherished the speculations of commerce, seem all to have been acquainted with India, and to have derived much of their wealth, and many of their refinements, from a more or less extensive trade with that country; and the records of authentic history, bear us out in averring that it is to the powerful excitement which the wealth and other advantages which ancient India presented, that we are to trace the rapid progress which some of these made in the arts of navigation and of commerce.

The importance of India, in a commercial point of view, may be accurately ascertained by a reference to the advantages which the various nations, at different periods of the world, have derived from intercourse with it. It was to its incipient adventures in Indian commerce, that Egypt rose to wealth, and it was by the diffusion of the wealth thus acquired, that the arts and sciences sprung up and flourished in that country. Tyre, the prototype of commercial emporiums, in all after ages, owed its existence and elevation to the enterprise of the Phœnician navigators, who pursued their lucrative traffic into the centre of India; and the sacred historian has chronicled the wealth and prosperity of the Jewish nation, during the enterprising reigns of some of their kings, who cultivated the trade with India, in colouring too high to admit of any embellishment. At a later period, India was destined to fall under the conquering arm of him who wept, because there was no other world left him that he might conquer, and continued for ages afterwards to minister to the wealth and aggrandisement of the Grecian, Persian, and Roman Empires. Rome drew from India many of those resources which enabled her armies to extend her conquests, and her senators to consolidate her scattered territories when acquired. After these the Venetians, the Genoese, the Florentines, the Soldans of Egypt, and the Turks of Constantinople, not only held intercourse with the remotest parts of India, but seem to have reduced trade with that distant country to a regular and organised system.

What is chiefly remarkable in the commercial policy of the nations which traded with India, that which at least is most relevant with our present object, is the view which these nations severally took of the freedom or restrictions which ought to govern their mercantile enterprises. Whilst the Jews, Phœnicians, and many

other nations, aimed at that fair and magnanimous ascendancy, to which alone their superior naval skill and adventurous spirit entitled them, and imposed no restrictions whatever that could operate as a barrier to unbounded enterprise against any order of men amongst themselves—it is truly pitiable to observe, in the histories of some other of these ancient nations, the dawn of that narrow, selfish, monopolising spirit, and of those exclusive privileges which operate so injuriously in the present day, against the interests of commerce, and against the common weal of this country. A few examples may seem to throw light on the present subject of discussion.

The Genoese carried their rapacity and insolence in this respect, so far as to dream that they had acquired the dominion of the sea, and an exclusive right to the trade of the Euxine; prohibiting the Greeks to sail beyond the banks of the Danube, and in the height of their arrogance actually formed a scheme of imposing a toll upon every vessel passing through the Bosphorus.

Monopoly of every kind is not only unjust to all who are shut out from its pale, but has very frequently proved injurious, if not destructive, to the interests even of the privileged party. Perhaps the republic of Venice, abetted by the Soldans of Egypt, whilst the latter was held under the influence of Mohammedan policy, presents one of the most perfect specimens of pure and unalloyed monopoly, that ever impeded the progress of European improvement. And what was the consequence of this selfish, niggardly, monopolising policy? The Countries of Europe, rising to an eminence which no foreign influence could prevent, debarred from participating in the benefits, and from tasting of the luxuries and elegancies of the East, by the usurious and prohibitory embargoes that were placed on Indian commodities, were driven to seek from some unexplored source, or by some new channel, those supplies which were thus most unjustly and most impolitically denied them. Columbus must needs sail westward, and Gama southward,—the one to discover a new world, the other a safe and expeditious passage to India.

In what a ludicrous position were the monopolising Venetians, and their Mohammedan abettors now placed, by the latter of these discoverers! That flourishing republic, which for ages had held fast the keys of access to India, and which, in the genuine spirit of monopoly, had contrived to debar all others from any participation in its benefits, was almost instantaneously merged in obscurity, and soon after dwindled into its native insignificance. Before taking leave of the Venetians, we cannot help pencilling one trait in their deportment on this trying occasion, which finely illustrates the spirit by which ancient monopolists, and perhaps those of a more recent date, are actuated. In conjunction with the Soldan of the Mamelukes, they forewarned the king of Portugal, and his Holiness

the Pope, (whose sanction was necessary in those enlightened times, to the undertaking of all enterprizes of conquest or discovery), that 'if the Portuguese did not relinquish that new course of navigation, by which they had penetrated into the Indian ocean, and cease from encroaching on that commerce which, from time immemorial, they had carried on with India, they would immediately put to death all the Christians in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, burn their Churches, and demolish the Holy Sepulchre itself.'

This threat, it is easy to imagine, produced no other impression on the minds of those against whom it was emitted, than a feeling of the most profound and indignant contempt, and served but to nerve the resolution and to stimulate the efforts of the spirited adventurers to make fresh discovery, and to secure more extensive dominion. Animated by the gainful prospect which their new and unfrequented path to India had so fortunately opened up to them, the Portuguese entered on the career of enterprise, with an ardour and success, that finds no parallel in the annals of commerce. Their powerful fleets ruled the Indian Ocean without a rival, and fortresses and settlements were planted from the one extremity of India to the other, with a view to exclude interlopers, and with a vain hope thus to secure an universal and perpetual monopoly. For a great portion of a century, the Portuguese succeeded to the utmost extent of their sanguine, and yet absurd, expectations. Here too, the oft repeated, and as oft unsuccessful, experiment of a national monopoly failed. The very success of the Portuguese, as was the case with their predecessors, proved their ruin. For, elevated with wealth so suddenly and so easily acquired, flushed with success, secure in the temporary ascendancy she had attained, without an enemy, and almost without a rival, the overbearing aspect of that little kingdom, which now began to dictate terms to her superiors, and bask in the sunshine of purse-proud supremacy and self-security, provoked the jealousy and brought into overwhelming competition, other more powerful European nations.

The Dutch and English were the first who dared to encounter the Portuguese on their favourite element, and successfully to dispute with them the usurped dominion of the Eastern Seas.

The East India Company date their first Charter nearly as far back as the earliest settlement of the British in India. The incorporation of such a Trading Company, was an act of Government quite in accordance with the spirit of the times, and in admirable consistency with the views of policy and the principles of commerce which then obtained so generally amongst that class of statesmen and financiers who then helmed and trimmed the course of private, as well as public affairs, in that way which seemed to them best adapted to suit present exigencies, and to fill up the *beau ideal* of their golden dreams and splendid imaginations. It has ever been a foible of statesmen—even of such as deserve the credit of upright motive and good intention, to regard their interference and



control in superintending the ordinary affairs of business, in opening and shutting at pleasure the sluices of commerce, in giving and withholding certain rights and privileges, and by a thousand unnecessary and injurious, I had almost said impertinent, surveillances and interruptions, encumbering with sophisms and difficulties, the plainest rules of equity, and loading the majority of the community with grievous loss and vexatious oppression, in order to exoner and to aggrandize a privileged few. That feelings of this kind, influenced in some degree the procedure of Government, in conferring upon the Old East India Company their exclusive charter, and anomalous prerogatives and power, cannot be doubted. Indeed, when we consider but superficially the character of the times, the state of this country, and the principles which then predominated very generally over the world, we almost cease to wonder that blunders in practice should have resulted from errors and absurdity in theory.

Britain, now the envy and admiration of the world, was not always a commercial country. Time was when her rocky heights and green vallies, her scattered flocks and stubborn soil, constituted all the wealth of which she could boast, and when the laws which regulated her limited barter, were as few and simple as her rude inhabitants. But Britain was preparing to undergo a change from an agricultural to a commercial state—a change for which her Senators were not prepared, but which they could not prevent. It was in vain that they sought to apply the rule and compass of internal maxims and policy to curb the adventurous spirit, which, in spite of every discouragement at home, and of every opposition abroad, went on increasing and operating in its re-action on every department of the country. It was probably with a view, if not to repress this adventurous spirit, at least to hold it in subserviency to the control of government, that the idea of joint stock companies and monopolies in trade, suggested themselves to statesmen and politicians, as the most likely methods of accomplishing this, to them desirable, object. Certain it is, that no such unjust means of obtaining so unworthy an end, would ever have been planned under the dictates of a liberal and enlightened policy, and, if under this just and equitable, and philosophic system, such measures would never have been projected, there surely can be no good reason why, under such a system, they should be longer continued. But the system complained of has been continued, notwithstanding the remonstrances which an enlightened philosophy, an injured community, and the experience of two revolving centuries, have loudly, repeatedly, but hitherto ineffectually, urged in favour of its abolition.

Instead of going into a minute and lengthened detail of the history and misdeeds of the East India Company, which for centuries have entertained this country with volumes of animadversion, and libraries of vindication, it will be more relevant with the grand object

in view, and more in unison with that spirit of enquiry, whose free and impartial results have done so much, and will yet do more for this country, first to examine a little the general principle of monopoly in commerce, and then apply the reasonings and results thus deduced, to the case under consideration.

And in entering on this discussion, a difficulty, if such that can be termed, which, properly considered, is rather an additional argument, meets me at the threshold,—namely, the familiarity, and almost self-evident truth of all the reasonings that have been, or can be adduced on the subject. Without, therefore, pretending to any superior wisdom, or to any new lights on the cardinal points of that enlightened policy, which now, in theory at least, almost universally obtains, it may be neither superfluous nor unprofitable to exhibit these in a condensed form, in connection with the foregoing statements. The general principles of free trade are now almost universally acknowledged in this and in most other countries; they are making rapid progress all over the world, leavening every portion of the community, and levelling in their advance those unjust and impolitic barriers, which the darkness and prejudice of an age now happily gone by, had reared against the march of civilization and improvement. In this progress of improvement, France has taken a leading and an elevated position. It is thirty years since the French Council of Commerce in their spirited report, declared it to be, ‘a most certain maxim, that nothing but competition and liberty in trade, can render commerce beneficial, and that all monopolies or traffic appropriated to Companies, exclusive of others, are inconceivably burdensome and pernicious to it.’ But this country is not behind France in the progress of right theory, whatever may be her errors in practice. According to Dr. Smith, whose just and enlightened principles are at once familiar with every school boy, and approved of by every philosopher, ‘the monopoly of the colony trade, like all the other mean and malignant expedients of the mercantile systems, depresses the industry of all other countries, but chiefly that of the colonies, without in the least increasing, but on the contrary diminishing, that of the country, in whose favour it is established.’

If there is the least plea, or shadow of a plea, for granting a monopoly in any circumstances, Dr. Smith is of opinion, that the most that can in reason be asked, or that can in justice be conceded, is a temporary monopoly; and this anomalous boon he would grant, not on the ground of public justice or expediency, but upon the same principle upon which a like temporary monopoly of a new machine is granted to its inventor, or that of a new book to its author; after which reasonable compensation the patent should expire, and the machine, the book and the trade, become public property. That the body of merchants who afterwards came to be incorporated by Charter into the Old East India Company, had no plea analogous to the one here stated, on which to prefer a

claim even to a temporary monopoly, is abundantly obvious ; for it was the public money, and not the private, with which they traded.

But the East India Company's monopoly has to be viewed in a more appalling light than that of a limited patent, or other merely temporary grievance. Like the fabled Phoenix, which dies once every thousand years, and resuscitates itself from its ashes in all the freshness of an indestructible and unimpaired immortality, the Phoenix of East India monopoly has more than once changed its form, but seems destined to retain a perpetual duration. ' By a perpetual monopoly,' to quote the words of the celebrated writer already mentioned, ' all the other subjects of the state are taxed very absurdly in two different ways ; first, by the high price of goods, which, in the case of a free trade, they could buy much cheaper ; and secondly, by their total exclusion from a branch of business which it might be both convenient and profitable for many of them to carry on. It is for the most worthless of all purposes too, that they are taxed in this manner.'

It is impossible to add illustration to reasoning so just and so obvious, and comment would be as impertinent as it is unnecessary. They, in fact, embrace the gist and substance of the whole argument, commend themselves to every enlightened understanding ; and in as far as reasoning can satisfy a rational being, set the question as to the general principle completely at rest.

All monopolies in commerce have had their origin either in the blunders of statesmen, or in the avarice and rapacity of private individuals. The cause of monopoly, which has so long disgraced and degraded the energies and character of this and other countries, is rapidly losing ground ; and the false and flimsy fabrics which have been reared upon long perpetuated and still increasing abuses, are fast tottering and tumbling down, one after another, on the heads of their abettors. It will be strange, indeed, if the monopoly of India shall stand for ever the solitary imperishable monument of privileged cupidity, and of impolitic legislation.

Monopoly is a hateful root ; it is as destructive to the health of the commercial, as the noxious henbane is uncongenial to the growth of the vegetable world. There is something blighting in the very look of the Monopolist. In addition to the frailties and prejudices which he possesses in common with humanity, he has some which in degree, if not in kind, are in a great measure peculiar to himself—prejudice and selfishness. These ingredients enter so largely into his composition, that they attract and incorporate thither all that is hateful and ungenerous, and throw all the better principles, and all the kindlier feelings of his nature into the shade ; his eyes do not see, his judgment does not determine, his heart does not beat in unison with those of other men—their happiness and prosperity, in which reason, humanity, religion, bid him rejoice, serve but to gather a thicker cloud around his own little horizon, or to raise the tempestuous gust of a malevolent and unnatural passion.

It has often been remarked, that the will and affections influence the judgment; and the truth of the remark derives a melancholy illustration from the case under consideration. Of all the affections, self-love and self-interest are the most powerful; and it is almost superfluous to add what has already been stated, that these two principles form the very quintessence of Monopoly. Where every motive and feeling has been chained to the car of self-interest, it is truly amusing, were not the matter too serious for merriment, to observe to what an extent reason and even conviction, instead of influencing the conduct, become subordinate to views of expediency—the order of nature inverted, the heart bribed by self-love, the understanding blinded by passion, and the judgment inflexibly bent by prejudice. And the sophistry and show of reasoning by which erroneous maxims and corrupt practices are defended, are no less curious and absurd. The mere watchdog bark of ‘no innovation,’ having long since failed to convince the bulk of mankind, however well it may serve to terrify a few, the advocates of the old system, or rather the sentinels, have adopted a new mode of waging their defensive warfare. They have admitted into their commercial creed most of the general principles of the new and improved system, they hold these principles to be excellent in themselves, and capable of wise and salutary application in some, nay, in many particular instances. But attempt to carry the Monopolist of the old school a step farther, or rather planting him on the ground of his own voluntary admissions, bid him look at the principle in all its bearing—survey it fairly, in its length and breadth, and apply, in all their extent and variety, the practical inferences thus deduced, and the grim spectre of self-interest, starting up before him, withering the goodly prospect, averts his eye from the frightful picture. He grants you, that the opening of a particular market from which he is unjustly excluded, that the lopping off an impost which encumbers his revenue, or that the franchise of a corporation, of which he is not a member, would be very desirable and very reasonable things, but he is a profiter by the continuance and abuse of the East India Monopoly, and therefore (for this is the substance, though not the verbosity of his argument,) and therefore, this Monopoly, come what will of other Monopolies, may not and ought not to be invaded.

I may avail myself of your indulgence at another opportunity, to pursue into detail, and apply the principles which I have thus, at some length, endeavoured to elucidate and establish. In the meantime, I trust I may be allowed legitimately to conclude, as a practical improvement of the whole, that Monopoly, in commerce, is the spirit and essence of that ‘oppression,’ which, in the estimation of a great king, (who, having known and cultivated the trade with India a few thousand years before the Company acquired their Charter,) ought to have some little weight with those who, to the sad experience of this country, can plead antiquity in their favour, ‘maketh a wise man mad.’

ON THE UNJUSTIFIABLE REDUCTIONS OF ALLOWANCES IN THE  
BENGAL ARMY.

*To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.*

SIR,—As the present very heavy grievances of the Bengal army, cannot be made known through the medium of the Indian press, in the manner that they should be, I shall feel obliged by your giving insertion to this letter in your widely circulated periodical; as I should wish that the body of the English nation could become better acquainted with the state of the army in this country. They imagine that officers in India, are so well paid, that there is no difficulty in realising a splendid fortune; whereas, on the contrary, it requires the greatest economy to keep clear of debt. I trust to be able to prove to the most scrupulous reader of your work, that the late Act of the Court of Directors, placing the Bengal army on half Batta, is most illiberal and unjustifiable, and arising from a breach of faith; and further, that the Court were formerly of that opinion, in confirmation of which I have subjoined their own letter to the Madras Presidency, 15th September, 1809.

Now to the first charge, of illiberality; admitting, for the sake of argument, that the Court had the power, and could, without a breach of faith, reduce the pay and allowances of the Bengal army, at their will and pleasure, the following circumstances alone, should have restrained them from acting so ungenerously.

It must be admitted, by any one who is acquainted with the Bengal army, that what a subaltern receives, is barely sufficient to maintain him in that respectability required of an officer. With an ensign, common economy is not sufficient to keep him out of debt, and if he is anxious to live within his means, he must forego many necessities, and his mode of living will be mean in the extreme; consequently, he cannot support that respectability, required of an European officer in this country. All this he has to suffer for a period of six years, the time he must serve for his promotion to a lieutenantancy,—and what are the allowances of a lieutenant? such that he cannot afford to drink beer, the common beverage of the poor in England; there is no surplus whatever for comfort, and much less for extravagance. Indeed, to make both ends meet, for a period of years, with the ordinary and incidental expenses of his situation, requires the greatest frugality, economy, and management. At this time, the greater part of the subalterns are in debt; and during all the period they serve in this grade, six years as an ensign, and fourteen as a lieutenant, they positively are not able to save sufficient money to admit of their visiting their Native Country.

On entering the service, a poor Cadet knows not his unhappy

lot ; he has sacrificed every thing dear to him, relations, friends, and home, and for what ? a paltry subsistence. Loss of health is consequent to a residence in India, which redoubles the hardships of his situation. This is the cause of the body of officers not taking their furloughs ; some, more fortunate in having money left them, are enabled to have that satisfaction which poverty withholds from others. This is the situation of an officer after twenty years' service,—to obtain a Captaincy, with increase of allowance, which higher rank requires an additional expense, and swallows up all he receives ; he is now growing old, and must procure further necessities ; for things that in England are termed luxuries, are absolutely requisite in an Indian climate.

It is then a long time before he is a Field Officer, and as for retiring on the pension of his rank, it is quite out of the question : so bad, indeed, has the situation of the army been considered, that to alleviate it, during the last eight years, it has frequently been proposed to establish by subscription a retiring fund, that persons might obtain the rank of Field Officer in a moderate time ; but the general impression abroad is, that the Court of Directors would not allow it. In 1826, when Lord Combermere was Vice-President, Colonel Watson, Adjutant-General of the Army, put an advertisement in the papers, stating that a meeting was to be held, for the purpose of establishing a military retiring fund, and two days after, he had to insert another, stating that the first was published owing to his not having properly understood the Commander-in-Chief. But the report in circulation was, that Colonel Casement had brought to his Lordship's notice, the Company's aversion to a fund being established. This is in keeping with their other acts : for example, the *under-paid* Civilian, after twenty-two years' service, gets a pension of one thousand pounds per annum, above which he receives five hundred additional from the Company ; while the *over-paid* Officer, at that time but a Captain, obtains one hundred and eighty pounds a-year in all ! The wisdom in Leadenhall Street is more transcendent than that of Parliament. The latter are of opinion, that a man advanced in years is fit for a Judge, and young men for the subordinate situations in the army. The former have set forth, in establishing a Civil fund, a contrary doctrine ; the Army will speak for itself ; those who fill the lower ranks, from slowness of promotion, possess not the energy requisite for that situation, and our Officers are old women before they are Generals on the Staff.

But now to the subject of reduction ; the present is at the rate of 12 per cent. from Subalterns, 10 from Captains, and 20 from Field Officers ; and how is this to be effected, but by a species of juggling ? The Company wish to keep all that is deducted in the first instance ; and I suppose, are apprehensive of the consequences of too suddenly taking a large sum, they have therefore coined a new term to return half—calling it House-rent,—a term

quite foreign to the Native Army, who have always been told that tent allowance was given them, to provide themselves with camp equipage in the field. The truth is, that the Company have long been anxious to effect a saving at the expense of the Bengal Army, for their instructions about half Batta are under date November, 1823, and though published in August, 1824, are now only undergoing execution. The Marquis of Hastings, in January, 1823, left the country with a surplus in the treasury; but the Burmah war broke out in 1824, and wasted it all. Admit, however, that the measure arose from financial difficulties, was it ever known that the army were called upon to give up a share of their allowances to liquidate a National Debt? On the contrary, in Europe the pay of the army has been increased in proportion to the rise of the necessaries of life.

I would wish to bring to your notice the losses to which officers are subject, in the sale of their Bungalows; sending troops for a time to a station, and afterwards reducing their number, entails serious loss to many individuals, to the amount of 2000 or 3000 rupees. Have the Company ever been generous enough to remunerate officers under these circumstances? No! They have always thrown in their teeth the observation, that tent allowances were expected to meet their expenses. Contrast the present system with the line of conduct pursued by the generous and ever to be regretted Marquis of Hastings in 1817, when Mr. Gardiner, Government Military Secretary, inadvertently published, in orders, an extract of the Court's letter, directing the allowance for holding a Company to be reduced, which called from the body of the army, representations against the reductions of an allowance, always considered an integral part of their pay. The liberal Marquis of Hastings, annoyed at the mistake, said it was never intended to publish the extract, and no reduction was to take place. How different now; for the pay of the Bengal Subalterns will be worse than that of the common Native writers in the Calcutta offices, and considerably worse than that of a Native civil officer.

Further, the proposed reduction is politically objectionable, inasmuch as nearly all Officers remaining with their regiments are Subalterns, and the allowance received by them will be so reduced, as to lessen their respectability in the eyes of the men, who are apt to look up to them, with regard to their appearance.

I will now advert to the second charge, that the Company are guilty of a breach of faith, in ordering the present reductions. In former times, the troops in the field received as a remuneration double full Batta, and when this allowance was reduced to full Batta, it was on the plea of equalising all Officers in the Bengal army. This change caused a great sensation, but a pledge was given, that full Batta was always to be continued; at least, if not positively a pledge, something tantamount to one was given. The pay of the army has been at this rate for the last thirty years, and

for the reasons already stated, it is a matter of right to have it continued. The body of Officers entered the service on an understanding that their pay was such, as has hitherto been paid, which they were led to believe was inviolable. Had the terms been different, individuals would have turned their attention to other pursuits for a livelihood; and it must be admitted, that after ten years in India, people have contracted habits, which prevent them following any other profession; besides which, their situation is altered by loss of friends, who might be of service to them: were not this the case, there are many (and preferable would it be), who would resign the service, after this present breach of faith. In the instance, a large sum—denominated, in the language of the East, a remuneration for services—is taken away, and part only returned under another name, which reflects no small contempt on those who framed it. Every individual now declares, from this breach of faith, they have no longer any confidence in a Government which can lend itself to such meanness, and their placing Dum Dum, Dinapore, Barrackpore, and Berhampore on half Batta, is a *ruse de guerre*, for that it will ultimately be extended to all the army, no man in India doubts. Appeals are sent in, and the Court's illiberality is now striking, as they are aware that Officers cannot assemble to draw up a joint memorial, nor can two officers affix their name to one letter. We are given to understand, that the Commander-in-Chief has sent in a strong remonstrance, but of what avail will this be? as the Court are too far removed to sympathise, and are no doubt pre-determined to lend a deaf ear to every arrangement in our favour.

\* Something decided must be done, such as was reported to have happened in 1821, of the spirited Sir Edward Paget, when Lord Amherst pressed in Council the half-Batta system, who said, if the measure was enforced, he would resign, sooner than be a party to any act which would cause such hardships to officers whose services deserved better treatment from their masters.

I will conclude by quoting the Court's Letter to the Madras Presidency, and ask what has since occurred to alter their opinions of its justice?

I remain, Sir,  
Your obedient Servant,  
A BENGAL SUBALTERN.

Bengal,  
Jan. 5, 1829.

‘Extract from the General Letter from the Honorable Court of Directors, 15th September, 1809, in reply to a Memorial from Madras.

‘61. The address then again reverts to the claim of an equalization of military allowances at Madras and Bengal—a claim which, though it neither be grounded on any solid principles, nor can ever be admitted as the basis of any practicable regulation, we shall examine somewhat more in detail than we have thought necessary



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in considering the other subjects of the address, because it is a question of extensive prospect, embracing many points besides the one now brought before us.

‘ 62. In the different Presidencies of the Company in India, distinctions have from the beginning subsisted in respect to emoluments and advantages (not only in the military, but in every other department); these distinctions have arisen from the comparative importance of the presidencies themselves, and of the public business to be transacted under them.

‘ 63. Thus Bengal, the first great territorial possession of the Company, had its establishments early settled with some analogy to its income, and that country, as being the seat of government, the centre of the British interests in India, came to have a standard of public allowances, which could not be exactly imitated at the other Presidencies, under very different circumstances.

‘ 64. The style of living also among the Europeans has, we presume, gradually adapted itself to the scale of income.

‘ 65. The persons nominated to civil and military employments, have entered the services perfectly aware of these inequalities; and are therefore not entitled to expect that they should be afterwards removed.

‘ The Company have hence always resisted the idea of a general equalization of allowances and emoluments of the different presidencies, as not founded on right or reason, or the nature of things.

‘ 67. Supposing, for a moment, that such a principle could be admitted and enforced, the consequence, in the present state of the finances of the Company, must be, to reduce the few remaining distinctions of the Bengal Presidency to a level with those of Madras and Bombay, as it would be utterly impossible to provide for the extreme of raising the emoluments of the inferior presidencies to a level with those of Bengal, extended as this rise must be to all the civil as well as military branches of the service, if once the principle of equalization were adopted.

‘ 68. In all the Presidencies, however, *the scale of allowances has been more than sufficient for comfortable subsistence*, and in the case of all the privates and non-commissioned officers of the army, the rates have been at all times very generally the same at all the Presidencies. •

‘ 69. From a concurrence of circumstances it has also happened, that an approximation to an equalization of allowances has, in fact, taken place, in so far as to reduce the allowances of the Bengal military service generally, almost to an equality with those of the other Presidencies; and if the comparative slowness of promotion at that Presidency be taken into the estimates, it might not be incorrect to say, that the military service in Bengal has not been for many years past upon a superior footing, upon the whole, than that at either of the other Presidencies.

' If the Madras officers possess a reasonable plea to have all their allowances put on a level with those of Bengal, the Bengal officers have a plea, at least as specious, to an equalization of rank in proportion to length of service. The infantry have the same plea of complaint against the quicker promotion in the cavalry, and the artillery against both. In short, there can be no end to the operation of this principle of equalization, if it is allowed to supersede all established usages, and all consideration of expediency.

' 70. *The regimental allowances, however, both of officers and men, are very nearly the same at all the Presidencies, and whenever mere comfortable subsistence is concerned, it has been the object of the public regulations at all times to approximate as nearly to an equality of allowances, as the local circumstances of each Presidency have admitted.*

' *But staff and other extra allowances rest upon a different foundation. They are gratuitous advantages, conferred on individuals at the pleasure and discretion of the government, and are calculated, not with reference to what other men receive, who may perhaps perform similar services in other places, but in reference to the means of the governing powers, and the view which it may take of the merits and services of the receiver.*

We are, your loving friends,

(Signed) Charles Grant ; William Astell ; William Bensley ; Henry Inglis ; Samuel Toone ; Charles Mills ; William Wigram ; George Millet, John Inglis ; R. C. Plowden ; G. A. Robinson ; Robert Williams ; John Hudleston.

London, the 15th Sept. 1809.

#### CLEOPATRA.

AFTER DANBY'S PICTURE OF THE EGYPTIAN QUEEN EMBARKING ON THE CYDNUS.

(From the "Poetical Sketch Book," by T. K. Hervey, Esq.)

The barge she sat in, like a burnished throne,  
Burned on the water—the poop was beaten gold:  
Purple the sails; and so perfumed that  
The winds were love-sick with them: the oars were silver;  
Which to the tune of flutes kept stroke, and made  
The water which they beat to follow faster,  
As amorous of their strokes.

SHAKESPEARE.

FLUTES in the sunny air!  
And harps in the porphyry halls!  
And a low, deep hum—like a people's prayer—  
With its heart-breathed swells and falls!  
And an echo,—like the desert's call,—  
Flung back to the shouting shores!

And the river's ripple, heard through all,  
 As it plays with the silver oars !  
 The sky is a gleam of gold !  
 And the amber breezes float,  
 Like thoughts to be dreamed of—but never told,  
 Around the dancing boat !  
 She has stepped on the burning sand !  
 And the thousand tongues are mute !  
 And the Syrian strikes, with a trembling hand,  
 The strings of his gilded lute !  
 And the Æthiop's heart throbs loud and high,  
 Beneath his white symar,  
 And the Lybian kneels, as he meets her eye,  
 Like the flash of an Eastern star !

The gales may not be heard,  
 Yet the silken streamers quiver,  
 And the vessel shoots—like a bright-plumed bird,—  
 Away—down the golden river !  
 Away by the lofty mount !  
 And away by the lonely shore !  
 And away by the gushing of many a fount,  
 Where fountains gush no more !—  
 Oh ! for some warning vision, there,  
 Some voice that should have spoken  
 Of climes to be laid waste and bare,  
 And glad, young spirits broken !  
 Of waters dried away,  
 And hope and beauty blasted !  
 —That scenes so fair, and hearts so gay,  
 Should be so early wasted !

A dream of other days !—  
 That land is a desert, now !  
 And grief grew up, to dim the blaze  
 Upon that royal brow !  
 The whirlwind's burning wing hath cast  
 Blight on the marble plain,  
 And sorrow—like the Simoon—past  
 O'er Cleopatra's brain !

Too like her fervid clime, that bred  
 Its self-consuming fires,—  
 Her breast—like Indian widows—fed  
 Its own funereal pyres !  
 —Not such the song her minstrels sing,—  
 ' Live, beauteous, and for ever !'  
 As the vessel darts, with its purple wing,  
 Away—down the golden river !

VOYAGE FROM BUSHIRE TO MUSCAT, IN THE PERSIAN GULF, AND  
FROM THENCE TO BOMBAY.\*

*Fleet of Arab Pirates—Illustrations of the Voyage of Nearehus—  
Description of Muscat—Positions in the Persian Gulf.*

WE had remained at Bushire about a week, during which time we filled up our supply of fresh water with much difficulty, owing to the great quantity daily consumed by the 120 horses, which we had on board for Bengal, and the difficulty of sending off supplies to the ship at such a distance from the shore. The *Malabar*, formerly one of the East India Company's cruizers, since sold into the merchant service, lay here, destined for Bussorah, and a new ship, called the *Comte de Rio Pardo*, was also in the harbour with a cargo for Bahrein: but the present state of affairs there had occasioned the Company's Resident to object to her going over, and the Commodore to refuse to give her convoy. During our stay of seven days at Bushire, we collected a freight of upwards of seven thousand rupees value, in horses, dried fruits, old copper, silk, and treasure, for Muscat, Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, and with this additional lading our vessel now drew twenty feet water.

On the evening of the 20th I embarked for sea, and, on the following morning at day-light, there being a light breeze from off the land, we weighed, in company with five Native vessels, and H. M. S. *Challenger* joined us from the Inner Harbour, about noon. The wind had now drawn round to the southward, and settled into a steady breeze from that quarter, which obliged us to haul our wind, and beat through the night.

On the morning of the 22d it had freshened so considerably as

\* This paper, which concludes the series of those published in former Numbers of this work, beginning in Vol. XVII. descriptive of a Voyage from Bombay to the River Euphrates, includes an account of Muscat, taken from the author's recently published Volume of Travels in Assyria, Media, and Persia, and makes the series therefore quite complete, as the description of Bussorah and Bushire had been given before. The chief value of these papers consists, however, in the new hydrographical information which they contain, not merely as illustrative of the ancient Periplus of the Erythræan Sea, which would alone recommend them to the classical reader; but as furnishing useful directions for the Modern Navigator of the Persian Gulf, and thereby important to the interests of shipping and commerce in that quarter of the globe. Mr. Buckingham having drawn all these nautical stores from his unpublished Journals kept at sea, and which form no part of his Travels, already before the world, these being confined chiefly to his journeys by land,—it is thought right to mention this circumstance in order to account for what might be otherwise considered too nautical or professional for the general reader. Their utility to navigator and merchants, of which there are many among the readers of 'The Oriental Herald' in the East, will, however, he hopes, justify their publication here.

to induce all the Native vessels to bear up for Bushire, when the *Challenger* making the signal to pass within hail, we closed for that purpose, Captain Bridges demanding of us whether we preferred beating, or returning to Bushire; and the reply being given to keep to sea, we made sail and stood on accordingly. At noon we observed in lat.  $28^{\circ} 23' N.$ , and sounded in twenty-nine fathoms, being then off shore from six to seven leagues; the breeze still freshening from the S.E. we sent down the royal yards and took in the first reefs. At sun-set we split the jib and main-top sail, and unbent them to repair. At eight we sent down topgallant-yards, and took in the second reefs, there being now a freshening gale and heavy sea, while the ship continued wearing off and on shore occasionally, in from twenty to thirty fathoms water.

The morning of the 23d opened with better prospects. We had a favourable wind from the N.W., and flattered ourselves with the hope of a fine day's run. It drew round gradually, however, to N.N.E. E. and S.E., where it fixed itself, and we were obliged to brace sharp up and beat off and on shore during the remainder of the day. Our observation at noon gave us a latitude of  $28^{\circ} 9' N.$  and we had the Hummocks of Kenn, bearing E. half S., and the Asses Ears, N.E. three quarters N. in thirty fathoms water, and six leagues off the land, so that we observed some caution during the night, to avoid standing in under fifteen fathoms, where the foul ground of Kerdistan is thought, by some, to have its outer edges.

On the 24th we had a light northerly air at day-light, which gradually freshened as the day increased, and at noon we were going six knots with a fair and steady breeze, when we observed in lat.  $27^{\circ} 49' N.$  and were, by our chronometer, in long.  $33^{\circ} 15' E.$  of our anchorage in the Outer Roads of Bushire, or in  $51^{\circ} 14' 15'' E.$ , with Barn Hill bearing due East, and the ship off shore from five to six leagues. The island of Um-el-Naqueelo, or the Monguilla of the charts, was not visible, as it is low, and is difficult to be distinguished when on with the land; but our position here, in twenty fathoms, by a good cast of the lead at noon, verified the accuracy of Horsburgh's Chart of the Gulf about this part of the coast.

During the whole of the 25th we had a fresh breeze from the N.W., to which we carried all sail, and at noon we had run 195 miles by the log, on a course of S.  $59^{\circ} E.$ , and observed at noon, in lat.  $26^{\circ} 6' N.$ , being, at the same time, in longitude by chronometer of  $53^{\circ} 57' E.$ , with Charack Hill just visible, bearing N.  $\frac{1}{2} E.$ , the ship going too fast to admit of our sounding.

At 2 P.M. we rose the broken tops of the Island of Poliore, bearing N. E. by E.; at 2 .. 30 we rose the Saddle Hill in the centre of the island of Nobfleu above the horizon; and at 3 .. 30 we passed within a league of its southern edge. We had then the following bearings:—The two islands of Nobfleu and Poliore in one

N.N.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., Charack Hill N. by W.  $\frac{1}{4}$  W., and the centre of the island of Surdy S.S.E., distant about five leagues. The last named island is long, low, and broken into hillocks, which look like so many separate rocks. Its greatest length appeared to be from two to three leagues, extending east and west, but of its breadth we could form no estimate. It is said to be inhabited, and to possess a village, from which provisions and water may be obtained, but we passed at too great a distance from it to verify either of these particulars.

At sun-set the island of Bomosa was in sight, from the mast-head, bearing about E.S.E., while we had the saddle hill of Nohflour just in sight from the poop, bearing W. by N. Surdy island, S.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S.; the centre of Poliore, N.W. by N.; and Charak Hill N. by W.

At 9 P.M., just as the moon rose, a report was made by the officer of the watch, of the land being in sight on the larboard bow, and seen in hummocks. We were expecting to make the islands of the Tombs in that direction, and a look-out for it here had been ordered. A report of hummocks was however so unlike the usual appearance of the Tombs, that the glass was sent for, when, on examination, these supposed broken hills proved to be boats under sail. We counted first five, soon afterwards ten, then twenty, and, as the moon rose higher, and we neared each other, the fleet had multiplied to nearly forty, all in sight from the deck. Some of them were very large, others of a middling size, and some small: but all were steering the same course, apparently from Linga, Shinaz, or some other of the ports of Persia lately taken by the Joassamees, and were standing S.W. directly over towards Ras-el-Khym-a, with the wind a-bean. There were a few among them that had their sails lowered down, as if to conceal their vessels from being seen, but the greater number of them hauled right athwart us, as if to separate us from each other, or cut us off. The *Challenger* having already perceived these strange boats, shewed several blue lights to point out her position, and apprise us of danger, and immediately afterwards we saw her haul to the wind under easy sail. We were then going at least ten knots through the water, with a strong north-wester, and had studding sails out below and aloft. As we had no longer any doubt, however, from the number and appearance, as well as the course they were steering, that this was the very fleet of Wahabee pirates that had so lately scoured the shores of the Gulf, and put even Bushire and Bussorah into a state of alarm, we beat to quarters, and began to prepare for defence. After reducing the ship to easy sail for manœuvring, we found ourselves close to the *Challenger*, and the crew having been the same afternoon exercised for several hours at the great guns and small arms, we had the satisfaction to see everything in order in a few minutes, and the people all cool and steady

at their quarters. Some of the boats now approaching the *Challenger*. She discharged several of her larboard guns into them, and whether they did execution or not, they had the effect of making them sheer off. As we were still going a-head, the boats now began to thicken about us, and we had at one moment four bearing down on each bow and quarter, and all within pistol shot, while others were crossing us at about musket range a-head. As the ship had great way through the water, and was of fine strength and weight, for running any of them down, we made two or three attempts to give some of them the stem; but as it was not safe for us to bring by the lee in such a breeze as this, we could only yaw off till the sails lifted, and were then obliged to meet her again with the helm; so that the boats thus escaped being run over and probably sunk by us. Before leaving the river of Bussorah, we had placed two of our long twelve-pounders on the fore-castle, and two on the poop, leaving the other twelve on the main, and the twenty-four-pounder cannonades on the quarter-deck, so that we were now well defended on all quarters. The second officer opened the fire by a discharge of round and cannister from the foremost starboard guns, and as the boat at which this was pointed was pretty near us, we saw her buried in the spray of the round shot, which must have fallen close alongside, and some of the cannister probably reached on board, as the boat immediately hauled off, under all sail. The larboard bow gun was now pointed and fired, by the same officer, into a boat approaching in that direction, and seemingly with as good effect, as she desisted from continuing her course towards us, and bore up before the wind. Our attention was instantly called to another still closer to us on the starboard side, into which one of the main-deck guns were fired, and she either let fly her sheet to bear up, or it was shot away, for her sail continued flapping in the wind for some time, when she trimmed it again, and hauled off. While the attention of the officers was thus engaged on the starboard side of the deck, as they were eager to point all the guns themselves, a boat was now within hail of us on the larboard side, standing stem on, as if to lay us alongside and board. On being questioned, the only reply that could be distinguished among a confusion of voices, was 'Eish Malak,' literally, 'What is it to you?' The first officer was by this time ready with a main-deck gun on the larboard side, and firing it into her, her halyards and sheet seemed to be shot away, as the sail came half down, and fluttered about in the wind, while the boat lost the power of her helm, and fell off, presenting her broadside immediately to our own. This was too fair an opportunity to be missed. The first four-and-twenty-pounder on the quarter-deck, well charged, like all the others, with round and cannister, was pointed by the same officer, and discharged with more effect than either of the preceding ones, as the crash of broken wood, and the cries as of wounded men, were distinctly heard, while a single voice exclaimed, 'La t'ooterub

baad,' or 'Don't fire again.' She now lay like a log on the water, swashing in the trough of the sea, and neither under the government of the helm or the sail; so that as we were still going fast through the water, we passed her rapidly. The gunner was, however, too well pleased with the success of his last aim, to let her pass without another shot, and as she had now fallen a-stern, only the poop guns would bear on her. One of these was fired, but we could not distinguish with what effect, as the boat still lay like an unmanageable log on the water, completely at the mercy of the sea. It was the opinion of some, that she was in a sinking state, and she certainly had that appearance; but though the last that could be distinguished of her with the glass was, that she lay in the same manner as before, and was abandoned by all the others; yet, from the rapidity of our rate, we lost sight of her altogether in a few minutes. All the other boats had crowded sail on their original course, towards Ras-el-Khyma, for which place only they could be bound, from their steering S.W., with a strong N.W. breeze. The *Challenger*, also, on their hauling off, made sail, and we followed her example, as pursuit would have been of no avail. We regretted more than anything that it had not been our lot to have fallen in with them in the day-time, instead of the night; as, with such a fine breeze for manœuvring, we might certainly have run down and sunk, by the heavy guns of both ships, several of the boats, and materially crippled even such as might have escaped.

On the morning of the 26th, we were abreast of the Quoins, having them to bear south at nine, A.M. The position of the Great Quoin was made by our chronometer, in long.  $26^{\circ} 40'$  E., which corresponded within a mile of the mean of many observations by lunars, and time-pieces, made by officers of the Bombay Marine.

At noon, we were in lat.  $26^{\circ} 23'$  N., and were by a run of twenty miles on a S.S.E. course, in long.  $56^{\circ} 48'$  E., when we had Fillan Rock bearing S.W. by W. about six miles off, and the Great Quoin, bearing N.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N.

We gradually lost the N.W. breeze, as we got out of the Gulf, and at sun-set had a light air from the southward to beat against, having the Great Quoin to bear N.W.  $\frac{1}{4}$  N., and Fillan Rock W.  $\frac{3}{4}$  S. We were now nearly in mid-channel, between the Arabian and the Persian shores, with the sea of a deep indigo blue, from the increased depth of water.

We made but little progress on the 27th, having light air from the eastward throughout the day. At noon we observed in lat.  $25^{\circ} 45'$  N., and were in long.  $57^{\circ} 35'$  E., with Mobarek Rock bearing E.  $\frac{3}{4}$  N., distant four or five leagues. At sun-set the wind shifted round to the westward, and freshened so fast, that at eight P.M. we were going ten knots, and continued nearly at that rate, under all possible sail, during the night.

On the morning of the 28th, the Swardy Islands were in sight



from the mast-head, bearing south, and at ten A.M. we were up abreast of them, passing them to the eastward, at the distance of little more than a league. In the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, these islands are noticed in the following passage:—

‘From Sarapis (which is taken to be the island of Mazeira) the course is along the adjoining continent (of Arabia), till you arrive at Korodamon (or Ras-el-Had), when it turns to the north (if your destination is), to the Gulf of Persia; and beyond this promontory at the distance of two thousand stadia, lie the islands of Kalaioo, or Kalaiss. These islands stretch along parallel to the coast (in distinct lines), and you may sail through them, and between them and the shore. The inhabitants are a treacherous race, and during day-light their sight is affected by the rays of the sun. Beyond these islands of Kalioo there is another group, called Papias, at the termination of which lies the Fair Mountain, not far from the entrance of the Persian Gulf, and (in that Gulf is) the Pearl fishery. At the straits which form the entrance into this sea, you have, on the left hand, that vast mountain, called Sabo, and opposite to it, on the right, a lofty round mountain, which takes the name of Semiramis.’<sup>k</sup>

Nothing can be more plain and explicit than this description throughout, and that part of it which applies to the Swardy islands, cannot be mistaken. These stretch along parallel to the coast, as they are described to do, in distinct lines, and have, for this reason, obtained, in modern charts, the names of the First Range, which is that nearest to Muscat; the second, or Middle Range, which is a little north of the line of the others; and the Third, or Western Range; all of them stretching parallel to the coast, and at the distance of about seven or eight miles from it. The first range is in lat.  $23^{\circ} 49' N.$ , and in long.  $58^{\circ} 15' E.$ , or  $25' W.$  of Muscat, which, by the most accurate authorities, lies in  $28^{\circ} 40' E.$  There are three large islands, and one small one, in this range, with a reef of rocks, extending from them to the N.E. for two or three miles. This group is called, in Arabic, Damaniaat, and from thence, in the English charts, Damisetto. The second, or Middle Range, is in lat.  $23^{\circ} 51' N.$ , and long.  $58^{\circ} 9' E.$  This consists of one large island, which is the westernmost, and four others, extending in a right line to the eastward of it, with two smaller ones, just in the centre, and on the northern side of the whole. This group is particularized by the name of Joon, in Arabic حرون. The third, or Western Range, is in lat.  $23^{\circ} 69' N.$ , and in long.  $58^{\circ} 1' E.$  It consists of one large central island, with two smaller ones to the E.S.E., and one small one to the N.W. of it. This last group, as being nearest to the town of Swardy, or Sooady, is called from that place. There is, as the author of the *Periplus* expresses it, a

\* *Per. Eryth. Sea*, vol. i. p. 93.

passage for sailing, either between the islands themselves, or between them and the coast, the depths of water being from five to twenty fathoms, in regular gradations, proportioned to the distance from the shore. The inhabitants are still considered, as they were at the early period of the *Periplus*, to be a treacherous race; but whether, as the author of that work states, their sight is affected, during day-light, by the rays of the sun, in any degree greater than that of their neighbours, we could not ascertain.

Dr. Vincent supposes that the present name of the islands is a corruption of *Sohar-di* or *dire*; the last syllable signifying, in some of the Indian languages, an island, and there being a port near called *Sohar*, once as much frequented as *Muscat* is now, for the Indian trade. The etymology is, however, more ingenious than just. The town of *Sohar*, which is at too great a distance to the N.W. of these islands to be supposed to have given the name to them, is spelt in Arabic سحر or *Schar*. The name of these islands, however, is, collectively, *Geziret-el-Sooady*, or the islands of *Sooady*—spelt, in Arabic سرادي from a small town of that name, lying nearly abreast of them, and but a few miles from *Burka*. *Di* and *Dire* are syllables signifying an island or islands in some of the Indian languages, it is true, but the Arabic names are seldom of foreign origin; and it is least of all likely that they should borrow from the Indians, who were never navigators or sailors, a syllable, to form a compound for the name of a group of islands on their own coast. The learned Doctor supposes the name of *Kalaioo*, or *Kalaiass*, to be traced to *Kalaia*t or *Kulliat*, the name of the high land between *Ras el Had* and *Muscat*; but this would be going as much too far to the south-east, as *Sohar* is in an opposite direction, to seek support for an etymology. The Greeks may be supposed to have often given names to islands and coasts, different from those by which they were known among the Natives, as is the constant practice of modern navigators in our own times; but if a name must be found, having some resemblance to that received among these foreigners, the name of *Kaleel*, which is that of a small town situated about midway between *Burka* and *Muscat*, would be equally appropriate, and much nearer to the position of the islands themselves, than *Kalhat*.

The group beyond the islands of *Kalaioo*, called *Papias* by the author of the *Periplus*, are no doubt those of *Burka*, which are larger and more numerous than any of the preceding. They are seated in lat.  $23^{\circ} 47'$  N., and long.  $57^{\circ} 46'$  E., close to a low sandy point, which projects out to the N.E., and lie about seven miles in a north-west direction from *Burka*.\* The bay, which is thus formed between the islands and the town, is resorted to as an anchorage;

\* There is one large island called *Seebe*, and five smaller ones west of it, leaving no passage between them and the continent.

and it affords shelter from S.E. and S.W. winds, in convenient depths of water from five to ten fathoms. The anchorage here, however, is by no means good; the ground being, in general, a mixture of hard sand, shells, and gravel, with some patches of coral rock, which chafes the cables considerably. During any wind from the N.E. to N.W. a heavy swell is thrown into the bay, which, added to the bad holding ground and a lee shore, makes it then an unsafe anchorage. A good birth may be chosen in five and a half fathoms at low water—the Fort of Burka bearing per compass, S. 40° W., distant about two miles from the shore, though some prefer anchoring farther out in six or seven fathoms water. The town is large and well peopled: it is so agreeably seated, as to climate and the enjoyment of the fine sea air, that the Imaum of Muscat often resides there for a month or two at a time. There is a large fort, a mosque, and a tower to be distinguished among the buildings; and an edifice which was once occupied by the East India Company's agent for Muscat, still retains the name of the English house.

What particular hill might have been meant by the author of the *Periplus*, at the termination of the group of the Papias islands, and called by him the Fair Mountain, we had no opportunity of judging; but the mountains which he describes as seated at the entrance of the Straits of the Gulf of Persia—namely, the vast one called Sabo on the left, and the lofty round one opposite to it, called Semiramis, on the right, are probably the high land of Cape Mussendum, and the isolated rock of Mobarek or Kohunbareek, as it is named by others.

At noon, we observed in lat. 23° 48' N., and in long. 58° 39' E., having the cove of Muscat open, and the buildings in sight, bearing S.E., distant about five leagues.

The *Challenger* had crowded all sail since day light, and had now anchored at the mouth of the Cove, which we entered about 2 P. M. and brought up a little without the usual anchorage, in nine fathoms water, just between the eastern and western forts. We found here the ship *Hope*, of Calcutta, the commander of which had died only two days ago, leaving his widow on board, he being the fifth captain that had died in as many months, and out of not more than ten ships, since we had been in the Persian Gulf. The *Futteh-al-Waoodd*, of Bombay, was also here on her way up to Bussorah; and an American brig, called the *Fairy*, from New York, which had come direct to Muscat in five months, laden with tar, spars, gum, shot, and naval stores for the Imaum. In the evening, our convoy instructions were returned to the *Challenger*, who now intended to proceed to India alone, as we had reason to expect a detention here of several days, and she could not wait for us.

The harbour of Muscat, which lies in lat. 23° 38' N., and long. 59° 15' E. is formed by a small cove, or semicircular bay, environed on all sides, except at its entrance, by lofty, steep, and barren

rocks, and extending not more than half a mile in length from the town, at the head of the cove, to the outer anchorage in the mouth of it; and not more than a quarter of a mile in breadth from fort to fort, which guards the entrance on the east and west. The entrance to this cove is from the northward, and the water deep shoaling quickly from thirty to fifteen fathoms at the cove's mouth, —ships entering it from the northward should go no further in than ten fathoms before anchoring, as the ground does not hold well; and within this there is but little room to drive. In entering it from the west, with a southerly wind, a ship should keep close to a small rock, called Fisherman's Rock, at the north-east point of Muscat Island, as there is deep water all along its edge; and on opening the ships in the harbour, it would be necessary to brace sharp up, and luff round close to the wind, under short sail, as the wind is often squally in coming over the high land from that quarter; and as there is not an inch of room to lose in fetching the anchorage, without tacking from the harbour's mouth, ships of war and vessels making but a short stay here usually lie well out, in fifteen to twenty fathoms water, with Fisherman's Rock open on the east, and the town of Muttrah open on the west; but this would be neither safe nor convenient for merchant-ships having to receive or discharge cargo. These, therefore, generally lie further up towards the town, in the light between it and the westernmost fort, where they move head and stern, or in tiers, in three, four, and five fathoms water. There is another middle anchorage, well calculated for vessels wishing to make a stay of a few days, which is sufficiently secure, and yet leaves them always in readiness to weigh for sea. This is between the eastern and western forts, and nearly in the centre of the harbour, in six, seven, and eight fathoms water, and is the spot in which the Inaun's frigates and other large ships generally anchor.

The town of Muscat is seated near the shore, at the bottom of the hills, and in the south-western quarter of the cove described. It is of an irregular form, and meanly built, having apparently no good edifices in it, excepting the residence of the Inaun, and a few of his nearest relatives, and others holding the first posts of government. It is walled around, with some few round towers at the principal angles, after the Arabian manner; but this is only towards the land side, the part facing the sea, being entirely open. Before this wall, towards the land, was originally a dry ditch, but it is now nearly filled up, and this side may, in all respects, be considered its weakest one. For its defence, towards the sea, there are three principal forts, and some smaller batteries, all occupying commanding positions, and capable of opposing the entrance into the harbour even of the largest ships. The walled town is certainly less than a mile in circuit; but the streets being narrow, and the dwellings thickly placed, without much room being occupied by

open squares, courts, or gardens, the estimated population of ten thousand, given, as they say here, by a late census of the fixed inhabitants, may not exceed the truth. Of these, about nine-tenths are pure Arabs and Mohammedans; the remainder are principally Banians and other Hindoos from Guzerat and Bombay, who reside here as brokers and general traders, and are treated with great lenity and tolerance. There are only three or four Jews, and no Christians of any description, resident in the place; though as far as I could learn, there was no law or custom that excluded any class.

Besides this walled town, there is an extensive suburb without, or behind it, formed of the dwellings of the poorer class of people, who live in huts of reeds, and cabins made of the branches of trees, interwoven with mats of grass, in the same way as at Mocha, Jedda, Hodeida, and the other large towns on the western side of Arabia, on the Red Sea. The population of this suburb may amount to three thousand, a portion of whom are by origin Persians, and settlers from the opposite coasts near the mouth of the Gulf.

The government of Muscat is entirely in the hands of the Imaum. The power of this prince extends, at the present moment, from Ras-el-Had, on the south-east, to Khore Takan, Ras-el-Mussunn-dum, on the north-west; and from the sea shore, on the north-east, from three to six days' journey inland on the south-west. The whole of this territory is called *أمان* Amān, implying the land of safety or security, as contrasted with the unsafe and uncivilized countries by which it is bounded. On the north, as before observed, it has the sea; on the south are the Arabs of Mazeira, who are described as a cruel and inhospitable race, and whose shores are as much avoided, from a dread of falling into the hands of such a people, as from the real dangers which it presents, to those who coast along it. On the east, the sea also forms its boundary; and on the west, are several hostile tribes of Bedouins, who dispute among themselves, the watering places and pasturage of the Desert, and sometimes threaten the borders of the cultivated land. The southernmost of these unite with those of Mazeira, and still retain their original indifference to religion; but the northernmost are by degrees uniting with the Wahabees; and being infected, as soon as they join them, with the fanaticism of that sect, they are daily augmenting the number of the Imaum's enemies, and even now give him no small apprehension for the safety of his northern frontier.

Throughout this space, thus distinguished by the name of Aman, and which is somewhat more extensive now than it was under the predecessors of the present governor, are scattered towns, villages, and hamlets, in great abundance. The face of the country is generally mountainous within-land, and the mountains are in general rugged and bare; but as they are lofty, the dews, of which they

facilitate the fall, and the clouds, which they arrest, give a mild and agreeable temperature to the air that blows around them, and causing showers to wash down the decomposed surface of the rocks, they add to the soil of the valleys, and occasion also rills and torrents to fertilize them. In these valleys are corn-lands, fruit-gardens, and excellent pasturage for cattle; and some of the country residences of the rich inhabitants, whose situations have been judiciously chosen in the most agreeable of these fertile spots, combine great picturesque beauty, with the desirable enjoyments of shady woods, springs of pure water, and a cool and healthy air. The land near the sea-coasts mostly extends itself out from the feet of the mountains in plains, which are but scantily watered by a few small streams descending through them to the sea, but which produce, nevertheless, abundance of dates, nourish innumerable flocks of sheep, goats, and camels, and are lined along their outer edge by small fishing-towns, which give occupation to one part of the population, and furnish seasonable supplies of food to the other.

The revenues of the Imaum of Muscat, are derived chiefly from the commerce of the port. There are no taxes levied either on land or on cattle, throughout all his dominions; and corn and slates, the only two productions of the soil, which are in sufficient quantity to deserve the notice of the government, pay a tithe in kind. The duties on commerce are five per cent. *ad valorem*, paid by strangers of every denomination; and two, and two and a half, per cent., by Arabs and other Mohammedan flags, on all goods brought into the port. As the country exports but little of its own productions, and these are duty free, it may be said that there is no export duty here; since transit goods, having once paid it on their importation, pay nothing more, whether consumed in the country, or exported from hence to any other market. As far as my enquiries went, it appeared to be the general opinion that the revenue of the Imaum, from the productions of his own country, did not exceed a lack of rupees per annum; while that collected by the custom-house of the port, on foreign commerce, amounted to at least twenty lacks, or, as my informant said, ten hundred thousand German crowns, estimated in round numbers.

During the lifetime of the present Imaum's father, or about twenty years since, the foreign trade of Muscat, in its own vessels, was much more considerable; and the number of ships, under other flags, resorting to its port, much greater than at present. They were then the carriers of India, under a neutral flag, as the Dutch were once, and after them the Americans, in Europe. The wealth which their merchants acquired from the high freights given to their vessels, both by the English and French, in the time when the Indian sea was the theatre of naval war, enabled them to purchase largely of the prize goods, which were then to be found in the ports of both these nations, at a very low rate, and to carry

them, in their own vessels, with security to every part of the Eastern islands, the coasts of Pegu, and the ports of the Arabian and Persian Gulfs, where their profits were immense. Their own port, too, being made, like Malta, in the Mediterranean, a magazine or depôt of general merchandize—the smaller vessels of all the surrounding nations, who could not procure these goods from the English or French settlements direct, came and bought them here; so that the port was always crowded with shipping. The trade of Muscat is, at present, confined to about twenty sail of ships, under the Arab flag, properly belonging to the port, and forty or fifty bughalabs or dows. The former, which vary in size from three hundred to six hundred tons, are employed in voyages to Bengal, from which they bring muslins and piece-goods; to the Eastern-islands, for drugs and spices; to the coast of Malabar, for ship-timber, rice, and pepper; to Bombay, for European articles, principally the coarser metals, lead, iron, and tin, and for the productions and manufactures of China, into the ports of which country their flag is not admitted; and lastly, to the Mauritius, for coffee and cotton in small quantities; returning by way of Zanzibar on the African coast, where they have a settlement, in which is collected gold-dust, ostrich feathers, tamarinds, elephants' teeth, and slaves. Their dows, or smaller vessels, carry assortments of all these goods to Bussorah, Bushire, and Bahrein, from which they bring down dates, pearls, and dollars, with some little copper; to the coasts of Sind and Baloochistan, from which they bring in return the commodities of more distant countries, met with at Mecca during the great fair of the pilgrimage; and to Mocha, from whence they bring the coffee of Yemen, the gums of Socotra and the Samauli coast, and both male and female slaves of Abyssinia, in great numbers. The interruption of the navigation of these seas by the Joassamee pirates of Ras-el-Khyma has, for the present, almost suspended the coasting trade of the smaller vessels of Muscat, and even their larger ones are not always safe from them. This had given employment, until lately, to several vessels under English colours, principally from Bombay, who were employed by the merchants of Muscat, at advantageous freights; but the late visit of the squadron, under his Majesty's ship *Challenger*, to Ras-el-Khyma, and the open declaration of hostilities against them, having taken away the idea of protection from neutrality, with these merchants attached to the English flag, it is no longer resorted to as a cover for their property, and the trader is cramped and fettered by the necessity of arming every vessel, at an enormous charge, for her own defence, or submitting to the delays and vexations of convoy, which the British ships of war and East India company's cruisers now grant to all vessels trading to the Persian Gulf. As the remittances from this place to India are made chiefly in treasure, such as gold sequins, dollars, German crowns, and pearls; and as all these pay a freight of two per cent., and are allowed to be con-

veyed by his Majesty's, as well as by the East India Company's, vessels of war, for the purpose of receiving such freight ; and the king's ships being naturally preferred, from their superior force, for the safety of such conveyance, the emoluments of their commanders, from this source, are very considerable, and reconcile them to all the other inconveniencies of being stationed in the Persian Gulf. Here, as at Mocha, the German crown is more commonly met with than the Spanish dollar. The former is called Rial France, and the latter Abu Tope, or Father Gun, from the pillars of the Spanish arms being thought to represent cannon. The German crown now passes current here for twenty-one Mohammedies, a small coin of Muscat ; and the exchange on Bombay was at the rate of two hundred and twelve rupees for one hundred German crowns, and two hundred and twenty-five rupees for one hundred Spanish dollars. The Venetian sequin in gold is valued, when at full weight, at two and a quarter German crowns ; all coins, however, receive their value in metal, from the Sherauf, or money-changers, who are chiefly Banians, and are very numerous here, as large profits are made by them, in transactions and exchanges of money.

Out of the revenue which the Imaum receives on the productions of his own country, and on foreign trade, the expenses of his government are defrayed ; but these are so light as to leave him in possession of considerable personal wealth. Were it not for the interruption of the trade, and, consequently, of the source of these gains, the treasures in his coffers must have been immense ; but at the same time that his revenues have been recently lessened, the expenses of his government have been increased, and that too from the same cause. The growing power of the Joassamees by sea, might have been checked by the arming the merchant ships of Muscat in their own defence, and by the cruising of the frigates and sloops of war, under the Imaum's flag, in the Gulf, even without the assistance of the English squadrons of the King's and Company's ships cruising there. But the Wahabees, of whom the Joassamees are but the maritime portion, threaten the dominions of the Imaum still more formidably by land. To repel them from his frontier, the deserts bordering on which are in actual possession of these secretaries, and the tribes lately become their proselytes, it is found necessary to keep up a large moving force. Among the Arabs, there are no standing armies ; but every man capable of bearing arms, is called on to become a soldier, whenever his services may be required. The only persons steadily kept in pay, as military men, are half a dozen captains, who command the forts at Muscat, Muttrah, and Burka, on the coast, with about a hundred gunners, for the management of the cannon under them. The rest of the army may be called a sort of *levy en masse*. On his territory being threatened in any quarter, the Imaum addresses letters to the Shicks, or heads of families, and to the men of the greatest influence



and power, in the quarter threatened, calling on them to prove their allegiance, by raising a body of men, specifying the number, and the service required. According to the popularity of the war to be engaged in, these come forward with alacrity and good-will. Every man is already armed, almost from his cradle, according to the custom of the nation; and the very act of wearing such arms, familiarises him to their sight, and often improves the wearer in the use of them. As all discipline, beyond a sort of general obedience to some chief, is unknown among them, neither uniformity of dress nor of arms is required. Every man brings with him the weapons he likes best; the magazines of the Prince supply the ammunition; and the heads of such districts, as the armed force may be actually in, are enjoined to furnish them with subsistence. Remunerations are made to these heads of districts, either by sums of money, or by exemption from tithes and duties to the amount expended. The spoils of the war, if any, are entirely divided among those engaged; and besides a stipulated daily pay to every man bearing arms, in proportion to his rank, an ample reward is made to every one at the close of the war, proportioned to the service which he himself is thought to have individually rendered. These branches of expenditure at the present moment, when the Imaum has a body of twenty thousand men on foot, press hard on the declining revenues of his port; but on the other hand, he is liberally supported by every one throughout his dominions, and voluntary gifts of sums for the prosecution of the war, are made by wealthy patriots: and his own resources are thought to be very ample, and much more than adequate to meet every exigency.

The appearance, dress, and manners of the Arabs of Muscat, differ but little from those of Yemen, and the coast of Hadramaut. In stature, they are of the middle size, but almost invariably slender. Their physiognomy is not so marked as that of most of the Desert Arabs, from their race being more mixed with foreigners brought among them by trade. The complexions of those of pure Arab descent, are much fairer here than in any part of Arabia that I have visited, from the southern borders of Palestine, to the Indian Ocean—though, excepting the plains of Babylonia, Muscat is the hottest place I ever experienced, in any part of the world. From the preference which seems to be given here, to handsome Abyssinian women over all others, there are scarcely any persons able to afford this luxury, who are without an Abyssinian beauty, as a wife, a mistress, or a slave. This has given a cast of Abyssinian feature, and a tinge of Abyssinian complexion, to a large portion of the inhabitants of Muscat; besides which, there are many handsome, tall and young slaves, who are assigned the most honourable places, as rulers of their masters' household, though still slaves; and others again, who by the death of their masters, or other causes, have obtained their freedom, and enriched themselves, so as to become the principal merchants of the place.

A distinguished person of this last description, had recently arrived here with all his family and suite from Bombay. This man was a native of Gondar, tall, handsome, and of regular features, approaching to the European form ; but his complexion was a jet black, and his hair short and woolly, though he had nothing else in his appearance that was African. He was originally brought from Massowah, on the Red Sea, and sold as a slave at Muscat. Having the good fortune to serve a most excellent master, and being himself a faithful servant, he was admitted an adopted heir to all the property, there being no children to claim it ; and, as is not unfrequently the case in similar instances, of a faithful slave serving a benevolent owner, he was invested with all the property by will, before his master's death. Not long after, or when the time required by the law had been fulfilled, he married the widow of his benefactor, and took her and all her relatives under his protection. Making a voyage to India, he remained long enough, as a fixed resident in Bombay, to establish his domicile there ; and, in virtue of this, was considered to be a British subject, and permitted as such, to sail his vessels under the British flag. One of these, the Sulimany, commanded by an English captain, touched at Muscat, on her way to Bussorah. Some slaves were put on board of her, against the English captain's remonstrances ; and the agents of the owner, who was himself at Bombay, seemed to think, that though their principal was sufficiently an Englishman, by adoption or domicile, to obtain an English flag for his vessels ; yet that they were sufficiently Arabs to be justified in conducting their own business, even in these ships, as Arab merchants. The Sulimany sailed for Bussorah, was examined and captured by his Majesty's ship, *Favourite*, the Hon. Captain Maude, in the Gulf, was sent to Bombay, and then condemned in the Court of Admiralty, as a lawful prize, for being found with slaves on board, under English colours, and accordingly condemned. The Abyssinian, finding his interests shaken by this stroke in India, had returned to what he considered his real home, and had brought all his family and domestics with him. There were many genuine Abyssinians, and others mixed with Arab blood in their descent, settled here, as merchants of wealth and importance, and this returning Abyssinian was received among them all with marks of universal respect and consideration. There are also found here, a number of African negroes ; but these from their inferiority of capacity and understanding to the Abyssinians, seldom or ever obtain their freedom, or arrive at any distinction, but continue to perform the lowest offices, and the most laborious duties, during all their lives.

These three classes are all Mohammedans, and of the Soonee sect. Their deportment is grave, and their manner taciturn and serious ; but there is yet an air of cheerfulness, and a look of content, and good-nature, mixed with what would be otherwise forbid-

ding by its coldness. Beards are universally worn, but these are by nature thin and scanty; they are generally preserved of the natural colour, and not dyed, as with the Persians; though henna, the stain used for that purpose, is here applied freely to the soles of the feet and the palms of the hands, as well as *cohel*, or *surmeh*, the Arabic and Turkish names of antimony, to the eyes, from an idea that it increases their sparkling effect, and preserves the sight. Rings are sometimes worn, with the turquoise, or *firouzi* stone, set in them. The dress of the men is simply a shirt and trowsers, of fine muslin, slightly girded round the waist, open sandals of worked leather, and a turban of small blue, checked cotton, with silk and cotton border, of red and yellow,—a manufacture peculiar to the town of Sahar, to the north-west of Muscat, on the coast. In the girdle is worn a crooked dagger; and over the shoulders of the merchants is thrown a purple cotton cloth, of Surat; while the military, or people of government, wear a neatly made wooden shield, hung by a leathern strap over the shoulder, and either hang the sword loosely above it, or carry it in their hand. Nothing can surpass the simplicity of their appearance, or the equality of value, between the dresses of the wealthiest and the lowest classes of the people. The garments of the prince, taken altogether, without his arms, could not have cost more, I should conceive, than about an English guinea; and his arms were not nearly so costly as is usual among the northern Arabs and the Turks. Notwithstanding which, however, the people of Muscat seemed to me to be the cleanest, neatest, best dressed, and most gentlemanly of all the Arabs, that I had ever yet seen, and inspired, by their first approach, a feeling of confidence, good-will, and respect.

The foreigners who sojourn here for such period as their business may require, but who are not reckoned among the permanent residents, are Hindoos, principally Banians from Guzerat; some few Parsees from Bombay; Sindians and Belooches from the coast of Mekran; Persians from Bushire; Arabs from Bahrein; and Jews from Bussorah. Some desert Arabs sometimes come in from the country; and while they are looked upon as much greater strangers by the people of Muscat, than any of those enumerated, and spoken of as a sort of wild race, among whom no man in his senses would trust himself, they, in their turn, regard every thing they see of the port, the shipping, and the bustle of commerce, with an eye of surprise and admiration. The few of these men that I saw, were of a smaller stature, more dried and fleshless in their forms, of a darker colour, and altogether of a more savage appearance, than even the *Yezcedis* of Sinjar. Like them, these seemed never to have passed a razor over their heads, or scissars over their upper lip. Their hair was long and black, and hung in a bush of thick locks over their forehead, eyes, and shoulders. They wore no other covering than a blue checked cotton cloth, girt around their

loins by a small plaited leathern cord, and were without any other shelter for their head, than the immense bush of hair, plastered with grease, which covered it. One of these only had a yambeah; two or three of them had swords and wooden shields; but the greater number of them carried short spears only. They were seemingly as barbarous and uninformed as men possibly could be.

The town of Muscat is upon the whole but meanly built. The Custom-house, which is opposite to the landing place, both for passengers and goods, is merely an open square of twenty feet, with benches around it, one side opening to the sea, and the roof covered in for shelter from the sun. This landing-place is also the Commercial Exchange, where it is usual, during the cool of the morning, and after El Asser, to see the principal merchants assembled,—some sitting on old rusty cannon, others on condemned spars, and others in the midst of coils of rope, exposed on the wharf, stroking their beards, counting their beads, and seeming to be the greatest of idlers, instead of men of business. Notwithstanding which, when a stranger gets among them, he finds commerce to engross all their conversation and their thoughts. Of mosques, I saw not one; at least none were perceptible in the town by their usual accompaniments of domes and minarets. There is no public bath, and not a coffee-house throughout all the place. The bazaars are more narrow and confined, and the dwellings all certainly poorer than in either of the commercial towns of Mocha, Hodeida, Jedda, or Yambo, on the Red Sea; and there is a strange mixture of Indian architecture, in the Banian shops and warehouses, gilded and decorated in their own fantastic way, which contrasts with the sombre melancholy of the Arab houses and alleys, by which they are surrounded. The dwelling of the Imaum, which has an extensive and pretty front near the sea, the residence of one of his brothers near it, and about half a dozen other houses of the chief people here, are the only edifices that can be mentioned as good. The forts which command the harbour, look contemptible to an European eye, though they enjoy commanding positions, are furnished with good cannon, and are perhaps of greater defensive strength than they would at first sight appear to be.

One great distinguishing feature of Muscat, over all other Arabian towns, is the respect and civility shown by all classes of its inhabitants to Europeans. Even in Mocha, where the East India Company have so long had a factory, the most impudent insults are offered to Franks, as they are called, even by children. Here, however, where there has not for a long while been any European resident, an Englishman may go everywhere unmolested. In the town, every one as far as I observed, even the Imaum himself, went on foot. When they journey, horses are seldom used, but camels and asses are the animals mounted by all classes of those who ride. During our stay at Muscat, I did

not see, however, even one of either of those animals, though I was on shore, and visited every part of the town. The tranquillity that reigns throughout the town, and the tolerance and civility shewn to strangers, of every denomination, are to be attributed to the in-offensive disposition of the people, rather than to any excellence of police, as it has been thought. There is, indeed, no regular establishment of that kind here, either in patrols or guards, except at the forts, on the heights above the town, where there are sentinels, who repeat their cries from tower to tower. Nevertheless, whole cargoes of merchandise, and property of every description, are left to lie open on the Custom-house wharf, and in the streets, without fear of plunder. The ancient regulation, which prevented the entry of ships into the port, or the transaction of business on shore, after sunset, is not now enforced; and though shore-boats are not permitted to come off to ships in the harbour after dark; yet ships' boats are allowed to remain on shore, and to go off at pleasure. Every thing, indeed, is favourable to the personal liberty, the safety and the accommodation of strangers; and the Arabs of Muscat may be considered, I think, as far as their manners go, to be the most civilised of their countrymen. The author of '*L'Histoire Philosophique et Politique des Etablissements et du Commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*,' speaks of the people of Muscat, as celebrated at the earliest period of their commercial history, for the most excellent qualities. He says, "Il n'est point de peuple dans l'Orient dont on a loué si généralement la probité, le tempérament, et l'humeur sociale. Ou n'entend, jamais parler d'infidélité dans le commerce, qu'il n'est pas permis de faire après le coucher du soleil. Le défense de boire du vin, et des liqueurs fortes, et si fidèlement observée, qu'on ne se permet pas seulement l'usage du café. Les étrangères, de quelque religion qu'ils soient, nont besoin ni d'armes, ni d'escortes, pour parcourir sans peril tous les partes de ce petit état!"\* This character of them is still applicable to their present state, and gives to their country a just claim to the proud title of Aman, from the security everywhere to be found in it.

The history of Muscat, as far as it is known in European annals, is given in a few words:—During the splendour of the Portuguese power in the Indian Seas, and when their island and city of Ormuz was the chief magazine of trade for the Persian Gulf, the rival port of Muscat, enjoying even then the consideration which its local position was calculated to obtain for it, excited the jealousy of the intrepid Albuquerque, who made himself master of it about the year 1507, and endeavoured to force all the trade it carried on from hence, to increase that of their favourite establishment at Ormuz. When this island was lost to them, the Portuguese endeavoured to concentrate their commerce in Muscat, of which they still retained possession. The Abbé Raynal states, that all their

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\* Tome I, liv. 3, p. 268.

efforts to effect this were fruitless, as navigators took the route of Bender Abassi, or Gombroon, near to Ormuz, on the continent of Persia. He says, that every one dreaded the haughtiness of these ancient tyrants of India, and that there was no longer any confidence in their good faith, so that no other vessel arrived at their port of Muscat, than such as they conducted there themselves. A more modern writer says, however, that after the destruction of Ormuz, Muscat became the principal mart of this part of the world, and thereby produced very great advantages to the crown of Portugal, exclusive of the prodigious private fortunes made by individuals. During that time, continues the same writer, this city was very much improved; for, besides regular fortifications, they erected a stately church, a noble college, and many other public structures, as well as very fine stone houses, in which the merchants resided, and those who, by the management of public affairs, had acquired fortunes to live at their ease. The tradition of the people here, are more conformable to the Abbé's account, though it is true that their vanity would naturally lead them to prefer this to the other, if they had to make a choice between them. This much, however, may be said, that there are at present no visible remains of such grandeur in fortifications, churches, colleges, palaces, and private mansions, as Mr. Milburn has described; though at Aden, in Arabia Felix, and all over Salsette, in India, marks of such monuments are to be traced, and it is not easy to conceive a reason why they should be more completely erased in this place, than either of the others. Both of these writers agree, however, that the Portuguese were at length driven out from Muscat by the Arabs; and that these last, to avenge themselves for their former injuries, betook themselves to general piracy, and having many large ships, from thirty to fifty guns, committed great depredations on the maritime trade of India. They were at length so effectually checked by the naval force of the British in these seas, that their piratical pursuits were abandoned for commercial ones, as early as the commencement of the last century; since which they have become such as I have here endeavoured to describe them.

A little to the north-west of Muscat, and seated at the bottom of a cove, almost of the same form and size as its own, is the town of Muttrah. As a harbour, this is quite as good as Muscat, having the same convenient depth of anchorage, from ten to thirteen fathoms, the same kind of holding ground, and a better shelter from northerly and north-west winds. Ships not being able to beat into the cove of Muscat, with southerly winds, may always stretch over to the westward, and anchor in that of Muttrah, from whence they may weigh with the land wind, and come into Muscat at pleasure. Muttrah is less a place of business than Muscat, though there are more well-built houses in it, from its being a cooler and

more agreeable residence, and, as such, a place of residence for men of wealth. Provisions and refreshments for shipping may be had, with equal ease, from either of these places; indeed, the greater part of those brought to Muscat, are said to come through Muttrah, from the country behind. Meat, vegetables, and fruits, are all abundant in their season, of excellent quality, and low price; and fish are no where more plentiful or more delicious than here. The water, also, is pure, wholesome, and agreeable to the taste; it is brought from springs in the hills, and conducted into a reservoir at Muscat, from which a ship's casks may be filled in a few hours, if a sufficient number of hands be employed. This is more frequently done by large boats, and people from the shore, than by the boats of the ships watering, and is found to be attended with conveniences, which more than overbalance so trifling an expense, being also much more expeditious. For ships having tanks, or wishing to fill their own casks on board, it is usual to send off water in bulk, in a large boat filled at the reservoir; but this is found to affect the quality of the water materially, and should, if possible, be avoided. The boats themselves, being frequently oiled on the inside, to preserve the wood; this oil gives a peculiarly unpleasant taste to the water, which remains on it for many hours; the boats always leak a little also in their upper works, by which the sea-water is let in to mix with the fresh, and makes it quite brackish; and lastly, the men employed on this service, who are generally Negro slaves, make no scruple to come from the shore with dirty feet, and to wash them in the boat; they plunge their perspiring bodies also into the water, remain in it to row off to the ship, immersed up to their middle, and even scrub and wash themselves in it, before coming alongside, so as to leave all the filth and impurities of their skin behind them. All these causes, though creating no perceptible difference in the appearance of the water at the time, need only be mentioned, to create an objection to this mode of receiving it on board, and to give it a decided preference to filling it in the ship's casks.

It has been before observed, that it is usual for ships to moor in tiers at Muscat, or, if single, to ride head and stern, as there is no room in the inner part of the cove to swing. The best anchor and the ship's head, should be to the northward, and the stern anchor to the southward. Neither in entering the harbour, nor in securing the ship, is any assistance now given by the pilots of the port, nor indeed is it at all necessary, as there are no dangers but those above water and in sight. It appears that formerly there was a Serang of the port, who moored the ships, and who was allowed a fixed remuneration for it from the vessel brought in: but this is not usual now; though, if assistance were really wanted, or signals of distress made, they would no doubt be very promptly complied with. It should be added, that ships wishing to refit here, ought to be furnished with all the necessary materials on board; as naval

stores of every description are scarce and dear, from their being altogether foreign produce. Ship timber is brought to this port from Malabar; canvass from Bengal; coir from Africa, and the Laccadine Islands; and made into rope here; and anchors, and all smaller stores from Bombay. As the tide rises about five or six feet, light vessels may be hauled on shore, at high water, and careened, both at Muscat and at Muttrah; and there are shipwrights and caulkers, sufficiently expert in their arts, to render any assistance that may be needed from them in that way. Deficiencies in ships' crews, may also be made up by Arab sailors, who are always to be found here, and are unquestionably braver, hardier, and better seamen than the Lascars of India, though they are sometimes more difficult to be kept in order. On board their own large ships, even the names of the masts, sails, and ropes, as well as the orders of command in evolutions, are as in India, a mixture of Arabic, Persian, Hindoo, Dutch, Portuguese, and English; so that the Hindoostanee of a country ship, is quite intelligible to them all. Besides the terms common to the vessels of India, I remarked some here, which were evident remains of Portuguese domination, as 'Bandeira, Bussola, and Armada,' for flag, compass, and squadron; which are called in Hindoostanee, 'Bowta, Compaz, and Ihoond; in Arabic, 'Beirak, Daura, and Singar; and in Persian, 'Alum, Doora, and Sengar.'

We remained at Muscat ten days, occupied chiefly in the delivery of cargo for this place, and the receipt of other goods for Bombay. The Imaum being himself absent at the head of an expedition against the island of Bahrein, with three of his frigates, about thirty large bughalas, and nearly ten thousand men, his elder brother and his uncle were in charge of the government until his return. The former of these being now in town, requested a visit from me, which I gladly paid him. I was received with as much apparent kindness as respect, and, in an interview of nearly three hours, found sufficient gratification to repay my attention. This governor, as the Imaum his brother had done before, when I first saw him, expressed himself delighted at meeting with an English person with whom he could converse freely, and who could communicate to him the information he desired in his own tongue. After the usual complimentary enquiries, the conversation turned almost entirely on shipping and maritime commerce, which seemed to be still, as it has been for centuries past, the leading pursuit both of the people and the government of Muscat. They had already heard of the opening of a new branch of trade from India to Malta, by the departure of two ships from Calcutta to the Cape, and though I had some difficulty in making the governor comprehend in what part of the globe this little island of Malta was seated, and still more the necessity for so circuitous a route to get at it, yet, when he learnt that the English flag was flying there, he was quite



satisfied as to the safety of a voyage of trade to it. He regretted that his brother, the Imamu, was not here to profit by the information which I had it in my power to give him with respect to this island and its connection with the ports of the Mediterranean, and expressed his firm opinion that, distant as the port was, he would have immediately applied to the government of Bombay for permission, and have sent off a richly laden vessel there with the earliest speculators. In the course of the conversation which passed between us, I learnt that the present governor, Seid Mohammed, who was the eldest son of the late Imamu, Seid Sultan, had the succession to the government offered to him as his acknowledged right, but that he declined it in favour of his younger brother, purely, as he himself expressed it, from an aversion to the cares of public life, and a preference for the tranquillity of a private one. Even the temporary charge which he now held in the absence of his brother, had already begun to be troublesome to him, and he was about to set out in a few days for his residence in the country, and leave his uncle solely in trust.

During our stay here at Muscat, three ships arrived from Bengal: namely, the *Euphrates*, the Governor Petre, and the *Alexander*, all destined for Bussorah; and the Honourable Company's cruiser *Benares*, arriving in the interim from Bushire for the purpose of convoying up such ships as were ready, took three of the vessels under her protection, while the other two remained here. The American vessel being unable to dispose of her warlike stores to advantage in the absence of the Imamu, and being discouraged from the representations of the state of the markets for those articles in the Gulf, from proceeding higher up, as at first intended, determined on sailing from thence to the island of Sumatra direct, at which place she intended taking in a cargo of pepper and returning to New York. This vessel was less than 200 tons burthen, and her crew consisted of six seamen before the mast, a cook, carpenter, cabin-boy, and two officers, besides the captain and supercargo. They had seen no land on the whole of their way from New York to Ras-el-Had, and had sprung a leak only two days after leaving port, which had kept the pumps going every hour from that period till the present. The voyage in such a vessel, and with such a crew, was in itself sufficiently hazardous and enterprising, but with the addition of this evil it became a dangerous one, and deserved a better result than it was likely to produce to those engaged in it. As they were determined on selling some of their naval stores here, even at prime cost, rather than taking them all round to the Eastern islands, they purchased of us two thousand bags of Bussorah dates, at a dollar each, with which they filled up their vacant room, and intended selling them at Penang, where they are often taken, and generally afford a sufficient profit.

It was on the 5th of February that we unmoored, and stood out

from the cove into deeper water, anchoring in 19 fathoms, with Fisherman's Rock bearing E.S.E., about a mile. In this berth, we should be enabled to weigh and weather that rock with a north-west wind; but when ships lie farther into the cove, they are obliged to warp out against such a wind, if it be moderate; and if it be strong, they are often obliged to lie there until it abates; thus losing all the advantage of a favourable breeze, if bound to India, besides being exposed to a heavy swell from the open sea, in bad holding ground, with little room for driving, and a rocky lee shore. To avoid these evils, it is advisable, therefore, for all vessels, as soon as their immediate business with the shore is closed, to take the first opportunity of getting an outer berth, in order to be ready for weighing and making sail with the first appearance of a north-west wind.

On the 6th we made signal for sailing, and received all our supplies and passengers on board; but from the strength of the south-east wind which blew, offering us no prospect of gaining ground to the eastward, we continued still at an anchor.

The morning of the 7th brought us more moderate weather, but though the wind was still in the same quarter, we weighed at daylight and made sail, having with us several small Indian vessels under English colours, who sought our protection clear of the land. We observed at noon, in lat.  $23^{\circ} 47' N.$  and were in long.  $59^{\circ} 2' E.$ , having Cape Kurat to bear S.  $\frac{1}{4}$  W. of us. Towards evening, it fell nearly calm, and we were so affected by a current, apparently setting to the south-east, or in a direction immediately opposite to that in which the wind had been, that the ship with the sails all full, was totally ungovernable by the helm.

During the whole of the 8th, we had light winds from the north-east, which obliged us to stand with our head to the southward, and to make more southing than we wished, as it is advisable from the certainty of a north-east wind, on approaching the Indian coast, to make a few degrees of easting in the parallel of Muscat, or even nearer to the Guadel shore before bearing up, to avoid having a scant wind throughout the passage. We observed at noon, in  $23^{\circ} 34' N.$ , and were in long.  $59^{\circ} 22' E.$ , and at sun-set were braced sharp up with an easterly wind.

On the 9th, it rained heavily from before day-break until past noon, with little intermission; the wind variable, but chiefly from the south-west quarter, and the weather dark and gloomy. At noon, the sun was obscured, but by estimate we were in lat.  $23^{\circ} 45' N.$ , and long.  $61^{\circ} 53' E.$ , from the run of our log.

The 10th brought us no alteration of weather, and we had the winds now more variable, shifting from north to south, but chiefly in the eastern quarter. We observed at noon, by a momentary sight of the sun, in lat.  $24^{\circ} 7' N.$ , and were, by chronometer, in long.  $62^{\circ} 15' E.$ , from sight at 3 P. M.

The boats that had sailed with us from Muscat, had separated during the dark weather, and we now saw no more of them. The winds still continued variable during the whole of the 11th, with light showers of rain, though they prevailed now from the western quarter. At noon we had again no observation, owing to the sun being obscured, but were by estimate, in lat.  $24^{\circ} 60'$  N., and, by afternoon lights for the chronometer, were in long. at noon of  $62^{\circ} 53'$  E.

The sky opened on the morning of the 12th, with every appearance of a change, and soon after sun-rise, we had a fine moderate breeze from the north-west, with clear weather, and a smooth sea. We observed at noon in lat.  $23^{\circ} 35'$  N., and were at the same time in long.  $63^{\circ} 57'$  E., with a steady wind and under all sail. At night we were taken aback, with the wind from the southward, which obliged us to brace round on the starboard tack.

Feb. 13.—In the morning we had again a light air from the N.E., and this continued throughout the day. At noon we observed in lat.  $23^{\circ} 9'$  N., and, at three p. m., obtained a lunar distance, which gave our long.  $63^{\circ} 57'$  at noon, corrected back. The evening was nearly calm and the water smooth.

Feb. 14.—The winds now varied from N.N.E. to E.N.E., but the weather was still fine. Our latitude, observed at noon, was  $22^{\circ} 22'$  N., and our longitude by sun and moon  $65^{\circ} 17' 30'$  at three p. m. The wind, towards evening, drew round to the S.E., and kept us close hauled upon the starboard tack.

Feb. 15.—It was nearly calm throughout the day, with a sensible increase of heat on our approaching to the southward. Tropic birds and flying fish were also seen to day for the first time. The crew enjoyed as usual (being Sunday) a respite from duty, and were mustered in clean clothes. At noon we observed in latitude  $22^{\circ} 27'$  N., and were in long.  $67^{\circ} 3'$  by chronometer, corrected from yesterday's lunar distance. The light air that blew continued still from the southward, which we considered to be a deviation from the usual course of the wind here at this season of the year.

Feb. 16.—We had the wind for S.W. in the morning, and E. by S. at noon, when it soon after fell calm. Our lat. observed was  $22^{\circ} 7'$  N., and long.  $67^{\circ} 45'$  E., the weather increasingly warm but still agreeable. In the evening we had a light breeze from the westward, to which we crowded all sail.

Feb. 17.—With a fine breeze from N.N.E. we were going eight knots at day-light, but towards noon the force of the wind declined. We then observed in lat.  $21^{\circ} 3'$  N., and were in long.  $69^{\circ} 16'$  E., with fine weather and a smooth sea. Toward evening the wind drew round more westerly, but as it was still free, we continued under all possible sail.

Feb. 18.—At day-light we saw the small and low island of Diu at the southern extremity of Guzarat, bearing N.  $\frac{1}{4}$  W., distant six

or seven leagues, and sounded in twenty fathoms on a muddy bottom. At noon we observed in lat.  $20^{\circ} 2' N.$ , and were in long.  $71^{\circ} 47' E.$ , with the same soundings as before, and at three P. M. we made the high land, a little to the northward of Basseen, bearing about E.N.E. but at a considerable distance from us. We crowded all sail, steering S. E., for the light-house of Bombay, and at midnight we had shoaled our water to eighteen fathoms.

Feb. 19.—We were still eight or ten leagues distant from the land at day-light, though we had gone at the rate of seven knots throughout the night, our course being almost parallel with the coast. We now hauled in, however, E.S.E., and at nine A. M. saw the flag-staff on Malabar point, bearing S.E. by E., and the light-house on the island of Caulabah, bearing S.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. At noon, perceiving that our signal was discovered and repeated at the stations, we steered for the entrance of the harbour, and at one P. M. the pilot came on board to take the ship in. We reached our berth soon after ten o'clock, and taking in the mooring chains of the government, we were soon safely secured.

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SONNET ON SHELLEY.

BORNE on the stormy and tempestuous ocean  
Of life, he heeded not the fickle blast,  
Nor yet the tempests' roar. fearless he cast  
His fragile bark, without the least emotion  
Upon the restless flood! His soul's devotion  
Was an o'erflowing source of sweetest pleasure,  
Breathing forth feelings taintless as the azure  
Of Heaven's extended vault! In the commotion  
Of the fierce raging elements, his mind  
Was calm as is the softest sigh of even,  
When silence sleeps upon the gentle wind.  
On virtue did he rest,—to her were given  
His vows, and thus securely did he glide  
Unharm'd, amidst the shocks of life's ungentle tide!

S. GARDNER.

## THE ACROPOLIS, AT ATHENS.

*After a Picture by WILLIAMS, in his 'Views in Greece.'*

(From 'The Poetical Sketch Book,' by T. K. HERVEY, Esq.)

BLUE-EYED Athena ! what a dream wert thou !  
 Oh ! what a glory hover'd o'er thy shrine.—  
 Thy hill, where darker error nestles, now !  
 Yet art thou hallowed, though no more divine !  
 The worship of all noblest hearts is thine,—  
 Though the dull Moslem haunts the sacred earth  
 Where sprung the olive o'er its bower of vine,  
 And watch'd above thine own Cecropia's birth !—  
 Truth, that should chase such dreams, were surely little worth !  
 For oh ! thou art the very purest thought  
 That fable e'er conceived !—and, on thy hill—  
 Thine own blue hill—where time and Turk have wrought,  
 In vain, to break the spell that lingers still,—  
 The heart that owns a better faith may kneel,  
 Nor wrong his creed, while bending o'er the sod  
 Where gods—and men like gods, in act and will—  
 Are made immortal, by the wizard rod  
 Of him whose every thought aspired to be a god !

Mount of the free—Olympus of the earth !  
 Fair as a temple—lonely as a tomb !  
 Shall the dark robber rear his household hearth,  
 Where fabled gods contended for a home !—  
 Those bright abstractions of a truth to come !—  
 No, by the gift Trazene's monarch gave !  
 No, by thy wither'd olive's early bloom !  
 The sea-god's offering calls upon thy brave—  
 Mount, and replant the tree, once more, upon the Moslem's  
                     grave !

ON THE ADVANTAGES OF EXTENDING OUR TRADE WITH INDIA  
AND CHINA.

[We have great pleasure in laying before our readers the following article, which is from the pen of a gentleman, who has a thorough knowledge of the India trade, and who has had the best opportunities of judging, both what the defects of the present monopoly are, and what the result of a more liberal system would be.]—*Scotsman*.

In the present distressed state of the manufacturing interests of the country, it is gratifying to see the commercial community bestirring themselves with spirit and energy, and with that acuteness and intelligence which has always distinguished them, pointing out to the Legislature, perhaps, the only effectual means in their power, of mitigating, and eventually removing, the present depression, by opening the markets of India and China to the unrestricted intercourse of British subjects.

If the incompatibility of sovereign power and commercial monopoly, blended together, were still questioned, the history of the East India Company would satisfy the most sceptical.

In the early period of their intercourse with India, they appeared as armed traders, and carried on an extensive commerce with all the nations of Asia, from the Red Sea to Japan, and were every where well received. But under no restraint, with arms in their hands, and conscious of their superiority over the natives, they could not long continue to conduct their concerns on fair and equal principles; and accordingly, the natives were every where abused, plundered, and destroyed, until the very name of an European became hateful to them, and they sought by every means in their power, to expel them.

The jealousy which existed between the different European traders then frequenting India, but more particularly between the Dutch and English monopoly companies, enabled them, towards the close of the 17th century, to expel them from all countries where they had not then actually acquired military possession.

Since their exclusion, or for upwards of a century, the East India Company have never—with the exception of China—traded but with their own dominions, and the insignificance of their commercial transactions even with them, only proves either their indifference to the extension of their commerce, or their utter incapacity to conduct it.

Survey the map of India, and behold the Mogul empire as now ruled by this Monopoly Company, surrounded by nations and people, who, from time immemorial, have peaceably carried on an extensive and lucrative intercourse with these dominions, and say upon what principle or self interest, or common sense, these Leadenhall-Street Moguls have so pertinaciously insisted on the Legislature excluding

their fellow countrymen from any participation in the international Asiatic commerce, the advantages of which, as they themselves did not enter into it, were thus long secured to the exclusive enjoyment of native traders, many of whom were neither their own subjects, nor in any way connected with them.

Fortunately for the country, and for many of our countrymen, the critical situation of their affairs in India, induced the authorities there to connive at the occasional settlement of Europeans at the presidencies, who, notwithstanding the difficulties they had to contend with, from being so situated, entered into competition with the native traders to Arabia and Persia to the west, and to several of the Indo-Chinese nations, to China, and the Malayan Archipelago to the east; and with such eminent success, that the high charges on capital, the difficulty in obtaining it, and above all the paucity of respectable Europeans to conduct the trade, alone prevented the Native traders from being in a short time superseded.

At present we shall content ourselves with a few general remarks on the trade from India to China and the Malayan Archipelago.

During the greater part of the 17th century, Europeans were freely admitted to various ports of China, and they traded with that empire as they then did with Japan, and the Indo-Chinese nations, to a considerable extent.

But here, as everywhere else throughout India, the ambition, faithlessness, and rapacity of the Monopoly Companies, excited the jealous fears of the government, to whom they at last became so obnoxious, that about the beginning of the 18th century, their intercourse with the empire was confined to the port of Canton, where, under certain restrictions, which have never since been materially altered or modified, they still continue to trade.

With such conduct, and such results before them, it may be natural for the Court of Directors to dread the effects of a free intercourse with China; but they should bear in mind that it was their ambitious attempts to obtain a settlement and influence in the country, and the insolence and misconduct of their servants, that was the cause of all their disasters—while, as experience has proved, adventurers resorting there for the sole purposes of trade, conduct themselves in such a way, as may, after the removal of the Company, regain the lost confidence of the nation, quiet the jealous fears of the Government, and in time induce them to admit of a less restricted intercourse with the country.

The trade from India to China, has only recently risen into importance, and it is to the enterprise of their countrymen, *settled at the presidencies by sufferance*, that the Company are indebted for this commercial intercourse, now become so important to the prosperity of their dominions, and advantageous to their territorial revenue.

Had it depended on the Company, or had their efforts to exclude their countrymen from India proved more successful, this trade, from which they now derive so many advantages, would not yet have been in existence.

It is—we may almost say—exclusively conducted by British subjects, in ships built by themselves in India, and navigated by British officers and native crews. The extent of tonnage employed may be judged of by the imports into China, which average annually about 300,000 *Pecules* of cotton, of the value of about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  millions of Spanish dollars, besides opium to the value of 6 to 7 millions of dollars, and pepper, tin, betel-nut, sandal wood, and various other products to a very considerable extent. In short, the private trade from India to China, *exclusive of the Company's*, may be estimated at about three millions sterling.

The returns are made in specie, teas, *manufactured silks*, nankeens, crockery, &c. &c.

Only a few years ago, Tutenag formed a very considerable part of the return cargoes, but it has been entirely superseded by spelter from Europe, as, under an unrestricted intercourse with India, would soon be the fate of the manufactured silks, nankeens, and crockery. But the principal part of the returns are now frequently made in bills drawn by the Company's Factory in Canton, on the Court of Directors and the Governor-General of India, and thus the Company derive a considerable advantage even from this hampered intercourse—by receiving on the spot, at an advantageous exchange, Spanish dollars, which they were formerly under the necessity of exporting from this country at a considerable charge.

But by far the most important advantage derived by the Company, is in the market it affords for the products of India, and the consequent augmentation of their revenue. It is well known that opium is a rigid monopoly in India: that the natives *are obliged to cultivate and deliver it to the Company at fifty-six rupees per maund*, or 112 rupees per chest, and that, after adding the heavy commissions to their agents, and transport to the sea ports, it stands them there considerably less than 300 rupees per chest, while it has lately ranged, at their public sales, from 1500 to 2500 rupees per chest.

Up to the year 1800, when this trade was still, we may say, in its infancy, the price of opium, at their public sales, seldom ranged above 700 rupees per chest, and the consumption was less than half what it is at present, while there was no cotton exported from Bengal.

If, therefore, a few British settlers, struggling under the numerous disabilities and difficulties consequent to the system of sufferance under which their residence in India was permitted, have been able, in so short a period, to raise this trade to its present import-



ance, what might not have been expected, had the free exercise of British capital and enterprise been brought to bear upon it; or indeed what may not still be expected, should they be permitted a full and free competition with all the world.

The progress of our commercial intercourse with the Indian Archipelago, under similar disadvantages, is scarcely less instructive or interesting.

Here, also, during the greater part of the 17th century, the Company were well received, and possessed many commercial establishments, until, by a similar course of arrogance, rapacity, cruelty, and injustice, they were, towards the close of the century, expelled from them all, with the exception of Bencoolen, leaving the natives impoverished, corrupted, and imbued with a deep rooted feeling of hatred and revenge, against the European race—the effects of which have been severely felt by them ever since; while the natives have been stigmatised as a barbarous, cruel, and perfidious race, for practising the lessons taught them by the rapacious Monopoly companies of Europe.

For some time after the expulsion of the Company from the Archipelago, the trade was principally conducted by Arab and Chuliah vessels from Bombay, Madras, and Bengal, to a few of the ports of the principal Native states in the Straits of Malacca, and on Sumatra and Borneo. At a later period, a few country ships, principally from Bengal, completely armed and equipped, and mounting twelve, and sometimes twenty guns, with a numerous crew, partly consisting of Europeans, or descendants of Europeans, also traded to Acheen, Mattacca, Pentianak, Bencoolen, and one or two other ports. The rate of profit being proportioned to the expence of the equipment, and the risk incurred, which, in the lawless state of those countries, was very considerable, made the commodities imported costly, and necessarily limited the trade.

After the establishment of Penang in (1765), and capture of Malacca (in 1795), the trade with the Archipelago in vessels belonging to British subjects, considerably increased.

At these ports, to which an increasing number of country ships annually resorted, fleets of Malay prows, from all the different states of the Archipelago, arrived at particular seasons of the year, and exchanged their gold dust, dollars, spices, gin, ivory, bees-wax, and a variety of other articles, for the opium and piece goods of India, and a very limited quantity of Europe chintzes, broadcloths, and hardware, which were brought from India, and bore an exorbitant price.

The subsequent capture of the Moluccas and Java, tended still more to the extension of this commerce, and to a direct intercourse with most of the states of the Archipelago, which in a few years

produced a most salutary revolution in their conduct and habits, rendering the intercourse with the more civilized of them comparatively safe, and judging from the experience of the effects produced in that short period, we may venture to affirm, that had Britain continued in possession of those colonies until now, acts of piracy would have been rare, and the intercourse with the most accessible of them, as safe as with any part of India.

Previous to 1810, the total quantity of British cottons disposed of in the Archipelago, did not exceed 300 cases, all the other British manufactures being in the same proportion, while in 1823, the imports into Java alone, exceeded 6000 cases of cottons, and the imports into Penang, Malacca, Singapore, and Manilla, &c. &c. were also considerable.

The heavy import duty since imposed by the Dutch, on our cotton manufactures, has checked the direct importation into Java, and increased that of Singapore, from whence Java is now partly supplied by native grows, who easily evade the duties. Still, however, the direct importation into Batavia, is considerable, and after paying a duty frequently exceeding sixty per cent. on the prime cost, our manufactures successfully compete with those of the Netherlands, which are free of duty.

The finer cotton fabrics of India, have been entirely superseded by those of Great Britain, consequently the trade from India to the Archipelago, is now confined to the coarser fabrics and opium.

The aggregate value of the trade of the Archipelago, at present conducted by British subjects, may be moderately estimated *at one and a half millions sterling.*

The trade with India may average about one-third of this amount. Of opium, which is the principal article of value, the consumption of the Archipelago may be estimated at from 1000 to 1200 chests.

The total amount of sales of British manufactures in the Archipelago, cannot be under one million sterling, of which considerably more than half is to the inhabitants of Java.

The total population of the Archipelago is estimated at ten millions, a considerable portion of which is still in a rude, uncivilized state; yet, judging from what has been effected amongst them, in a few years of licensed intercourse, by the enterprise of our countrymen, during which, in their unequivocal character of peaceful traders, they have in some degree restored the confidence of the Natives, and extended the consumption of our manufactures, some idea may be formed, although but a faint one, of what might be expected from an unrestricted intercourse with all the countries of the East. In a shorter time, perhaps, than has sufficed to effect this improvement, India might afford a field for the employment of

a great portion of the unemployed capital of the country, and for numerous well educated youths, at present a burden to their families ; and with such means, and such talents, applied to the inextinguishable powers of the fertile soils of our Indian dominions, what wealth might not be extracted from them ! Let us only thus put it in the power of the Natives of our own dominions to acquire the means of purchasing our manufactures and they will soon afford ample employment for all the manufacturers of the country. It is, therefore, the interest of the manufacturers to join the mercantile community, in earnest entreaty to the legislature, to discontinue the Company's charter, and admit British subjects to an unrestricted intercourse with all parts of our Indian dominions, and to a free trade with all the countries of the East.

## SONNET.—CHARITY.

Why art thou thus a stranger to mankind,  
 Thou brightest, fairest, Heaven-born Charity ?  
 Descend, celestial spirit, from on high  
 And shed thy influence o'er the human mind.  
 Long wanting thee has man been straying, blind,  
 And waging a fierce war with his own brother !—  
 Long have the human race with one another  
 Held mutual hate, in discord's fetters joined,  
 Swept on life's boundless and tempestuous sea,  
 Even as the bark to ocean's waves a prey,  
 Is man to passions which eternally  
 Do rage within him, e'en to his decay !—  
 Passions which oft-times cause the tear to flow,  
 As raised above the crowd, I view such scenes of woe !

S. GARDNER.

## DEROZIO'S POEMS.\*

THESE volumes possess claims to our attention, of a very unusual description. They contain the first productions of a young poet, a Native of British India, educated entirely in that country, and whose character, feelings, and associations, have been exclusively developed there, under circumstances apparently the most unfavourable to poetic excellence. These circumstances are thus intimated, in a letter which accompanied a copy of the poems, recently forwarded by an intelligent friend, at Calcutta, to Mr. Buckingham :

'The writer was born in India ; has never been out of it ; and is now under twenty years of age. You who know this country, will be able duly to appreciate the difficulties against which he has had to contend. The total absence of almost all objects of natural beauty ; the still more complete want of all noble and exalted feelings amongst those with whom the poet must have associated ; the very language, which can hardly be called English, that they speak : taking all these things into fair consideration, which *you* are well able to do from actual experience, we cannot but admit that the production of such a poem as the 'Fakcer of Jungheera,' is very extraordinary.'—'It is,' he adds, 'as if a Briton, of the time of Severus, had suddenly written a poem in good Latin.'

In this opinion, after a careful perusal of Mr. Derozio's two volumes, we very cordially concur. These volumes contain much that, under any circumstances, would have been interesting ; and which, under those above-mentioned, is really extraordinary. Taken as a whole, it is true, his poetry is marked by great faults and blemishes, but he *is*, nevertheless, a poet ; and with better models in his eye than those on which he has obviously formed himself, he may, we conceive, one day produce something which neither India nor England 'would willingly let die.' He has much to learn, and more perhaps to *unlearn*, before he can hope to produce a poem of thorough excellence ; but he is still very young, and he has real poetic power : much, therefore, may be hoped from him, if he will be a rigid critic to himself. But without further introduction, we will now exhibit what this Indian poet *can* do, and then we shall talk of what he *may* do.

The following is the commencement of one of the smaller pieces, entitled 'The Deserted Girl.' Those who, like us, have often witnessed the vivid and sudden vicissitudes of a tropical night scene, will appreciate the truth of this description.

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\* Poems by H. L. V. Derozio. Calcutta : 1827. The Fakcer of Jungheera, a metrical Tale ; and other Poems. By H. L. V. Derozio. Calcutta : 1828.

' Wet, damp, and gloomy, 'twas a cheerless hour !  
 That night was not for blank forgetfulness ;  
 And I who love to look upon heaven's face  
 Even when 'tis darkened into frowns, went forth  
 To hear the storm chide this affrighted earth.  
 A blackness, like despair, on nature hung,  
 Save when the lightning's fitful flashes gleamed ;  
 As if each playful spirit in his sport  
 Wrote with phosphoric pen some unknown sign  
 To break the charm that bound the gathered cloud.  
 The thunder's voice was angry, loud, and deep ;  
*It knocked against the heart as 'twould have learned*  
*If fear were lurking there. The waters shrieked,*  
*And ran from place to place, as if to hide*  
*Even from the presence of the tempest wild.*  
 Silence, and rest had no existence there :  
 The blast shook mightiest trees with its strong breath,  
*And bent the mountain forests, as it claimed*  
*Their homage on approaching. 'Twas a night*  
 That cannot from my memory be washed out  
 Even by thy ceaseless tide, vicissitude !  
 The thunder roared till waxing weak it slept,  
 And echo answered not ; *the lightnings pale*  
*Which had been flashing through the sky like swords*  
*Were sheathed at last ; the waves grown weary too*  
 Were as unruffled as a mirror clear,  
 Where the moon saw her face ; *the howling wind*  
*Went like a beaten hound unto his cave ;*  
 And stars came one by one to join the court  
 Of night's most lovely queen. I heard a voice  
 Like to the silver sound a harp gives out,  
 When evening breezes wander 'mid its strings,  
 Waking delicious music out of sleep.  
 Then there were words so slowly, sweetly breathed,  
 I might have deemed 'twas an ærial bird  
 Softening men's language ; but the words were sad,  
 And then I knew they were of earth, and human.'—  
pp. 165—167.

Some of the above lines which we have distinguished by italics, appear to us possessed of very high poetic force and beauty.

The next poem we quote is given entire. It is intitled, ' Poetic Haunts :—

' Where the billow's bosom swells,  
 Where the ocean casts its shells,  
 Where the wave its white spray flings ;  
 Where the sea-mew flaps its wings ;

Where the grey rock in the storm  
 Rears its proud gigantic form,  
 Laughing as the lightnings flash,  
 Heedless of the billowy dash,  
 Heedless though the clouds may pour,  
 Heedless though the thunders roar ;  
 Where the wind-god rideth by  
 Swiftly through the blackening sky,  
 Where the spirit of the sea  
 Wakes its matchless melody,  
 While the Niriads gather round  
 Gladdened by the magic sound ;—  
 Far from human hut, or home,  
 Let the gifted Poem roam.

‘ Or, upon some star-paved lake  
 When the south breeze is awake,  
 Let him launch his little bark,—  
 Love's and Fancy's favored ark !  
 When the mellow moonlight falls  
 On the distant castle walls ;  
 When the white sail is unfurled,  
 And the graceful wave is curled ;  
 When the winds in concert sing  
 To the planets listening,  
 And the lady-moon rejoices,  
 Hearing their melodious voices,  
 While she bids her softest beam  
 Bear an errand to the stream,  
 Which upon its lucid breast  
 Wears an island, all at rest,  
 Like a gem it flasheth there  
 Beziled by the waters fair ;  
 Such a spot as fairies love  
 When abroad they nightly rove ;  
 Where the red deer roams unharmed,  
 And the wild dove unalarmed,  
 And the minstrel nightingale,  
 Tells, in plaintive strain, his tale,  
 Which the young rose blushing hears  
 Like a maid who loves, but fears ;—  
 Such a sweet, enchanting spot  
 Where our griefs might be forgot,  
 Where, in youth, one fain would dwell  
 With the lady he loved well—  
 —Hither let the Poet be  
 Dreaming dreams of ecstacy.

' Or, on some bright summer even  
 With his eye upraised to heaven,  
 Ere the ruby sun hath set,  
 Ere the waning day hath met  
 On the western mountain's height  
 Clad in widow's weeds, the night ;  
 Let him muse on all around,  
 On each soothing sight and sound !  
 Let him mark the sun-gilt cliff,  
 And the fisher's infant skiff ;  
 Let him watch the wild waves' play,  
 How they glide, like bliss away ;  
 How they meet, and how they sever—  
 Lovers parted, and for ever !  
 And when every wind's asleep,  
 And the spirit of the deep  
 Maketh music on the main,  
 When her soft melodious strain  
 Charmeth Ocean's heaving breast,  
     How the sun's last rays expire,  
     How the weary waves retire  
 In each other's arms to rest !  
 Then upon the golden sky  
 Let him cast his gifted eye—  
 Such a dazzling, glorious sight,  
 As if angels in their flight  
 With their plumage dipt in light,  
 Flung the radiance of their wings  
 (As the priest sweet incense flings)  
 On the western gate of heaven—  
 What a brilliant boon to even !  
 Hither let the minstrel be  
 Weaving wreaths of Poesy,  
 Lays of melody, and fraught  
 With th' immortal fire of thought,  
 Such as steal upon the soul  
 Like sweet spells beyond control,  
 Clinging, whatsoe'er may be,  
 Ever to the memory,  
 Like the first wild dream of Love !'—pp. 184—188.

Though these verses are greatly too diffuse, yet it must be allowed, we think, that they display a command of easy and flowing versification, and of picturesque and pleasing imagery, which are highly creditable to the writer's taste and talents, and which, under his peculiar circumstances, are not a little extraordinary.

The ' Fakeer of Jungheera,' which gives a title to Mr. Derozio's last and principal volume, and which seems to be the composition

on which he chiefly rests his young reputation, is, we must candidly confess, in spite of many seducing passages, a production not at all to our liking. It is altogether upon the strained and extravagant model of Lord Byron's poetic romances of love and murder; and too like the exaggerated imitations of the worst Byronic style, with which we have been overflowed in this country, even to nausea, ever since the appearance of the 'Giaour.' Such as 'Bertram,' the mad play of poor Madurin, the mad Irish novelist,—the rhyming romances of L. E. L. *et hoc genus omne*—a school of poetry which we have the satisfaction to perceive is, (in this country at least) now nearly 'on its last legs.' Mr. Derozio has had the misfortune, like some other aspirants of no mean promise, to be carried away by the pegasus hypograph of this Byronic school, high into the perilous regions of exaggerated passion, and falsetto sentiment; and we wish we could assist in leading him back to the pleasant paths of simplicity, in the salubrious land of genuine nature, where we are convinced he might yet attain poetic distinction of no mean order.

In speaking thus of the 'Byronic School' we would not be misunderstood as if we rated lightly the merit of Lord Byron's own poetry. He is unquestionably a great and powerful poet—the greatest Britain has produced in an age exuberant in poetical genius—though not certainly to be placed on the same scale with those men of mightier and calmer intellect, that, like Shakspeare and Milton, and a few more, stand out in gigantic relief, even amidst the highest of the sons of song. Byron, though not one of this heroic mould, possessed nevertheless poetic powers of great brilliancy and exuberance; but these being regulated neither by a pure taste nor a pure morality, most of his productions are marred by great imperfections, both in conception and execution. His misanthropic heroes, fiery in passion and feeble in principle, are only natural so far as they resemble himself; beyond that general outline they are generally unnatural, and always exaggerated. With all this, no doubt, the genuine ore of his poetry was so rich as not merely to dazzle the fervid and the unreflecting, but to excite also the enthusiastic applause of all genuine lovers of poetry. A universal shout of acclamation proclaimed him the chief of living poets; and to him, as to their monarch and their model, the plastic minds of youthful aspirants in literature looked up in emulative admiration. The result was such as might have been expected. Byron's points of excellence were peculiar, and not capable of being attained by imitation; but all that was overcharged in his delineation of character, outrageous or untrue in passion and sentiment, tinselly in description, or turgid, abrupt, and harsh in versification,—could be imitated, and has accordingly found numerous imitators.

In this class we are reluctantly constrained to rank Mr. Derozio; or, perhaps, it would be more correct to say, that his style and



manner, though borrowed in a great degree from Byron, are characterised also by frequent resemblances to the other fashionable poetry of the day, to which his reading seems to have been unfortunately almost exclusively confined. Thus, we are continually reminded of Moore's 'Lallah Rookh,' and Miss Saunders's 'Troubadour,' and other things of the same seven-times-diluted sort, which have lain in ladies' boudoirs, and been sighed over by drawing-room sentimentalists, during the last seven years, and which have, no doubt, had their admirers in India, as well as in England. It is in all likelihood more Mr. Derozio's misfortune than his fault, that such flimsy volumes hath, in addition to Byron's works, formed almost exclusively his poetic fabulum; but it is a great misfortune, notwithstanding; and it has infected his whole style of composition to such an extent, as almost to destroy with gaudy verbiage the really beautiful and fragrant flowers of poetic fancy, which are the genuine offspring of his ardent and elegant mind.

The 'Fakcer of Jungheera,' is a personage lineally descended from 'The Corsair,' and near of kin to the 'Veiled Prophet of Khorassan;' and his lady-love, Nuleeni, is as 'warm and wild,' and woe-begone, as one of L. E. L.'s extatic damsels, whose only occupation is to kiss—and die.

Scattered throughout this 'Metrical Tale,' as well as in other parts of Mr. Derozio's two volumes, are many brilliant little gems of poetry—somewhat too much in the fanciful style of Moore, perhaps,—but still very pleasing, and felicitous. We give a few specimens. The first is from a lady's address to her lover:—

" And I would keep thee like a thought  
Which Memory in her temple keeps,  
When every sorrow sinks to nought,  
And all the past of misery sleeps—  
O thus should thy bright image dear  
Above my heart's warm altar sit,  
While every hope, affection, fear  
Of mine like lamps were round thee lit."—p. 47.

' Alas ! when misery comes, Time clips his wing,  
And walks in fetters, and we hear them ring.'

Of memory he says—

' Can'st thou not also die when all we love  
Sinks in the insatiate tomb?—Ah, no !  
'Thou dost burn on like a pale charnel light  
Above the grave of hopes, and smiles, and joys,  
Which made life's work delightful.'—p. 59.

There are many elegant and sparkling things such as these, or better than these, in the book, but our limits are exhausted, and

we must stop. In thus parting (but for a while, we hope) with Mr. Derozio, we wish to add a few words, if he will permit us, of friendly advice—a few words of warning and of encouragement.

He is capable, we conceive, of something better than inditing 'wild and wondrous lays,' such as his 'Fakeer,' and much of the other matter which fills these two small volumes; but we must, if he wishes to produce a work worthy service, turn to better models and better subjects. Let him lay Moore and Byron on the shelf, burn the 'Troubadour' and the 'Improvisatrice;' read Shakspeare, Milton, Spencer, the old dramatists, and Robert Burns; study earnestly *condensation* in style, and, above all, stick to *truth* and *nature* in word and thought; and we will venture to predict that he will write something worthy to be 'held in remembrance.'

We should be sorry if what we had said appear to the author harsh or unkind. Far otherwise, at least, is our feeling and purpose. Not to us, therefore, let him or his friends apply his own lines:—

'Alas! we live in iron days  
When lips are sparing even of praise;  
As though in one approving tone  
Too much of heaven and rapture shone;  
As though it were too pure a gem  
Freely to cast away to them  
Whose glassy joys a glance may break,  
Whose happiness a smile can shake,  
Their heaven the rapture-lighted eye,  
And triumph, song-awakened sigh!'—p. 81.

Our censure is designed to induce this really talented and interesting young poet to betake himself to purer models than those which have too long fascinated his juvenile fancy, and to select worthier subjects for his muse than bandit-Fakeers, or Moslem-lovers. The page of Indian history, of his *native* India, in all its 'glory and its gloom,' lies spread before him. The present condition and future prospects of India, are also themes of deep and inspiring interest. Let him turn to these, and he will scarcely fail to find them worthy to inspire a loftier lay than the 'Fakeer of Jungheera.'

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*Preparing for publication,*

THE LIFE OF THE REV. JOHN WESLEY, A. M., late Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. With much additional matter. By the Rev. HENRY MOORE, sole surviving Trustee of Mr. Wesley's Papers.

## PLEASURE.

## I.

PLEASURE, how thou wing'st thy flight  
 On the fleeting hours !  
 With thy charms thou dost delight—  
 Charms, alas ! which oft-times blight  
 As we sleep beneath thy bowers !

## II.

Why fond idol art thou flying ?  
 Ne'er will I believe thee !  
 As the noon-tide breeze is sighing ;—  
 As the silent eve is dying,  
 Dost thou ever thus deceive me !

## III.

Frail as is the rose's bloom  
 Are thy joys, how fleeting !  
 Soon the earth becomes its tomb !—  
 Such is oft thy votary's doom,  
 When amid thy haunts retreating.

## IV.

At thy shrine I oft have vow'd ;  
 But thy joys,—how fading !  
 Sorrow, like a darkened cloud,  
 Sheds a gloom, and doth enshroud  
 Thee, and thus thy shades invading !

## V.

I have culled thy fairest flowers ;  
 Fair ! but ah ! how perishing !  
 Oft in thy enchanting bowers  
 Did I chide the passing hours  
 When such fair hopes cherishing !

## VI.

Like, thou art, to Fancy's dream,  
 Transient, sweet, and flying !  
 Now in fairy halls we seem,  
 Sporting in the sun's bright gleam ;—  
 Ah ! see how soon the scene is dying !

## VII.

Then will I no more be straying  
 After phantoms like to thee !  
 For thou ever art betraying ;  
 And, like blight midst flowers, preying  
 On our hopes ; adieu to thee.

S. GARDNER.

**LEGAL PROCEEDINGS IN INDIA, CONNECTED WITH THE POWER OF  
ISSUING WRITS OF HABEAS CORPUS.**

[THE two following abstracts of Reports of proceedings in the Supreme Courts of Bengal and Bombay, each of them illustrative of the views entertained in the respective courts on the question of the jurisdiction in cases of Habeas Corpus in India, were intended to have been given in a former number, but the great length of the parliamentary proceedings on India affairs, and other matter of immediate interest prevented this. We insert them now, however, from their strict bearing on the question lately discussed before the privy council in this country giving them an interest, which has been rather increased than lessened by the temporary delay.]

SUPREME COURT,—*Calcutta, Saturday, 18th June, 1828.*

The King *v.* William Wright Henry Newenham, Montizamood Dowlah Mendy Ally Khaun, Kulumben Buksh and others.

A RULE to show cause why a criminal information should not issue, having been granted as far back as November, at the suit of the King, against the above defendants, for obstructing the process of the Supreme Court, and rescuing Montizamood Dowlah Mendy Ally Khaun, out of the hand of the officer, who arrested him at the suit of William Morton, on the 16th June; the motion was pressed for making the rule absolute, and counsel heard on behalf of the defendants.

The affidavit, for the prosecution, set forth that George Morgan, a sheriff's officer of Calcutta, made his caption of Montizamood Dowlah Mendy Ally Khaun, at Futteghur, in the Zillah of Furruckabad, on the 28th January, 1826—that he proceeded with his prisoner to a bungalow, where Mr. Morton resided, when bail was offered for the release of the prisoner, which he refused; that, apprehending a rescue, he applied to Col. Kirkman, for assistance, who not only refused such assistance, but, in conjunction with Capt. Fulton and Mr. William Wright, the judge of Furruckabad, interfered eventually to obstruct the process of the court. That, on the 30th, Kulumber Buksh Nazir, of the criminal court of Furruckabad, accompanied by a great body of men, his sipahees, came and made the deponent and his peons prisoners, when Montizamood Dowlah Mendy Ally Khaun escaped; that he was summoned before Mr. Wright, to show cause why he should not accept bail; that, in refusing bail, he had done so prudentially, because, in October preceding these occurrences, having received a warrant for the arrest of Mendy Ally Khaun, for 107,455—8, which warrant had expired, he had reason to believe another would be sued out, &c.

The deposition of two of the peons corroborated the above, as did also the affidavit of William Morton, late of Futteghur, but then agent of Serampore, which alleged, that Mendy Ally Khaun being largely indebted to deponent, and refusing the sum to be made a set-off, in account transactions of sums due from him and

his co-partners, he arrested him, on two different actions, on the 28th January, 1826, for 6400 rupees, afterwards paid. The deposition then details the facts relative to an apprehended tumult from the large concourse of armed retainers at the Bungalow—that he felt himself in danger, as Mendy Ally Khaun had been arrested at his suit : that things remained in this state till the 30th, when certain Chaprassies of Mr. Wright, put Morgan under arrest, and liberated Mendy Ally Khaun : that beside the large sum for which the deponent's writ had been sued out, there were other, and heavy, demands against the prisoner ; and that Mr. Wright, at the time, being on unfriendly terms with the deponent, and on familiar intimacy with the Native in question, he does not think that, in liberating Mendy Ally Khaun, he acted from a sense of public justice, but on account of the habits of intimacy mentioned—the Native's wealth, and the personal enmity between Mr. Wright and the deponent. The deposition concludes that Mendy Ally Khaun, being engaged in extensive commerce in Calcutta, was within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.

On the part of the defendants, the depositions were numerous, and went to disprove, in a great measure, those of the sheriff's officer. Mendy Ally Khaun's statement was, in substance, this :—That the bailiff gained access to him by representing himself a judge of Benares, desirous of visiting him ; that he was then arrested at the suit of Morton ; that the proposition to go to Morton, was made by the bailiff ; that he consented, on the bailiff's urging that a refusal to comply would be a contempt of the court ; that he arrived at Morton's house, where he saw a number of armed men ; but that Morton, not choosing to come to him himself, sent an agent ; that he proffered the amount of the warrant, but was refused his release, until the bond for two lakhs was given up ; that, finding things thus, he declared his wish to proceed to Calcutta ; that, for this purpose, on obtaining a budgerow, the officer objected to going on board until Mr. Morton should be first satisfied ; that he wrote to Mr. Wright, Colonel Hickman, and Captain Fulton, informing them of his situation ; that they advised with the officer on the propriety of his release, on payment of the amount of the warrant, which was tendered, and refused, unless Mr. Morton would give his sanction ; that, upon this, after sending a written representation of his case to Mr. Wright, who sent an order to his Nazir, Kullumber Buksh, to bring the deponent before him ; that Mr. Morton's armed servants were about the house ; that the Nazir then took him to Mr. Wright's, who received his hoondi for 8000 rupees, and took bail for his appearance, in case of summons from the Supreme Court.

‘That at three o'clock on the same day, he returned to his house ; he further states that the place in which he was confined, was much dilapidated ; that it was without furniture, and that armed men

were placed over him, in his presence; that he was not in Mr. Morton's debt, but that Mr. Morton was deeply in his; about two lakhs on his own account, and six on his nephew's, for both of which he has bonds under the hand of Morton and his co-partners, and that he confined deponent for the purpose of extorting the bond for the first-mentioned sums; that he sent the Moonshee to Morton, to know why he was unjustly confined, and received for answer that he should not be released until he had expunged Morton's name from the bond: the debt of two lakhs is Morton's personal debt, the other belongs to the firm.'

The statement of Henry Newenham strengthened the account of Mendy Ally Khaun; it expressly stated, that the armed men about the bungalow declared themselves the servants of Mr. Morton and the officer of the sheriff; that understanding that the bailiff had asserted, that a rescue had been effected by an armed force, he taxed him with a malicious falsehood, in the presence of Mr. Wright; that no armed men of the Newab were about the house; it was filled with his acquaintance and servants, but he saw no offensive disposition evinced. The statements of Colonel Hickman, Captain Fulton, Lieutenant Ganet, and many others, were nearly to the same effect as the foregoing, and only differed in consequence of the variation as to time when the occurrence came under observation.

The Counsel for the defendants ably advocated the cause of their respective clients.

The Chief Justice, in delivering the opinion of the Court, commented on the facts of the arrest, in the first instance, as they were set forth, in execution of the process of the Court. Proceeding then to the refusal of the bail tendered, without advice from the sheriff at Calcutta, he stated, that it appeared that Morton had offered to set Mendy Ally Khaun free, on the delivery of a certain bond, to which terms the Newab would not conform. On this Mendy Ally Khaun wrote to Mr. Wright, the Judge and Magistrate of Furruckabad, to acquaint him with the circumstances, who visited him, and endeavoured to persuade Morgan to take bail; he persisted in his refusal; Mr. Newenham, Member of the Board of Revenue, likewise endeavoured to persuade the officer that it was his duty to take bail; and having considerable doubt as to the legality of the officer's proceedings, he warned him of the responsibility he would incur by any illegal measures; it next appears that Wright issues a purwanah, and finally the next day releases Mendy Ally Khaun from the hands of the officer. A question had been made, whether the Court possessed authority to grant a criminal information against Mendy Ally Khaun, as it had been said that he was not subject to this jurisdiction, as he was not an inhabitant. In his opinion, however, the question of the jurisdiction of the Court should not be entertained; it did not, in his

opinion, depend on locality offence. There were two distinct powers of jurisdiction vested in the Court, that of Oyer and Terminer, and of the Court of King's Bench; the former was limited, but the latter was not, but extended throughout the provinces under *this* government. It was his opinion that the Supreme Court possessed authority to grant informations any where in the Company's territories, for any act for which the Court of King's Bench could issue one in England, and that the Court had a complete power of punishing any Native, foreigner, or other person soever, for contempt or violent obstruction of the process of the Court, in the same way as the Court of King's Bench; it would be perfectly anomalous to say that they did not possess the power of punishing that by the more deliberate mode of information, which could be effected by the more summary process of attachment; he would not confine it to that question, seeing that they possessed the jurisdiction of attachment; he would not confine it to that question, seeing that they possessed the jurisdiction of the King's Bench. He did not know that the Court might not enter a criminal information against any person whatever, he would state, however, that such an authority should be executed sparingly, and with caution. This would set the question of the grounds of the criminal information at rest, as our jurisdiction over Mendy Ally Khaun does not depend on his being an inhabitant of Calcutta.

With respect to the facts brought forward, said the Chief Justice, it was clear that Mendy Ally Khaun was taken out of the hands of the officer against his will. If Mr. Wright had acted on information of a breach of the peace, he would have proceeded properly in his interference, but as he could not entertain any enquiry into the jurisdiction of the court, he, and all who had concurred in aiding him, would be implicated in obstructing the process of the Court. This illegal and irregular conduct was qualified by many considerations; inconveniences might arise from executing process in the Mofussil, but nevertheless, responsibility followed breaches of the peace, or any interference. The bailiff's employer was not actuated by proper motives, and no person could feel more strongly indignant at any act of oppression on the part of the sheriff's officers, than he, the Chief Justice did, or would punish it more severely. It had been customary for the bailiff, in these cases, to apply to the magistrate of the district, he was bound to afford assistance as a justice of the peace, and if he threw obstacles in the way, would, on the other hand, be amenable for the offence. The bailiff omitted this application, and there was no excuse for him. Bail was tendered and refused, Morton's conduct in suing out the writ was harsh and improper; but the misconduct of the officer was proved, without the additional fact, that the proposal to release Mendy Ally Khaun, on giving up the bond of 170,000 rupees, evinced a spirit of enormous extortion. If the acts established in this case had been

those of Natives, who could not have been indicted, he would have admitted the correctness of the course in entertaining the criminal information. As the Nawab, and Kallendu Buksch, were the only persons of that description selected in this instance, and who were less faulty than the others, as he thought it would be better to proceed by indictment, he would not allow the information. In regard to the application for costs, he would make no grant to either party. Not to Morton, because he had been influenced by improper motives; and to Wright and Newenham he refused it, because their proceedings had been illegal and irregular. He concluded with observing, that he would restrict the grant on informations for offences committed within the presidency of Fort William; but in the cases beyond this, the Court exercising its authority sparingly and cautiously, would confine its power to Natives obstructing the process of the Supreme Court, who were not indicted at Oyer and Terminer for the offence.

The order was discharged against all parties without costs.

*Supreme Court, Bombay,—Friday, October 10, 1828.*

The *alias writ of Habeas Corpus* issued on the 29th of September, to Panvooring Ramchundru, being returnable on the 10th October, Mr. Justice Grant on that day resuming the adjourned sitting in Equity, on the ecclesiastical side, gave hearing to Mr. Irwin, on his motion for a writ of attachment to issue for contempt, it appearing after affidavit of service, that no person was instructed to produce a return on the part of Pandooning Ramchundru. Mr. Justice Grant in his decision, stated, that being a common law writ of Habeas Corpus, he could not, sitting in vacation in chambers, resort to the remedy of issuing the process of the Court for contempt, but that he should direct a *pluries writ* returnable *immediate*, under a heavy penalty; and if this was not obeyed, counsel might entreat the fine on the *first day of term*, when the attachment would issue of course. The penalty he should fix at 10,000 rupees. The act of 56 Geo. III., c. 100., called ‘Serjeant Onslow’s Act,’ on disobedience to writs of Habeas Corpus, within the then criminal matter, extended the power of judges in vacation, but though it had been ingeniously argued by Mr. Irwin, as applying, did not in his consideration meet the case. The act extending the jurisdiction of the Court of King’s Bench in England, was indeed, antecedent to the letters patent, which created the Supreme Court of Bombay, and conferred in its justices, the jurisdiction and authority of the King’s Bench; but he could not in his view, exercise a similar extension of power without exceeding the King’s prerogative. The King, he admitted, had confided very large and ample powers in the judges of the Supreme Court, by his letters patent. They solely in that part of India, represented his Majesty’s person, in the exercise of his dearest, his most valuable, and his most



honorable prerogative. It was not to be doubted he had conferred on them all the jurisdiction, powers, and dignity of the Court of King's Bench in England, and by a particular clause, the last in 'his' letters patent, the king had been pleased "strictly to charge and command all governors and commanders, magistrates and ministers, civil and military, and all others his faithful and liege subjects, whomsoever, in and throughout the British territories and possessions in the East Indies, &c., that in the execution of the usual powers, jurisdiction and authorities thereby granted to them, the Judges of the Supreme Court, they not only should be 'aiding and assisting,' but that they should be 'obedient in all things, as they will answer the contrary at their peril,'—so that the Governors of this presidency, said Mr. Justice Grant, and other council of the Commander in Chief, and all persons in authority, are bound to pay obedience to the commands of the Court, in the execution of its several powers, that is, to the commands of the King, signified by the writs entrusted to the Court, with power to issue. Their refusal of obedience was a direct breach of their allegiance to the royal authority, and to the person of the King. But though the King had power, by his prerogative, to invest with this ample authority such judges as he might commission to administer justice in any part of his dominions, yet they are bound to administer justice according to the laws they should find there. After the law of England had been introduced into any conquered country, it could not be altered except by parliament. The law of England had been introduced into Bombay long ago, if the king in his commission could confer on his judges, powers conferred on the English judges, by statutes long subsequent, and not bearing that they should extend to Bombay, then would the King, said Mr. Justice Grant, in fact alter the law of England, as instituted in Bombay, without an act of parliament, which he could not do. In conclusion, the learned Judge directed a *pluries writ of Habeas Corpus* to issue from the clerk of the crown, returnable before himself, under a penalty of 10,000 rupees. As a precaution, the writ was to be translated in the Mahratta language, and the persons charged with the delivery of it were desired, if they met with any difficulty in delivering it, are to apply to the nearest justice of the peace, or to the chief civil officer or magistrate of the Company in the district, and acquaint him with the desire of the Court, that he should be aiding and assisting in its execution.

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TABULAR VIEW OF THE CONSUMPTION OF TEA AND COFFEE.

*From a Correspondent of the Bristol Mercury.*

THE following Tables, shewing the consumption of those two great articles, Tea and Coffee, will clearly elucidate the effects of high duties and monopoly prices, and further the cause of Free Trade.—If a similar experiment were tried on Sugar and Tobacco, as that which has succeeded so completely with respect to Coffee, it is not unreasonable to expect that a similar result would follow.

With reference to the article of Coffee, it should be observed, that, in the year 1807, the duty was reduced from *2s. 2d. to 7d.* per pound, which would lower the price to the consumer about one-half, and the result, as shown by the table, was, that the consumption increased *eight fold* in the following year, and continued to increase till 1818, when the consumption reached 8,679,000 lbs.; in 1819, the duty was advanced to *1s.*, and in 1820, the consumption fell to 6,215,755 lbs., or about 23 per cent. In 1825, the duty was again reduced to *6d.*, and in 1826, the consumption advanced to 13,203,323 lbs., being upwards of 62 per cent. In the whole period of twenty years, since 1807, the consumption of Coffee has increased more than *eighteen-fold*, whilst that of Tea has increased only *35½* per cent.

I have been enabled to find a return of the quantity of Coffee consumed in 1825, but it is not important.

STATEMENT OF COFFEE CHARGED WITH DUTY IN THE FOLLOWING YEARS:

	<i>British Plantation.</i>	<i>East Indies.</i>	<i>All other.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
1807	.....	.....	.....	844,144
1808	.....	.....	.....	6,414,912
1809	.....	.....	.....	5,047,952
1810	.....	.....	.....	5,568,914
1814	6,055,980	258,301	9,846	6,324,127
1815	5,744,566	366,012	6,733	6,117,311
1816	6,840,221	427,757	5,438	7,273,416
1817	7,563,078	458,181	4,231	8,025,540
1818	8,300,759	365,259	4,090	8,679,003
1819	7,674,137	544,521	2,037	8,121,595
1820	6,000,389	211,424	3,512	6,215,755
1821	6,806,162	278,218	819	7,085,199
1822	7,067,808	155,965	3,482	7,227,255
1823	7,569,423	201,805	513	7,772,041
1824	.....	.....	.....	8,133,468
1826	.....	.....	.....	13,203,323
1827	.....	.....	.....	15,566,376
Present Duties,	6d.	9d.	2s. 6d.	

Increase in twenty years, upwards of eighteen-fold.

## STATEMENT OF THE QUANTITY OF TEA IN POUNDS WEIGHT, IMPORTED, EXPORTED, AND RETAINED FOR HOME CONSUMPTION, IN EACH OF THE TWENTY-EIGHT YEARS, 1798—1825.

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Lbs. wt. imported.</i>	<i>Lbs. wt. exported.</i>	<i>Del. for Home Consumption.</i>
1798	44,873,113	3,255,352	19,566,934
1799	15,090,056	4,171,574	19,906,510
1800	15,165,368	8,020,111	20,358,702
1801	29,804,739	4,293,761	20,237,753
1802	27,356,502	3,451,622	21,848,245
1803	30,043,134	3,753,606	21,647,922
1804	26,680,784	3,638,620	18,501,904
1805	28,538,825	3,920,196	21,035,380
1806	22,155,557	3,239,815	20,979,123
1807	12,599,236	3,813,018	19,239,312
1808	25,747,224	4,301,520	20,359,929
1809	21,717,310	4,251,565	19,689,134
1810	19,791,356	5,316,542	19,093,241
1811	21,241,849	4,093,560	20,702,809
1812	23,318,153	4,001,147	20,013,251
1813	30,383,501	3,977,713	20,443,236
1814	26,110,550	8,576,508	19,224,154
1815	25,602,211	5,383,078	22,378,345
1816	36,234,380	3,651,596	21,846,993
1817	31,167,073	3,921,960	20,619,455
1818	20,065,728	4,378,607	21,839,482
1819	23,750,113	4,201,873	22,881,957
1820	30,147,994	3,501,677	22,366,547
1821	30,731,105	4,312,396	22,494,828
1822	27,362,766	4,093,150	23,559,495
1823	29,016,687	3,903,306	23,810,967
1824	31,682,007	4,037,395	23,908,629
1825	29,315,716	4,124,331	24,150,372
1826	29,810,401	4,086,835	25,238,006
1827	39,746,237	4,142,949	26,013,227

Showing an increase in the last 20 years of 35½ per cent.

WE observe that a New Monthly Periodical is to be published in September next, to be entitled, "THE EDINBURGH JOURNAL OF NATURAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL SCIENCE."—To be conducted by an Association of Naturalists. It is to embrace all the departments of Natural History and of Geography, both Physical and Descriptive; and while it will be quite Scientific, it will at the same time be written in a popular style. This is the first Geographical Journal which has been published in Great Britain.

## FIRST DAWNING OF BRITISH COLONIZATION IN INDIA.

EVERY month that passes over our heads, brings new proofs of the triumph of those principles for which we have so long contended. Every ship that arrives from India, brings some intelligence of the breaking down of the old barriers, by which the Monopoly of the India Company was propped up in their Eastern territories; and now, that the spirit of enquiry and resistance has gone abroad throughout England, we doubt not but the tottering fabric will be brought rapidly to its fall.

Those who remember the almost innumerable articles which were written, or published in 'The Oriental Herald,' on the subject of permitting English-born individuals to hold lands in India, need not be reminded, that we have always considered this as the most important first step towards the improvement of the country; and we have instanced, again and again, the benefits which have actually arisen from the few instances in which the rigorous law of prohibition was departed from. We rejoice to see, that this has been pressed on the attention of the local government in such a manner, as to have induced Lord William Bentinck to accede to the wish of the petitioners, without answering it by the repetition of any absurd alarm, as to the 'dispossession of the Natives'—their being driven to 'rebel and expel us from the country,' and other similar wise predictions. The document contains so clear an exposition of the grounds on which the privilege, or rather the right, is asked, that 'he who runs may read,' and, reading, understand it. We, therefore, give it entire.

*The Petition of the Merchants of Calcutta, for an Extension of the Power of investing Money in Land.*

To the Right Hon. Lord W. C. Bentinck, G. C. B., Governor-General, &c.

MY LORD,—The various inconveniences experienced by indigo planters, from their inability to hold lands in their own names, have opposed such obstacles to the successful prosecution of their industry, as could never have been compensated but by extraordinary fertility of soil and cheapness of labour. The losses resulting from the insecurity of lands held in the names of Natives, from the failure of ryots (peasants), who have received advances to perform their contracts, and from the litigation and affrays they are liable to be involved in by the relations in which the existing regulations compel them to stand to such persons, are an unnecessary expense which cannot be estimated at less than 25 per cent. on the total outlay, and a serious bar to all experimental improvements in agriculture. Notwithstanding the disadvantageous nature of the tenure,

about one-third of the entire quantity of indigo plant is grown by the planters themselves, and two-thirds purchased on contract from ryots (cultivators): the number of bigas appropriated to this crop is between 35 and 40 lakhs (about 1,166,000 and 1,330,000 acres.)

The value of the indigo annually produced, say from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 crore of rupees (2,500,000*l.* and 3,000,000*l.* sterling), whereof perhaps two crore (2,000,000*l.*) are expended in this country for rent, stock, wages, interest on capital, &c., and a large portion, probably three-fourths of the balance, remitted to England, competition among planters has increased the cost of production from 80 to 100 per cent., so as greatly to reduce the superiority which this country has long possessed over the other countries from which Europe is supplied with indigo—namely, Manilla, Java, the Caraccas, Guatemala, and the West Indies. The necessity of removing artificial obstructions, in order to secure the success of this most important branch of trade, and to promote the manifest interests of this country and of England, is thus continually rendered more urgent.

Until Parliament shall be pleased to apply a more adequate remedy to the disadvantages of our position, we are satisfied that there is no measure which would tend so immediately to give a new impulse to the trade, and to augment confidence in its stability, as the extension of the provisions of a resolution passed by the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council, on the 7th of May, 1824, for the encouragement of the cultivation of coffee. We do, therefore, respectfully solicit, that your Lordship in Council will be pleased to pass a regulation rendering the same provisions, with the exception of those contained in the 19th and 20th paragraphs, applicable to the cultivation of indigo, and all other agricultural produce.

We are, my Lord, your most obedient and humble servants,

(Signed)

Palmer and Co.	Bruce, Allan, and Co.
Alexander and Co.	J. Scott and Co.
Trotter, Gordon, and Co.	Bush and Co.
Mackintosh and Co.	Stewart, Robertson, and Co.
Colvin and Co.	Bagshaw and Co.
Cruttenden, Mackillop, and Co.	Allport, Ashburner, and Co.
Ferguson and Co.	Sheddon and Co.

A letter from Calcutta, dated the 13th of February, announces, that the Governor-General had acceded to the request of the petitioners. This measure is of far greater importance than may appear from the perusal of the petition itself. British-born subjects are now permitted to hold lands for the first time in their own name on leases of sixty years, and by the removal of the restrictions in the regulation of 1824, for the culture of every species of produce. This will, in a great measure, obviate the litigation and

affrays which were incident to their former situation, and which, from the nature of their tenure, could not have failed to have arisen in any country, and among any people. In short, the very restrictions under which Europeans were placed by the Company's regulations, produced the evils which were so inconsistently and unjustifiably complained of by the Company itself, and were made by the Company the ground of objection to their settlement. The local government, it seems, could no longer resist the obvious reasonableness of the grounds on which the claims to a more secure and certain tenure in land were made, and, consequently, the present measure may be considered a satisfactory answer to the senseless arguments which have been so long urged, more particularly in this country, against the safety and utility of European colonization in India, or, more correctly speaking, secure and permanent settlement.

We hope, in each succeeding month, to be able to present further proof upon proof of the good effects resulting from the 'agitation' of the question of Indian improvement in India itself, and of the re-echo of such 'agitation' in England also. There was a period, and that not a very distant one, when, even had a local Governor dared to concede such a request as that stated in the foregoing petition, the Directors of the Company at home would have annulled it, as they have done many smaller efforts of a liberal kind. But now, they *dare* not offer any new insult to public opinion, and that mainly because the eyes of the world have been turned towards them; nor will they, we hope, be averted, until, by shame and fear, they shall have been compelled to relinquish those unjust privileges and monopolies, by which, though they do not benefit themselves, they retard the progress or improvement in the one country, and oppose the continual obstacles to the advancement of wealth in the other.

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THE GIANTS' CAUSEWAY.

*From the Literary Souvenir.*

Look round in awe, Sesostris ! and behold,  
Shade of Nabuchodonosor ! the sweep  
Of pillared promontory breasting bold  
The surge, and to the seasons and the deep  
Frowning defiance ! Look around and weep  
For Babylon and Memphis, where of old  
Ye wasted nations in the toil to heap  
The pyramid, or rear aloft in gold  
Your giant gods. A legend and a name,  
Are all that now survive to mark aright  
What once was fane or palace, wall or tower ;  
While here, and without hands, is reared a frame  
That shall record the sovereign builder's might,  
Till conflagration the great globe devour !

## THE ASIATIC JOURNAL.

PERHAPS nothing can be more gratifying to men who have been long engaged in the advocacy of favourite theories, than to witness the gradual success of their exertions, and the conversion of those who were once opposed to them, to the recognition of their truth and justice. To hope, from pledged and professed partizans, general acknowledgments of error, or explicit renunciations of opinions once warmly, perhaps intemperately, maintained, would be to expect a degree of candour and of firmness not often to be met; and which, in truth, can only exist in minds of more than ordinary stature. 'It may be given,' said Curran, 'to a Hale and a Hardwicke, to discover and retract a mistake;' but this is not the privilege of the majority of mankind; and when those who have had the misfortune to err, indicate a disposition to amend, it is wise to receive their first efforts with indulgence, and dispense, in tenderness to human frailty, with the humiliating ceremony of public recantation.

The appearance of an article in 'The Asiatic Journal,' against Eastern Monopoly, and in favour of Colonization and a free press, was six months ago at least as improbable as the homage lately paid by Peel and Wellington, to the policy of the immortal Canning. For our part, we should have as soon expected to see a 'Herald' dressed in sickly green, and a 'Journal' couleur de rose, as to read a squib upon the Company's character, in the pages of our quondam opponents. Strange, however, as it may seem, these phenomena have appeared. In the last number of 'The Asiatic Journal,' may be found a very able Essay, in which the gentlemen of Leadenhall-Street are regaled with the information, that the 'liberty of the press is the first indication of honest intention in the government, and that nations ought to abhor Monopoly as a disgrace to the age.'

Our cotemporary is of course much too sagacious to illustrate these notions by direct reference to the dominions of his 'very worthy and esteemed good masters,' and he therefore ingeniously fixes on an immediate dependancy of the crown, as the theatre of his projected reforms.

Change, says he, is required in Ceylon—not a syllable about India!! We understand that the innuendo suggested by this intelligence, has given much umbrage to the 'chairs,' and gentlemen of great influence, and many stars, have been heard to declare, that this sort of '*privilege* cannot be tolerated at the India House.' They say, naturally enough, that the king's government at Ceylon bears a very strong resemblance to their own, that the passage over Adam's Bridge is short and easy, and that what is true of one place, is indisputable in the other. Matters had, in fact, at one time, gone so far in the parlour, that there was some talk of making the last court 'further special,' to lay an injunction on the exportation of this particular number of the Journal. This, no doubt, would have been a very arbitrary proceeding, and

might have occasioned much inconvenience to those subscribers whose sets are otherwise complete. In truth, the suggestion was utterly indefensible, and finally abandoned on consultation with an eminent advocate, from whose exertions in the direction, the people of India confidently hope, the speedy reformation of the numerous abuses which were so often the themes of his indignant invective at Calcutta.

The *pasquinade* in question, is entitled the 'Political Condition of Ceylon,' and in our humble judgment, it contains more really valuable information, than one would expect to find in a publication almost exclusively devoted to criticisms of ancient histories, and occasional dissertations on the antiquities and literature of the East. We extract one or two paragraphs for the satisfaction of our readers.

'Monopolies are so certainly the offspring of unchecked power, that the liberty of subjects may be judged of by the monopolies to which they are subject; their misery may be considered great when monopolies and other branches of revenue, are rented out to the highest bidder, the most daring publican. In Ceylon, the renting system is very prevalent; to do away with it, it would be necessary to abandon some of the monopolies, which would fall off under the management of government. The renters are greatly checked by their leases being printed in the different languages, and well known to the public; by the laws being known by the numerous magistrates, having on them the eyes of an intelligent public, often mixed with English; also by the magistrate, in many instances, not being interested in the collection of revenue; and in the maritime provinces, by his being subject to the Supreme Court; notwithstanding these checks, the encroachments and impositions of the writers are enormous.'

'In England, turnpike-renters have a simple duty, and meet mostly with persons they cannot intimidate; yet their frauds are notorious. In Ceylon, a rich and powerful man buys for the year the services of a herd of divers or diggers, sold because they are poor, poor because they are sold; another rich man, connected perhaps with the police and revenue officers, will put forward a needy relative, a poor gentleman, as arrack-renter; the quality and measure of the liquor retailed by him it would be needless to complain of. If complaints are made to the collector, of the renter's violence in enforcing the payment of debts, of his severity in checking smuggling, or of his smuggling into other districts, he will complain that he cannot pay for his rent; and, remembering that the next bidding for the rent will be influenced by the indulgence shewn to this renter, the collector will naturally interfere with him as little as possible.

'The grand Monopoly managed always by the government of Ceylon, with a view to revenue, is that of cinnamon; latterly, the acts concerning it are frequent and terrible. It is a disgrace to the age, nations ought to abhor the monopoly; and by treaties free



themselves from its effects. After ten years' war, England illuminated at the permanent cession of Ceylon; her transparencies boasted of the acquisition of cinnamon; thirty years we have had the garden, but have destroyed much more than England has eaten; the finest spice the world produces is kept from the world; to make the sacrifice complete, we ought to avow that we burn it as our most acceptable offering to the shrine of the demon of monopoly; let us acknowledge whom we serve. Perhaps 60,000 persons are enslaved to cultivate cinnamon; then slavery, and the rent of the land, yielding so rare and desirable a production, might well produce 60,000*l.* per annum; but, if free, how much more would these men and these acres produce, even though they would then consume some of the cinnamon, which is not the case at present; for, in Ceylon, it is as criminal to have cinnamon as to have gunpowder or saltpetre. This branch of revenue is not in a prosperous state—there is no market.

'Freedom of the press is the first want of Ceylon; she has a reading public equal perhaps to that of Madras, though her population may be but a twelfth of the immediate subjects of Madras. This degree of liberty must be looked to as the first indication of honest intention in the government and in the governor; of course many a functionary would feel the lash, but every one of the reading public is immediately dependent, by hope, on the government. Government has monopolized every thing, and pervades every thing; the retail shopkeeper must look to government-servants for customers. It is to break this omnipotence that I desire the freedom of the press; to destroy this ruinous interference with industry, and to confine the government within its proper line of duties; also to give eyes and ears to the legislator who now, from his citadel, thunders destruction where he often intended to give refreshing showers. What source of information does the government at present possess concerning the state and interests of the country? In England, who is there that does not learn much concerning his own interests and profession, from the debates of parliament, and the reports of her committees? There, government is the wisdom of the wise, the counsel of the prudent. The press is also the proper mirror for the executive officers to look at themselves. No power ever forbade printing, that would not also have forbidden speech and thought.

'It is quite unnecessary for us to avow our cordial approbation of the principles here expressed. Read opium, salt, or tea, for cinnamon, and "India," for Ceylon, and the article from which the above is extracted, precisely meets our view of the principles on which the great question of Indian trade and government ought to be decided in parliament. We hope and trust that many papers of this description will appear before the expiration of the charter. "A rose by any other name would smell as sweet," and we are content to read suggestions for the better government of India, under the title of "Political Condition of Ceylon."

## DEFENCE OF THE CHARACTER OF THE INDIGO PLANTERS OF INDIA.

*To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.*

SIR,—You will probably give insertion to a few remarks, as a reply to a letter signed “*Qui Hi*,” in the last number of ‘*The Asiatic Journal*.’

—*Audi alteram partem*, is not only a favourite maxim of the Judges of the land, as regards any individual case, but I trust is equally so with a generous public, and ere they condemn as ‘tyrannical, arbitrary and lawless,’ a great number of their Countrymen, toiling for an honourable independence, in the burning clime of India, they will be convinced, that they are deserving of such sweeping censure. About twenty years ago, I embarked for Bengal, and commenced life there, as an Assistant to an Indigo Planter; after the lapse of a few years, I became a joint Proprietor, and ultimately, after an absence of fifteen years from England, I returned with a competency.—I mention these circumstances in order to shew that I ought to have some knowledge of the subject I am about to defend.—That the Indigo Planters of Bengal, in common with the majority of Indian adventurers, commence life without a capital of their own, cannot be denied, and is likely ever (for obvious reasons) to be the case, in such a climate! it may, however, be readily believed, that the Agents of Calcutta (who have hitherto had the free Colonial trade in their hands) are unwilling to trust their funds to persons even of doubtful reputations,—and that in India, as elsewhere, credit must depend upon a good character. But what can England desire more, than that her sons without “*Family, Fortune, or Name*,” (which is reproachfully mentioned by “*Qui Hi*,”) should boldly adventure to her Colonies, and after spending their best years in cultivating the soil, return with the fruits of their industry! Alas! how few live to return to enrich their native Country, or to diffuse comforts among their poor and aged relatives.

The Bengal Indigo Planters are scattered over a large tract of country; there are at least 2000 factories, which occupy a cultivation of 600,000 acres, and make on an average 8,000,000 lbs. of Indigo, (three-fourths of which are sent to London and Liverpool), an article which, from the application of British skill and capital, has supplanted the product of other countries, and England, which fifty years ago imported largely of this raw material for her own consumers, now exports an immense quantity to foreign Europe, and America. The capital employed to produce the article, is most widely distributed, one Ryot may cultivate one Bigah (one-third of an acre), another two, and comparatively few exceed thirty.—The weed is sold to the Planters at a fixed rate, agreeably to a bond executed at the commencement of the season, when, as is usual in that country, an advance is always made. Upwards of one crore of rupees, or a million sterling, are annually divided among the Peasantry and Labourers of the country—a large proportion of which, without doubt, finds its way into the coffers of the India Company, in the shape of Land Revenue, enabling the peasantry to consume the produce of their rice and other crops.

Although this great and peculiar interest had sprung up in the Company's territory, no effective law or regulation relating to it had been passed by the government up to the year 1823, the consequence of which was, that many circumstances occurred in which the Judge

or Magistrate were unable to decide, and thus the planters were without any legal remedy. For instance, it not unfrequently happened (as asserted by "Qui Hi,") that several Ryots took advances from two, or possibly from three Planters, for the product of one and the same field; and when the plant came to maturity, it became a prey to the strongest or most active; this necessarily produced criminal suits at law, attended with references to the government, who were at times probably puzzled how to act. However, in 1823 a regulation was passed, which defined a right of ownership, and then the planters came within the pale of legal protection.

"Qui Hi" states, that one gentleman in the *Company's Service*, and under cover of his authority, took away the land from the Ryots, who wished to cultivate Rice, and compelled them to cultivate Indigo. If they refused, they were seized and severely flogged, and one man was thus flogged to death in 1818, by his European Lady!—He goes on to state, that this gentleman was suspended by the government, not, however, till after eight or ten years' continuance of this cruel system of torture! Here then is a gentleman, it must be presumed, of the Bengal *Civil Service*, (for the Military are not allowed to trade), under cover of his authority, *accused* of such mal-practices! During my sojourn in India, I resided only in one district, and any act similar to the above, never, to my knowledge, occurred whilst I was there. When I left, the planters throughout the district had mutual settled boundaries to the cultivation of their respective factories, the one not making advances to the Ryots of another, and thus a good and friendly feeling had been established among all.—Moreover, a club had been formed, which included the Civilians and Military of the district, where any infringement, or unhandsome conduct from one to another, would have been discussed and reprobated. At this club, Mr. Editor, I have spent some of the happiest days of my life, and I have lately had two of the old members with me, who have expressed themselves to the same effect—difference of rank, there was none—all were considered equal, and this promoted kindness towards each other. Our conversation frequently related to old England, whilst the king, (God bless him), had not a band of more loyal subjects throughout his dominions, and why should I omit, whilst writing these few words in their defence, that I have known these Indigo Planters, (who are so decryd by "Qui Hi,") although striving hard for an independence, to subscribe more towards a charitable object, than the rich merchants of London, rich and beneficent as they are, are accustomed to do! I cannot publicly mention individual names and cases, though I know of many munificent acts both to the orphan and widow. Had it been the fate of "Qui Hi" to have visited this district, he could not have written such general censure of us; he would certainly have seen many planters of education and of gentlemanly conduct. I have had two brothers in the *Company's Military service*, one now in command of a Regiment, another (a protégé of Sir P. Malcolm's) was killed in the navy, and two of us were planters, all having had the common run of education, which the middling classes of society in England afford themselves. We cannot then fairly be reckoned (although adventurers) among the illiterate and vulgar, and yet we might be considered as an average example of what the planters in that district were. I have the good fortune to possess friends in Tirhoot, Boylepore, and other Zillahs, pursuing the same occupation, who would be an honour to any profession. I can safely and solemnly declare, (and I do not

pretend to be better than my neighbours), that I always considered the Ryots' interests, and my own, to be the same; for whilst they were flourishing and contented, my factories were enabled to secure its cultivation, and many thousands of rupees have I lent, (at half the interest they paid elsewhere), to enable them to purchase bullocks, or to pay their rents when they became due. I was placed, Mr. Editor, several miles distant from any other planter, and have been a month together without seeing a white face; you may then easily suppose, knowing the social nature of man, that I must have mixed much with the Natives: it was an amusement to me (and I am not ashamed to own it) to sit, during the evening, in my Verandah, surrounded by a groupe of Ryots, hearing an account of their customs, &c. and conveying to them some account of those of England, and of its mechanical powers, &c. To this, and to my not being above listening to their complaints, I ascribe the spirit of confidence which existed between us. I have settled innumerable differences between the Ryots and the Land-owners, and thus prevented much litigation; have given medicine to the sick, for which I had very frequent applications, and do conscientiously believe that I have saved the lives of several afflicted with the Cholera. On the whole, then, whilst striving to insure to myself an honourable independence for the Evening of my life, you will probably agree that I was not a pest to the people by whom I was surrounded. On the contrary, if there were thousands similar to myself, in addition to the number now there, they would prove an incalculable benefit to the Natives, instead of being the source of even a single injury.

The Company's Service has hitherto been considered by many as the only legitimate channel through which to acquire a fortune in India,—and I regret to add, there are many individuals in that service, (especially among the *senior* branches of it), who look on all out of it, as interlopers and unwelcome intruders. To them, may be ascribed the remarks made by Bishop Heber, which he acknowledged were from *hearsay*, and not drawn from his own experience; in fact, he had not sufficient opportunities to draw any such conclusion, from his own personal observation.

INDICUS.

London, 25th May, 1829.

#### POWER EXERCISED BY THE AUDITOR-GENERAL AT MADRAS.

*To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.*

SIR,—Well knowing the interest you take in the welfare of all classes of his Britannic Majesty's subjects in the East, I cannot refrain communicating to you, a species of injustice lately practised by the Madras government, in the Office of Audit, trusting you will give it publicity in your widely circulating Herald, as the only means of its ever meeting the eye of our Honourable Masters in Leadenhall-Street.

It has for many years been customary for the Military Auditor-General, when the accounts of an Officer are in any way objectionable, to send in an 'Objectionable Charge,' for reply and explanation,

prior to sending him a Retrenchment. This mode of proceeding no one would object to, but when one finds he is suddenly retrenched, perhaps the greater part of his pay, whether deservedly or not, and without the usual objectionable charge being forwarded for explanation, he cannot but feel the inconvenience and hardship extremely. Since the 'Objectionable Charge' has been superseded by direct retrenchment, I, as one, am suffering at this moment the inconvenience of waiting for a re-audit of a retrenchment brought against me, through the inattention of the Audit department, in not carefully examining an Abstract for pay in 1826; and until a communication has been made with the Audit Office, on the subject, I must content myself to go without the amount until the re-audit arrives, but which I do not expect for two or three months, and should I be necessitated to borrow in the interim, from the Shrofs in the Bazaar, I cannot effect this under 10 per cent. per mensem, which, to a poor Sub! is almost ruin. Now, Sir, I think you will agree with me that this is really a hardship, and although it is all very well to save Paymasters and Government from loss, still I think the Government ought not to lose sight of the interests of its Servants, so far as to cause the inconvenience, nay, I may say the injustice I complain of.

Another just cause of complaint, by every Officer in the Army, is his being precluded, after a term of six months, from drawing any sum that may be due to him by Government prior to that period, unless unavoidably prevented making application for his money; thus, also, although a hardship, no one could well object to, provided Government did not call on its Officers to refund money after a similar period, such, however, is not the case, for we are all liable to be called on or retrenched so long as we may remain in the service.

The Office of Audit, at this Presidency, being in the gift of the Court of Directors, the head of it presumes not a little in consequence, and any order passed by the Governor in Council, relative to pay, cannot be acted on until it has received the approval or sanction of the Auditor-General. An instance of this occurred to myself not long ago.—Having received an Extract of an Order by the Governor in Council, authorising me to receive a certain sum of money; on presenting it, along with a bill to the Paymaster, he told me he could not discharge it, as he had not received the authority from the Auditor-General; this struck me as something extraordinary, that the Auditor-General's orders should supersede those of the Government; the Paymaster agreed with me that it was a strange piece of inconsistency, that such were his instructions, and of course he was right in acting up to them. Such; you see, is the authority of our worthy Auditor-General.

We hear of a long, long list of Retrenchments, which finds its way to Leadenhall-Street, shewing what immense sums are recovered annually to government by the goodly exertions and fatherly care of our Auditor-General. Not a word, however, do we hear of the sums he has been obliged to refund on re-audit ever reaching the same destination, and perhaps were his retrenchments and re-audits compared, our Honourable Masters would not find the balance much in their favour, after paying the annual expenses of their costly Audit Office.

VERITAS.

*Madras, February, 1829.*

## INDIAN NEWS.

*From Private Correspondence and Indian Papers.*

Madras, 2d December, 1828.

WE were sadly disappointed here the early part of last month, the free-trader, *Halifax*, having made the port on Sunday, the 2d, was communicated with by Telegraph, when it was learnt that she left England on the 4th of July, and had mails on board for Madras; a severe squall, however, coming on, she was forced out to sea, and did not again venture in: it has been subsequently ascertained, that she beat about the coast for several days, and encountered a good deal of rough weather, without being able to make the roads, but proceeded to Calcutta, where she arrived on the 20th ultimo.

One ship from England, the free-trader, *Aurora*, came into the roads during the month; she had a tedious passage of five months, having left England in June. Our intelligence from Europe during the months of November and December, is generally received, *via* Bombay or Calcutta, and we have, of late, had little to enliven us. Our amateur performers recently commenced their amusements at the theatre, and gave tolerable satisfaction, all things considered: the house is generally well filled; our Right Honourable Governor, the Commander in Chief, and many of the principal people of the settlement, attending.

His Majesty's 30th regiment of foot, from Trichinopoly, reached Madras on the 5th ultimo, having been relieved by His Majesty's 89th regiment; a very considerable number of men from the 30th regiment have volunteered their services into other king's regiments in India; the skeleton of the 30th regiment have since marched to Wallajabad, there to remain until the ships arrive here that are destined to convey the regiment home.

When Lord W. C. Bentinck, the Governor-General, touched here in June last, on his voyage to Calcutta, it was proposed that the principal inhabitants should wait upon him with a congratulatory address, but he declined receiving it at that time: it has since been forwarded to him, and a copy of it, together with his reply, as published here, are annexed.

The man sitting in the air has, it is said, fallen a victim to cholera; his loss is not considered any great calamity: the editor of one of our papers informs his readers that the *secret* has not descended to the grave with him, as it seems we may now have six sitters in the air, all of a row, for a good *douceur*. But that sad scourge, the cholera, has recently carried off individuals that are much more to be regretted than the above-named personage; amongst others Dr. W. Browne, Garrison Assistant Surgeon of Fort St. George, who fell a victim to it after a few hours' illness, an event greatly lamented here, Dr. B. having formerly served in

one of His Majesty's regiments here, was well known,—a universal favourite, a worthy clever man.

One of the Company's China ships, the *Abercrombie*, Robinson suffered dreadfully from this epidemic on her voyage from Bombay to the Eastward, an account of which has appeared in the newspapers here, and is annexed.

Our Right Honourable Governor is indulging the inhabitants of Madras, by forming for us an elegant new road along the south beach, through the government gardens up to the saluting battery, near to which it is in contemplation to erect a cenotaph, on which the statute of Sir Thomas Munro is to be placed : when completed, this will be one of the finest promenades, or drives, in India.

The managers of the Laudable Societies in Calcutta, with which persons in all parts of India are connected, having lately come to a determination to admit no more policies to be effected for individuals residing under the presidencies of Madras or Bombay, a meeting of the agents of Madras took place during last month, and arrangements were made for forming a Madras Laudable Society, the regulations of which have since been published.

A good deal of sensation and animadversion has been created here since the last five weeks, relative to the conduct of high military and law authorities, towards a man named Charles Maitland, an individual holding a subordinate situation in the medical department. He is, it appears, the natural son, by a Native Christian woman, of a Lieut. Col. Maitland, an officer, formerly on this establishment, but now in Europe. The man imagined himself a British subject, and military authorities decided he was not, tried him by a Court Martial of Native officers, and ordered him to be flogged. The whole particulars will be forwarded you for publication.

Chance lately threw in my way the thirteenth report of the Madras Auxiliary Missionary Society, (which is a branch in connexion with the London Missionary Society), published after their General Meeting in September last, and the ninth report of the Madras Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Auxiliary Society, also recently published.

The former society has been established here for many years, and a great deal of money has been expended in supporting the missionaries sent from England in prosecution of its objects ; that, heretofore, very little good has been effected, is a truth acknowledged by the most zealous friends of the cause, nor does the present report show any great improvement or afford any prospect of it. The truth is, it was not until lately that proper means were adopted for instilling instruction into the minds of the Natives amongst whom the Missionaries labour. I mean by the slow and sure influence of education, by early inculcating its precepts, and at the same time enlightening the young mind, so as to enable it at an

early age, when most susceptible of religious impressions, to distinguish truth from error; the grosser the error, the more absurd the system to be corrected,—the greater the chance of supporting it by a more rational doctrine. For many years after the arrival of the first Missionaries belonging to this society here, they devoted themselves to preaching to the Natives, as soon as they had acquired a sufficient knowledge of the language to enable them to do so; but experience soon convinced them of the absurdity of this system, and no benefit whatever resulted from it, at least, in making converts, nor were the Missionaries of much use in preaching to their own countrymen, because, instead of teaching a simple system of christianity, they have, in general, perplexed their hearers with unintelligible doctrines, not expressly delivered in scripture, but fashioned from the conceits, and passions, and prejudices of men.

In Madras and its vicinity many schools have recently been established under the superintendence of the Missionaries of this Society; and, aided by native teachers, they seem to promise well; at various of the out stations, where Missionaries are settled, numerous schools have also been founded, and from the reports of those who established them, they are all in a flourishing condition; this is particularly stated to be the case in Trauancore, where the employing of native teachers, and readers, is said to be found productive of great advantage in those schools. Several gentlemen of the civil and military services have shown themselves friendly toward this system of disseminating instruction, and afford the missionaries both their countenance and support; but all sensible men discountenance the idea of making converts of adults, as few or none of them ever turn out well; and the greater part of such as have embraced the christian faith are in general out-casts from their own castes.

The Missionary at Belgaum states, in his report, that the mission there has been established for eight years; 'and that two converted Brahmins and one Rajpoot were the fruits of it; the latter apostatized; but the two Brahmins, after some painful circumstances arising from persecution, are at present stedfast; one is hopeful and one decided.'

The Missionary at Cuddapah mentions in his report, 'That a mission village has been formed, and a large well dug for the use of the inhabitants, and that he has translated, and is now revising, "The Pilgrim's Progress," and a tract on True Wisdom.'

A missionary at Bangalore states, that in four schools under his charge, the children 'receive scriptural instruction, although considerable opposition is manifested to that description of teaching.'

And another of the missionaries reports, 'That a movement has taken place in several villages.'

So much for the reports; this mission has been very unfortunate



in the number of casualties that have occurred at various periods amongst its members, as many of them having paid the debt of nature shortly after their arrival in India, several have been obliged to leave the country from illness ; and not a few, in consequence of schisms amongst themselves, have left, or been dismissed by the Parent Society ; and it is lamentable to say that a spirit very different from that of their Divine Master, seemed to animate these reverend gentlemen in their temporal quarrels, but this will always be the case where so little discrimination is shown in the selection of individuals as Missionaries. Amongst the labourers in the vineyard here we have a Missionary who spent the earlier part of his life as an officer of a man of war, but abandoned ploughing the deep, for the more envious task of converting the Hindoos : finding, however, that this was a hopeless speculation, and would not turn to good account, he established a seminary for the education of the children of such as could pay him handsomely, and he seems to get on better in this, than he did in either of his former occupations, for he not only manages to satisfy the guardians of the children intrusted to his tuition, but he seems also satisfied with himself. We have another Missionary who originally came out to India as a manufacturer of gunpowder, 'in charity be it spoken,' but lo ! he hath abandoned the engine for the destruction of the human race, and become a healer of the souls of men ; nor has he shown any want of sagacity, for, besides becoming a very zealous servant of the London Missionary Society, he has studied worldly comforts, and married a lady with a goodly portion.

But laying individual characters aside, that there are amongst the missionaries men of strict fidelity, whose hearts are engaged in the task they have undertaken, and whose conduct has justly gained them the esteem and veneration of all classes, is a fact which no dispassionate observer can deny, but it is also equally notorious that there are too many of an opposite description, who practise every vice, and do the most serious injury to that sacred cause to which they have been delegated, and have engaged to support. If greater pains were taken in the choice of servants of Missionary Institutions, they might tend to the more rapid promotion of knowledge and of religion, but the work will always be retarded while improper instruments are used.

The Wesleyan Society is of more recent origin here, the Report now published being their ninth, and the number of missionaries employed is very circumscribed, but their exertions, their exemplary conduct and general manner of life, is praiseworthy and honourable, and would please old John himself, were he to look up amongst them. They are also very much engaged in the establishment of Schools, both in and about Madras, as well as at the few out stations where their Missionaries are settled.

They have also several Chapels in and about Madras, where

Divine Service is regularly performed in the English and Tamil languages, and in the Report it is stated 'Respectable numbers have attended the house of God, to hear his word read and explained, and the duties of Christianity enforced. Five adults and several children have been baptized since the last Report.' Alluding to the establishment of Sunday Schools, the following extract conveys some idea of the utility and progress of such institutions as Sunday Schools :—' The peculiar difficulties in establishing Sunday Schools in India is very remarkable ; an almost entire disregard of the obligations of the Lord's day among nominal Christians, and the opposition of Heathens to send their children to receive such a particular kind of religious instruction, present obstacles so formidable, as to be but in few cases overcome. Three English Sunday Schools are established ; one at St. Thomé, one at St. Thomas's Mount, and one at Poonamallee, but they are not very numerously attended. Nevertheless, a beginning has been made, and the prayers of sincere Christians will not cease for the more effectual extension of this branch of spiritual instruction over the vast population of India.'

The Missionary at Negapatam states, that ' Applications for the establishment of Schools, in which Christian instruction is allowed to be freely imparted, are by no means of rare occurrence, and if our funds permitted, Christian Schools might be formed to an indefinite number. Our Native congregation is increased, and many pleasing circumstances occur to prove that a spirit of inquiry, and in one or two instances, a wish to embrace christianity, exists.

And from Bangalore, the Missionary stationed there says :—' In reporting the events of this station, many causes of discouragement exist, many bitter disappointments have been experienced. Among the former, the want of a suitable place for Divine Worship may be mentioned as the most painful. When a Native is convinced, in his judgment, of the high claims of christianity on his attention, no greater hindrance to his embracing it can be thrown in his way, than to confine it to a rude temporary building, or to make it a kind of household service. Considering the fluctuating character of European society in India, it is perfectly natural, and even reasonable for natives to conclude, that as no permanent establishment is connected with the Mission—no place provided for the dead—that the Missionary, like other Europeans, will shortly quit the place, leaving them without a sacred edifice for worship, or a religious instructor.'

The same Missionary continues—' Tamil and Teloogoo Tracts to a very considerable amount, have been distributed, as also Scriptures in Tamil, Teloogoo, Caesarese, and Hindoostanee. It may be supposed, that these agents of Truth have not failed to manifest, in some degree, the power with which they are invested. Did my limits admit, I could relate not a few cases of the striking effect

produced by them upon the minds of Heathens and Romanists.—Several of the latter, at the time, felt the force of conviction so powerfully as to tear away, with the greatest indignation, the charms, or amulets, they had long worn suspended from their necks, and these, together with their rosaries, they gave to the person who had delivered the tract or scripture. Some of these things are now in my possession.

The Wesleyan Society have an extensive mission in Ceylon, where they are stated to have been very successful in the establishment of schools, and from the present report we learn, that during last year 20,000 children were instructed in the principles of Christianity.

The Honourable the Chief Justice of the island, Sir Richard Ottley, in a speech delivered by him at a meeting of the Auxiliary Wesleyan Missionary Society, held at Colombo, lately where he sat as chairman, paid a very high compliment to the Wesleyan Missionaries, and pointed out the benefits arising from their pious labours: an extract from his speech is published in the Wesleyan Report.

We have here also a branch of the Church Missionary Society, but I have seen no late report of their transactions, and there are several Missionaries at out stations in this connection; their exertions have been directed, in a great measure, towards the establishment of schools, and their chapel, in Blash Town, is well frequented by Europeans, particularly on Sunday evenings. But they have drawn considerable obloquy on themselves by the establishment of a mercenary undertaking, in the shape of a printing press, the whole having been sent out from England for the exclusive use of the mission, and all materials supplied from the Parent Institution, enables those who have the superintendence of it here, to undersell, or rather, to work at a considerable lower rate than the printers here, who have every thing to pay for; the consequence is, that the church mission press is preferred to any other, to the great injury of individual printers. But surely the society at home never meant their paper, ink, and types, to be thus employed in working at a lower rate than the established tradesmen, in printing advertisements, hand-bills, visiting and invitation cards, &c., thereby using materials supplied for the objects of the mission, in ruining poor individuals.

#### DISCONTENT AMONG THE COMPANY'S TROOPS IN INDIA.

Great discontent has arisen among a considerable number of the officers who command the troops in the East India Company's service. The occasion of these discontents is thus stated in a letter, dated Dec. 20, 1828 :—

“ Lord William Bentinck has brought out several new regulations.

The fact is, the Company appear to begin to recollect that their charter has nearly expired, and are determined (to the destruction of their army) to make every penny they can by reducing our pay. Lord Combermere, who, as Commander of the Forces, ought to be in Calcutta, endeavouring to increase rather than decrease our allowances, is now up the country, and seems to care nothing about the army, so long as these cuttings do not affect him. The Council is composed of the Governor-General, Lord Combermere, and the two oldest civilians in the country. Three out of these four are civil servants, and they care not how much the pay of the military is decreased, so long as they do not suffer by it. They have already reduced the pay of a Captain from 450 rupees to 270, that of a Lieutenant from 250 to 170, and that of an Ensign from 200 to 120 rupees per mensem; but only at a few of the largest stations, where there are European regiments. This is of course to feel the pulse of the whole army, and if those officers whose pay has thus been shamefully reduced submit to it quietly, there is no doubt that we shall all be put upon the same allowances. They have at the same time increased the pay of all the Generals and Brigadiers nearly a thousand rupees per month, thinking that without their assistance the officers of the army can do nothing. I hope they will find themselves mistaken, and that we shall be able to show them we are not the fools they take us for. I assure you it is now with the greatest difficulty that I can live upon my pay, and I believe I am one of the very few that do, or ever have done so. Should my pay be reduced to 120 rupees per month, it will be downright starvation. You have heard that one pound at home (England) will go as far as five in this country, and I assure you upon my honour it is most true. Officers in this part of the country have the same appearances to keep up as the King's at home; and how are they to do it? We flatter ourselves that our army is more respectable than the King's, at present, (I mean, we have upon the whole, men of better education and families). Who will come out to this villanous country then? No one but ragamuffins, fugitives, and tinkers. Lord W. Bentinck has not, that I am aware of, done one single good action since his arrival. Grumbling will do no good. It is now we feel the want of the "Liberty of the Press" in this country.'

#### THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

(From the Madras Gazette, Feb. 14.)

The accounts from Calcutta of the Governor-General, we are happy to say, are satisfactory, and mention the probable return of his Lordship to the Presidency, on Monday, the 2d instant. Lady Bentinck is represented as having left Barrackpore on the 30th ult. to meet his Lordship. The Right Hon. the Governor (Mr. Lushington) arrived at Vellore on the 25th ult. on his tour through the Madras provinces.

## PLUNDER OF BUSHIRE.

Accounts have been received from Bushire of the plunder of that place in November last, by the son of the Prince Royal of Persia, with a marauding force of about 1500 men, who advanced upon the place in the night, in three columns, and succeeded in carrying it. Their object being plunder only, they left it again, having carried off property to the amount of 25 lacs of rupees. The loss of lives has been comparatively trifling. The British residency was just in a state of defence, anticipating an attack. The little force manifested great steadiness and coolness, and there can be no doubt that had they been put to the test they would have beat all the marauders off, but they were not tried. They could see the force advancing, and they could hear all the noise and confusion of the attack, and the cries of the defenceless and the wounded, in their immediate neighbourhood, as it was a remarkably still and serene night. Of course they could not venture beyond their walls to render aid, or to interfere at all. After the attack the wounded were laid down at the gates of the Residency, and the tribute thus paid to the English character was not suffered to go unrewarded, for they were brought in and dressed, and treated with all possible care and humanity.

## STEAMING VESSELS.

We are glad to find that the plan of steaming vessels for the purpose of killing vermin and insects, and more particularly the white ant, is coming into use here. The *Comet* steamer was yesterday hauled alongside of the *Penang Merchant* and by means of apparatus prepared for the occasion, her steam was applied to that purpose in this vessel for several hours; the object was most completely attained. In addition to this mode of effecting it, another valuable proof of its superiority to smoking, was displayed in this instance. Every leaky place in the vessel was shown by the water oozing out of it, and in this manner several leaks, which could not be before discovered, were made manifest. The steam itself, which escaped like smoke, could not be seen in the day-light, but the water oozing out, is of course visible in any light. The expense of this mode of cleansing a vessel is very moderate, and far more complete than any other yet known; in fact no other has ever been found effectually to destroy the white ant, not even sinking vessels, we believe, which is infinitely more tedious and more expensive, and with large ships out of the question.

The passengers of the *Broxbournebury* and *Cornwall*, left town yesterday morning in three steamers, which all started together, and a highly interesting spectacle it was, to witness this striking illustration of the rapid progress which has been made in the introduction into India of this invaluable mode of conveyance. Ten

years ago—ay, even six, who would have ventured to affirm that in three or four years we should have eight or nine steam vessels plying on the Hooghly?

The steamers that started yesterday morning for Saugor, were the *Emulous*, the *Telica*, and the *Firefly*. The former took the lead at starting in this interesting aquatic race, the *Firefly* pressed her close on the quarter, and last, not least, came the pretty little *Telica*. Her position in the race, however, is to be ascribed to her being deeper than usual. Chandpaul Ghaut was crowded at an early hour.

#### THE NEILGHERRY HILLS.

Some months ago we published the substance of some information received by us relative to the Neilgherry Hills, which was more recently submitted to the public in a more authentic shape in the 'Government Gazette.' We have lately been favoured with a further communication on the same subject:

'Travelling from Calicut to the hills by palanquin, cannot be considered expensive, when a distance of 178 miles may be performed for 50 rupees. Nothing, however, is to be had on the hills. Houses must be engaged for the visitor, previous to his arrival, else he may find himself without a habitation; and even a cottage will cost him 200 rupees a month. The houses are in general low, with small rooms, which are best suited to the coldness of the climate. Living (independent of European articles) is exceedingly cheap. Beef and mutton are plentiful; turkeys one and two rupees each; ducks three or four rupees a dozen; and fowls one rupee a dozen. Food for servants and horses is equally abundant and reasonable. There is good shooting of elk, boar, &c. for which a rifle will be necessary. Pointers and setters are of use. Greyhounds unnecessary. Beer and sherry are the favourite liquors, and next in succession, Madeira and Port. Claret is seldom touched.

'White jackets or light clothes of any description are never worn. The gentlemen require all the warm clothing requisite in Europe; and for the ladies, silks, bombazines, warm bonnets, cloaks, and stockings, with thick shoes, are indispensable. It is necessary for the traveller to take with him his household servants, or else he will find great difficulty, if not impossibility, to supply himself; and should they once fall sick, nothing could prevent their returning to the low country. The only chance, however, of keeping them well, is to clothe them as warmly as can be, in flannel jackets, cloth coats, trousers, worsted stockings, and English shoes. As the only furniture found in the houses at the hills is a bed, tables, and a few chairs and carpets, it is necessary to take whatever else the traveller thinks necessary to his comfort. Chintz curtains for beds and windows are requisite, and brass rods and knobs for the latter. As all the houses are provided with fire-grates, the visitor will be in want of fire-rugs, fire-irons, fenders, and hearth-brushes; none of which things are to be bought on the hills. Warm boat cloaks, and

extra quantities of flannel and blankets, will be highly useful together with books, stationary, umbrellas, parasols, and all knick-knacks for decorating a house. Much furniture is unnecessary, as there are seldom more than three rooms in a house, together with the sleeping apartments, every requisite for which must be conveyed thither. Brass pins for hanging hats and cloaks on, are also desirable.'

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#### FATAL AFFRAY IN PERSIA.

Tabrceez, February 20, 1829.

'Knowing you to be much interested in Persian affairs, and a circumstance of great political importance having occurred at Tehran ten days ago, I thought I would have the pleasure to communicate it to you myself, and shall be glad if it renders my letter acceptable to you. Mr. Grybydoff, the Russian ambassador, with his suite and guard of Cossacks, in all, I believe, thirty-five people, left this place for the Court of Tehran, about two months ago, on a mission, from the emperor, of congratulation to the king, on the late treaty of peace between this country and Russia. This treaty, which you have no doubt seen, grants a power to the subjects of the respective kingdoms to go to and fro unmolested; but the ambassador on his way thought fit to collect all the Armenians he could find, even such as were slaves in the time of Aga Mahmoud Khan. At Caobine he interfered in those matters so much as to give great offence amongst the people, by punishing very severely a Mohammedan, who was the neighbour merely of a man that had bought an Armenian slave, of which he was accused of being the accessory, although he was perfectly guiltless; this excited the indignation of the people so much, that he was seriously advised to depart, or they would not answer for his personal safety. Arrived at Tehran, every attention was paid him, a guard of honour being appointed him, and greater respect shown, I understand, than even to the splendid mission of General Yermouloff. But he chose to raise every possible grievance respecting those claims of the Armenian and Georgian subjects. The king's eunuch, Aga Yhaoub, formerly an Armenian, but now a Mohammedan more than twenty years, having plundered the king to the amount of 40,000 or 50,000 tomauns, fled to the Russian ambassador's for refuge, and he protected him against the claims of the king, and in contempt of his authority. He also granted refuge to two Armenians who had murdered a Mohammedan: but even this the Government overlooked, and compromised the affair with the relatives of the deceased. Many other instances I could name of his interfering in the affairs of the Georgians and Armenians, even in contempt of the Persian Government: amongst others, he required two Armenian women being given up to him belonging to Allaya Khan, who were formerly Turkish slaves, brought from Van during the last war between this country and Turkey: these women did not seek his protection, but, on the contrary, wished to remain at Tehran, but he chose to con-

sider them as Armenian subjects, and that they should return to their country. The king remonstrated, and even condescended to send the women to the ambassador's residence, under the charge of one of his eunuchs, in order that they might be questioned by him as to the fact alluded to; but he refused to question them in the presence of the eunuch, whom he very ill treated and sent away, detaining the women by force, and contrary to the king's orders. From what I can learn, by the accounts already received, these women were treated very barbarously by the Russians. In the morning they made their escape, and ran through the streets crying aloud for vengeance. This excited the indignation of the populace, who advanced, with menacing threats, to the residence of the ambassador. His house was then protected by about 100 of the king's guards, and from 20 to 30 Cossacks. These were ordered to fire upon the populace, and they killed six men. This exasperated the mob to the greatest height. The bodies of these men were then exposed in six different mosques, and the moolahs excited the people to fury, calling upon them for revenge on the murderers. The populace was then increased to about 30,000, inflamed by strong religious feeling, of the sacrifice of six Mussulmans by the Muscovite infidels; nothing could stem their rage, and they went forward, resolved upon their utter destruction. The king, in the mean time, hearing of the tumult, ordered out 2,000 of the troops, or *Tonbosses*, to the rescue of the Russians, and sent his son, Ali Shah, to their personal assistance. The prince, at the risk of his life, succeeded in saving one of the ambassador's secretaries and two Cossacks; with these exceptions the whole of the Russians were massacred, the exact number of which I cannot ascertain, but they are estimated to be 30 at least. Such was the violence of the mob, that, to save young Maltzoff, they were obliged to carry him in a box through the street for protection, to the palace. Mr. Grybydoff, it is said, was killed by a blow from a stone in the temple: the people, seeing him fall, then rushed into the house, and murdered every Russian they could meet with. This horrible event has caused great consternation in the two Governments, both here and at Tehran. The king has sent to say that he will offer every indemnity to Russia which she may require for so horrible an outrage, over which he had no controul, and did his utmost to prevent. His Majesty overlooked many provocations of the Ambassador, that nothing might occur to disturb the peace with Russia; and so tamely did he submit to them, that it excited great indignation amongst the people, and it is a general opinion, that had the King gone into the midst of them during this insurrection, they would have sacrificed him to their fury: as it was, he was obliged to keep the door of his ark<sup>\*</sup> shut. That the Russians brought upon themselves this horrid catastrophe, there can be no doubt: not that this is offered for an

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\* The fortified part of the palace.



excuse for one of the most barbarous and outrageous deeds which has ever disgraced the annals of this or any other country. Messengers are immediately going off to the Court of St. Petersburg, and it will soon be seen what steps they take to revenge this outrage on the dignity of the sovereign and the murder of his people; but I hope this deplorable event will not involve this country in any costly consequences, though the result of it can by no means be anticipated. His Royal Highness is plunged in the deepest grief on the occasion, and has ordered a general mourning amongst the people; and I never saw him so deeply afflicted. I had the honour of an audience with him yesterday, and mentioned my intention of writing to you, which he particularly wished me to do. You had heard, perhaps, of his Royal Highness's intention to visit St. Petersburg this spring, which I need not say is for a time postponed.'

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#### TRADE AT SINGAPORE.

The following is an extract of a letter from a commercial house at Singapore, dated January 13 :

' Since we had the pleasure of addressing you per *Scipio*, a very important change has taken place in the demand for cotton twist in the China market. It has now been introduced into the interior, (formerly it was confined to the province of Canton), and the merchants from the northern provinces had purchased every bale in the market of low numbers at 48 dollars, paying the duty also. Our correspondent from China writes us, that they have no doubt but it will now become an extensive article of trade. The East India Company have ordered out 1000 bales this season. The Americans in your port will no doubt take an early advantage of the rise in price and demand, they having it in their power to take it direct to China. Our produce continues at the same price as when we last wrote, with the exception of sugar, of which the price is merely nominal, there being little or none in the market. English iron is in fair demand at 15*l.* per ton. We sold about 200 tons per *Francis Watson* at this price, and nail iron at 17*l.* Swedish steel is in great demand at 14 and 15 Spanish dollars per tub, and Swedish iron at about 21*l.* per ton. Freights still continue low. The *Jacob* loaded at Canton, and transhipped her cargo here at 10*l.* per ton. The shipping charges at this place amounted to about one per cent. on the value of the goods.'

The trade in cotton twist or yarn referred to in the above letter is entirely new, and has been increasing from year to year. In 1816, two years after the opening of the East India trade, the quantity exported was only 624 lbs. Even in 1823 it was only 121,500 lbs. In 1826 it was 919,387 lbs., and in 1827 it was 3,063,556 lbs., and the declared value 273,990*l.* The trade down to that year was confined to our own possessions, and China was not tried until last season on account of the Company's monopoly, although it was obvious that

the trade was far better suited to that country than to India,—raw cotton being an export from the one, and an import into the other. It is amusing to see the East India Company, after neglecting to supply the market for at least 30 years, now following the example of the free trade at an humble distance. With respect to iron, we have only to observe that a commodity, which is worth in England only 6*l.* or 7*l.* per ton, is selling in India without difficulty at 15*l.* In 1827, we find that India, chiefly through the free trader, was supplied with no less than 17,127 tons of British iron, while the East India Company supplied China, having twice the population of India, and four times its wealth and industry, with no more than 1973 tons, or less than one-eighth part of that.

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MR. WARDEN.

*From the Bombay Courier, Dec. 27, 1828.*

Mr. Romer, Sir Charles Malcolm, Sir Lionel Smith, and a numerous party of the friends of Mr. Warden, assembled at the Chief Secretary's house in the Fort on Friday, for the purpose of presenting a farewell address to that gentleman on the occasion of his approaching departure to England. At 11 o'clock Sir Lionel Smith, accompanied by the gentlemen present, delivered the address, with the following expression of their sentiments :

‘ Mr. Warden, your friends now assembled have commissioned me to announce and deliver to you this farewell address. I could wish it had fallen on one better qualified to do justice to their feelings, and to your merits ; but I accepted the courtesy of their selection, because I largely and sincerely participate in the intended compliment.

‘ Sir, these are occasions which impart alike both pain and pleasure. They bring regret on those contemplating their long separation from valued friends, and they bring pleasure, as the means of manifesting our affection for those individuals who have passed a long career in our society, marked by the exercise of many amiable virtues.

‘ Sir, if there are few of your original cotemporaries present to partake in the gratification of the tributes now offered you, it will give you pleasure to find their high opinion of you confirmed by those who, with less pretensions in experience, equally appreciate the sterling qualities of your character, the recollection of which we may hope will prompt many here to follow in the same good course, shewing an example of 33 years of public service, honourably recognized by Government, and an example in private life, cherished by the parting applause of a large circle of friends. I will now, Sir, read to you our recorded sentiments, sincerely hoping they may afford you that solace and gratification in your retirement, which it is our object and our wish to confer :

*" To Francis Warden, Esquire.*

" Dear Sir,—On the occasion of your return to England, it is impossible that those who have any knowledge of the high station you have so long held in the society of Bombay, can allow you to depart without conveying to you a proof that they are not insensible to the claims you have established on their friendship and respect.

" During thirty-three years which you have passed in this island, the generous hospitality of your roof, while it was enjoyed by all classes of the service, and of the community, was extended equally to the strangers who visited us, and especially to the young and inexperienced on their first reaching the shores of India.

" Your public-spirited activity to originate or promote every measure brought forward for improving and beautifying the island, our public buildings, the statuary which adorns the Fort, and the extension of our roads for salubrious recreation, combine to commemorate.

" The records of our public charities attest how much they are indebted to your liberal support ; but the many instances in which you have stretched out a helping hand to merit in distress, and have dried up the tears of the widow and the orphan, are enrolled in a higher record.

" As a token that these virtues will not soon be forgotten among us, it is our desire, while we offer you the expression of our warmest personal attachment, to request your acceptance of a piece of plate, with the following inscription :

" Presented to Francis Warden, Esq., by his friends, as a mark of the high sense they entertain of his private virtues, and of his generous exertions to promote the interests and happiness of this society, during thirty-three years. Bombay, A. D., 1828."

" We subscribe ourselves with great truth and regard, ever yours, John Malcolm, J. J. Sparrow, John Romer, Charles Malcolm, Lionel Smith, and above sixty gentlemen of the H. C. service, and of the community of Bombay.

Mr. Warden spoke in reply to the following effect :

" Gentlemen,—I receive this address, and accept the valuable token you proffer to me with sentiments of the liveliest gratitude. After so long and uninterrupted a residence in this island, after having witnessed the various revolutions which have occurred in its society, during that lengthened period, and to which a community like India is so constantly exposed ; after being doomed to mourn and regret, year after year, the loss, in the departure to their native land, of a very numerous list of esteemed and respected contemporaries in all branches of the service, and not insensible to the obstacles that opposed the formation of new ties of intimacy, I thought, at one time, gentlemen, I am free to confess, that I should

have bidden adieu to Bombay, and quitted the shores of India, with sensations of subdued concern ; for it was not unnatural in me to apprehend, that with a few endeared exceptions, endeared to me by long habits of confidential intercourse, I had out-lived and out-resided those friends and acquaintances on whose attachment I may have established some claims to consideration. The distinguished and honourable proof of approbation, however, which I have this day received, supported as it is by so highly respectable an assembly, and more especially the flattering inscription with which you propose so indelibly to commemorate my connection with the establishment of this presidency, have dissipated those impressions, and forcibly awakened in me those affections which I had early imbibed, for a society in which I have passed the best period of my existence most happily, and, as I have this day the high gratification of being assured, in some degree, usefully in promoting the interests of the Presidency. That assurance I shall ever cherish with those proud sentiments of gratulation, which the respectable and independent body from which it has emanated, is so powerfully calculated to inspire.

‘ If, gentlemen, the value of the token this day presented to me could be possibly enhanced in my estimation, it has been so, or at least it has been rendered the more acceptable from having been conveyed to me through the medium of that gallant and accomplished officer, who has done me the honour of officiating as your representative on this occasion. I thank him for the sentiments, with which he has so kindly and eloquently spoken of me. I thank him the more cordially, under a conviction that those sentiments have been dictated by that honourable sincerity for which his character is so justly esteemed and respected. Gentlemen, the official situations which I have filled under this Government, have afforded me a full opportunity of forming a judgment on the characters of those eminent officers, who, during the last thirty years, have been selected for the responsible and arduous office of conciliating and maintaining the discipline of an Indian army. It will be no disparagement to the reputation of those officers, when I say, that I have not known one whose claims to the exercise of that important command have been superior to those of Sir Lionel Smith ; for, with equal qualifications, he has the advantage of a long and active experience in India, which they had not ; that experience, combined with his known attachment to the Natives in general, and to the Native soldiery in particular ; and with the thorough knowledge which he has acquired of the delicate structure and composition of an Indian army, point him out as the fittest successor for the vacancy about to be created by the return to England of our Commander-in-chief, Sir Thomas Bradford—a name, gentlemen, which I cannot mention but with the strongest feelings of private esteem and of public admiration, associated, as it so nobly is, with the renown of the British arms ; I cannot deny myself the

expression of a hope that the long and brilliant service of Sir Lionel Smith may be rewarded by a permanent nomination to the command of an army devoted to his person. The nomination would be hailed with enthusiasm by the unanimous voice of his comrades, and, above all, a consideration at all times of the first importance to the popularity of our rule, and to the security of our ascendancy, by the affectionate voice of the Native branch of the army of Bombay. Gentlemen, by the proceedings of this day, for which I have so imperfectly expressed my deep sense of gratitude for the obligations you have conferred upon me, you have raised my character in self-respect and self-estimation. You have crowned and rewarded the termination of my career in India to the full measure of my ambition.'

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#### NEW SETTLEMENT IN THE DEKHAN.

THE following Proclamation, by the Rajah of Sattarah, has, we understand, been lately circulated throughout his dominions, and is worthy of general publicity for the gratifying evidence it contains of the zeal with which the Rajah is co-operating with the Bombay Government to render Mahabuleshwar a popular place of resort. His highness has already made an excellent road from Sattarah to Mahabuleshwar, and intends this year to carry it on as far as the head of the Par Ghaut, which is the boundary of his territories. The Government of the Presidency will, we learn, complete the remainder to Mhar, at the head of the Bancote River: bungalows are also to be built on the line of road for the occupation of travellers. The delightful coolness of the climate, and the convenience of its situation, therefore warrants the belief that Mahabuleshwar will soon become a favorite and fashionable *rusticating* spot during the hot months, while its advantages as a depot for invalid officers and soldiers, will, we are sure, amply repay the expense incurred by Government in its establishment. The hospitals for the troops are said to be in a state of great forwardness, and one of the ablest and most intelligent surgeons of the establishment has been appointed to the medical duties.

#### *'Proclamation by his Highness the Rajah of Sattarah.*

'Be it known to all the subjects of his Highness the Rajah of Sattarah (Sreemunt Meha Raj Shri Meha Raj Chitraputte.)

'Near Jule there is a mountain, on the east of which is the Tac Ghaut, on the west near Prutup Ghurh in the Kindrore Ghaut, and the Coorottee Ghaut is to the south. On the north side, and in one corner of this mountain, is Mahabuleshwar, and the source of the holy Krishna. On the summit, near this place, is a spot called Nher, or the Wilderness, the air of which is remarkably fine during

the hot weather, in consequence of which his Excellency Sir John Malcolm, and English gentlemen, have built houses for themselves and barracks for the soldiers.

'We likewise intend building on that spot. In order that all necessities may be at hand, merchants should settle on the mountains, and form a *Pettah* there, which certainly will flourish, as trade will be drawn into this channel, in consequence of a road which it is our intention to make over the *Phar Ghaut*.

'Here then there shall be a *Pettah*, and it shall be called *Malcolm Petk*; and it shall be protected, and it shall flourish.

'GOD SAVE THE KING!'

#### GREAT GUN AT BEEJAPPOOR.

A correspondent at Beejapoor has sent us a circumstantial account of the firing of a gun—not one of your paltry pop-gun 24-pounders, but of the great great-gun of Beejapoor. We have often heard of this monstrous specimen of an engine of destruction, but ever imagined that, like the huge fowling-pieces at Beckwith's, on Snow-hill, it was only meant for a kind of *chef-d'œuvre* of the manufacturer's, got up to exhibit the extent of his skill. It appears however to have all the properties of the pigmy artillery, as the following account will show:—

'To the Editor of the *Bombay Courier*.

'Sir—It may be interesting to those of your readers, who have visited Palmyra in the Deckan, to hear that the large gun on the S. W. bastion of this city, was charged by order of the Rajah (with 40 seers, about 100lbs. of powder) and fired yesterday evening, at sunset.

'The powder, from its coarse quality, threw forth an immense volume of smoke, which was truly grand, although the report was weak in comparison to what was expected, perhaps equal to that of a 42-pounder. The gun shook the frame, and rebounded on the wall without any injury.

'This circumstance excited a degree of sensation amongst the inhabitants (10,000), many had left their houses with their families 10 and 15 miles: and every Bunyan shutting his shop and retiring from its walls. The gun had been discharged by Aurungzebe 150 years before.

'The muzzle has the figure of a lion's head, with an elephant walking into its mouth. The dimensions, inside 2, and outside  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet diameter; in length,  $12\frac{1}{2}$  feet; circumference  $13\frac{1}{4}$  feet; throughout inside chamber 14 inches, diameter 5 feet.

'His Highness has been here ten days, and will move on the 11th current to Ukulkote, afterwards to Punderpoor, Fultun; and Sing-

her, returning to Satarrah by the 15th proximo. His retinue consists of a part of the body guard, 100 horse, 300 irregular horse, and 200 Bombay infantry; 10 elephants, 154 camels, besides 2000 followers. The greatest order prevails, and every article is strictly paid for in the different villages. The cultivators of ground, instead of considering his visit as in former times, a curse, now hail his visits as a blessing in every respect.—*Beejapoor, Jan. 6.*

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#### REMARKABLE OCCURRENCE AT MADRAS.

The new year has been ushered in with the usual festivities. The Right Honourable the Governor gave a large dinner party on New Year's Day; and at about half-past 9 o'clock proceeded to the banqueting room, which was soon filled with a gay assemblage. The splendid picture presented to the Right Honourable the Governor, by the Earl of Powis, of his illustrious ancestor the Great Clive, was, on this occasion, decorated with laurels, and under it was suspended the portrait of Josiah Webbe, Esquire, to which the following extract from the answer of Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General of India, and formerly Governor of this Presidency, to the address to his Lordship from the settlement of Madras in August last, was affixed:

'Under my immediate and excellent predecessor, Lord Clive, the true principles of Indian government had been worked up to the highest pitch of elevation. Through every part of the administration there prevailed an exalted sense of honour, a proud integrity, an extraordinary display of zeal and activity in the discharge of every public duty. Mine was only the humble task of keeping up what had been so happily established. Of the acts of my successors I can have but little knowledge. But your late lamented governor, and my esteemed friend, was, at the time I have been speaking of, associated with other great names,—Webbe, Close, and a long list of living characters, whom it might be invidious to mention, and engaged in the same distinguished career.'

At 12 o'clock, the Right Honourable the Governor led his Highness the Naib-i-Mooktar to the gallery, in which a supper, served up in the most elegant style, was laid, and his Highness did not leave the scene of hospitality and gaiety until about one o'clock.

We were sorry on this occasion to be witnesses to the display of one of those ebullitions of furious passion and sanguinary vengeance which unfortunately are of no unfrequent occurrence in Asiatic history. A trooper of the body guard, who was off duty and in his undress, had come to see the *tamasha*, and, for this purpose, had introduced himself into the gallery of the banqueting room, from which one of the government peons, knowing that he had no per-

mission to be there, desired him to move. A dispute arose between them, but the trooper in the end was driven down the steps of the banquetting room by the peon and other servants, and in going away he was heard to threaten the peon with revenge, saying that he would make marks upon his badge that would teach him how to insult a sepoy. This was about eleven o'clock. It appears that the trooper, after reflecting some time upon the disgrace he thought he had suffered, went to the barracks for his pistols, where he arrived at twelve o'clock. Having got in and secured them, and two cartridges with bullets, he made a pretence for quitting the barracks, and thus getting out he proceeded towards the banquetting room, having loaded his pistols on the bridge. He then proceeded to the steps leading up to the terrace in front of the banquetting room. Shortly after his Highness the Naib came down with the Governor, got into his carriage and went away. When the Governor with his staff were returning up the stairs, the peon, whom the trooper was in search of, appeared to be coming down the stairs—the trooper took from his girdle one pistol, and shutting his eyes, he fired it at the person he took for the peon, and with his left hand held the other pistol to his own breast. The right hand pistol went off, and the ball struck a servant of Delawar Khan, one of his Highness the Nabob's Moonshes, who was in a line with the peon on the lower steps, attending upon his master, waiting for the carriage to convey him away. The wounded man was sent to the general hospital, and, we are happy to say, is doing well; and, considering the excited state of the trooper's feelings, it is fortunate no injury was done to any other person, which may be ascribed to the pistol having been held so close to the man's back, that though it burnt the flesh and his jacket, the ball did not pass through, but was found lodged in the top of his shoulder, and easily taken out by Doctor Shee, of the 13th Dragoons, who was luckily present on the spot. This pistol seems to have been dropped immediately after it was fired. The pistol which the infatuated man intended for his own destruction, and pointed to his stomach, missed fire. When he found this was the case, he threw it down also, ran away, and succeeded in making his escape. At about eleven o'clock the next morning, however, he was seized by the Subidar Major of the body guard, of Seid Hussun, and was delivered over to the civil power, and has since made a full confession, entirely confirming this statement. He is only eighteen years old.—*Govt. Gaz. Jan. 5.*

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## THE HAPPY NIGHT.

*(Literally versified from the Arabic of Almokry).*

## I.

As the glorious sun was setting  
 Whispered Fatima to me ;  
 " When the star of night is risen,  
 " Ahmed ! I will haste to to thee !"

## II.

Soft as the gloom the morning pierces,  
 Lightly as the zephyrs play  
 On the lake's unruffled surface,  
 Footsteps bounding come this way.

## III.

At her approach reviv'd is nature,  
 Round me all things perfume breathe,  
 Flowers their sweetest scents discover,  
 Shine their beauties from beneath.

## IV.

As the student with devotion  
 Each holy page with rapture views,  
 Of each light step I kiss the traces  
 Shewn by the faintly-pressed dew.

## V.

Night o'er all her empire stretches,  
 And all things sleep but love alone,  
 There this earthly angel seated,  
 Her charms the beauteous moon out-shone.

## VI.

Now I clasp her to my bosom,  
 And now her lips, to mine I press ;  
 But unfurl'd is morning's standard,  
 To summon both from happiness.

## VII.

Alas ! and thus our fond endearments  
 Day and fate alike suspend.  
 O night Alkadr,\* night of glory !  
 To favour lovers' joys descend !

\* The night of glory and power, on which God disposed all things, with wisdom, is much revered by the Mohammedans, and is believed to be renewed every year. It is the most fortunate of all seasons. On that night the Koran, which had existed from all eternity, was transported by the command of God, from the seventh heaven, to that of the moon, which is the lowest of the seven. From this heaven, Gabriel communicated the whole book to Mahomet by small portions at a time,—so small indeed, that twenty-three years were required to communicate it.

## REPORTS OF PROCEEDINGS IN THE COUNTRY, FOR OPPOSING THE EAST INDIA MONOPOLY.

[Since the rising of Parliament, there has been a general relaxation of the efforts making in the Country, to oppose, by petition, the renewal of the East India Company's Charter. Nevertheless, there have been already presented to both Houses not less than fifty Petitions from England, Scotland, and Ireland, so that the subject has taken deep root, and will greatly increase in interest between this and the next Session. In the mean time, and in order to keep the matter continually before the eyes of the public, we give insertion, in our present Number, to the reports selected for our last, and then omitted for want of room: and shall continue to make this Journal a faithful Record of all that transpires (as far as we can obtain the requisite information) in every part of the kingdom, being convinced of the great importance of collecting together, in one convenient and accessible repository, the scattered opinions and resolutions which will very soon become desirable matter of reference—and acquire a degree of importance that it may not, in the eyes of some, be now supposed to possess.]

### PUBLIC MEETING ON THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S MONOPOLY.

*From the Lancaster Gazette.*

On Thursday last, a meeting was held at the Town-hall, in this town, to consider the propriety of petitioning the Legislature against the renewal of the charter of the East India Company.

On the motion of Mr. Alderman GILES, the Mayor took the chair.

The object of the meeting was perspicuously stated by the Mayor, who mentioned several facts, shewing the necessity in the present state of the kingdom, and the propriety as a measure of justice and policy towards the Eastern nations under British dominion, of opening, as early as practicable, a free trade to those countries. His Worship then invited the meeting, which was numerous and highly respectable, to a calm discussion of this most important subject.

Mr. Alderman GILES said, that he should only trespass for a short time upon the attention of the meeting, as there were doubtless other gentlemen present, who had better opportunities of studying the question, and preparing themselves for the occasion. There was one subject, however, of great importance, to which he must advert. It was impossible for any one to contemplate the present aspect of the country, without feelings of deep commiseration for the operative manufacturers. They were now enduring privations and distress almost without example, and were rapidly approaching the state of destitution which prevailed in 1825. Their distress arose from no fault of their own, but from causes over which they had no control, from a redundancy of population, and overproduction of manufactured goods; but whatever the cause might be, the present state of affairs was of so formidable a nature as to call for the serious consideration of the public. It was absolutely necessary to provide some other market for the manufactured produce of this country, and he was not able to point to any other quarter than the East for an outlet to our goods. Yet the East India Company's Charter had undoubtedly contributed to prevent the extension of the commerce and manufactures of the kingdom. No person was allowed to land without a license, and those who were so allowed, were only permitted to travel a short distance towards the interior. The propriety, and indeed the necessity of opening the trade

in this direction, at the expiration of the term of the East India Company's Charter, was so clearly proved, that when the question was brought before Parliament it could meet with very little opposition, and there could be no doubt, but the members for this borough would give every support to a measure of such vital importance to the country. Before submitting the motion, which had been put into his hands, he would read a portion of a newspaper, which he thought worth the attention of the meeting. Mr. Giles here read the following extract: 'It has been stated, that "owing to the prejudices of the Natives, no importation of British goods, beyond that of a few hundred pounds' worth of scissors and needles for the use of British residents, could ever make its way into India." The best commentary upon all which, is, that in the year 1818, woollen goods were exported from this country to India, of the official value of £500,000; in 1827, £940,000. In 1814, the plain calicos that were exported from Great Britain to India, measured 200,000 yards; in 1827, 20,000,000 yards. In 1813, the printed calicos exported hence to India, measured, 600,000; in 1827, 14,000,000 yards. To prove even the recent and enormous growth of the export trade to our Indian empire, it is also stated, that so short a time ago as in the year 1824, there was exported of cotton yarn to India, 105,000 lbs., and in 1827, 4,600,000 lbs. But cotton yarn must be first put in the loom before it can be made available for consumption; so here is a proof, not only of the extent to which India, under a relaxation of the monopoly, has overcome 'her prejudices,' so far as to prefer the staple manufacture of this country to her own, but of her power to extend her native cotton manufacture, through the use of cotton twist supplied by England, simultaneously with her consumption of British calicos, the product of her own, or of American raw cotton. Among other fruits of the monopoly it appears that we have had cotton, bad rice, and many bad things from India, which would all be improved in quality, were Englishmen enabled to proceed thither to cultivate the soil and to settle. The change which has taken place in the article of indigo, is adduced as a striking instance of what would happen, was the culture of Indian produce generally free. That article is now grown by private English traders, who have permission to visit the interior districts, and in consequence, its reputation and value are so raised as to beat every other out of market. Allow the trade to be thrown open to the culture of Englishmen, relieve them from the unfair burthen and embarrassment laid upon all private residents in the interior of the country, the raw material from nearly the worst, will then have fair play and prove the skilful hand, into which it shall have fallen.' The worthy Alderman concluded by moving the first resolution.

BENJAMIN DOCKRAY, Esq., in seconding the resolution, said that success in the endeavours which are using in many parts of the kingdom, on the present occasion, will depend on the zealous co-operation of those who are convinced of the extensive good, which is to be hoped for by this measure. Lancaster is a small place, but it would be an unworthy excuse for declining to lend our assistance, that as all we can do is but little, therefore that little we will not do. But it is the privilege of every good cause, and every meritorious course of action, that no part of what is done is without its value. On the present occasion, all the exertion that can be applied will not be more than is necessary to accomplish the object in view. At the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company in 1814, petitions and deputations

were sent to London, and great efforts employed to resist the influence of the Company; and yet all which was obtained, in relaxation of the Company's exclusive privileges, was comparatively inconsiderable; and the new-acquired rights were accompanied by such difficulties and obstacles of various kinds, as might have seemed sufficient to render them of little value or effect. If much more is accomplished now, it will be because, to the representations made by the principal towns, such as Liverpool, Birmingham, Manchester and Glasgow, are added the pressing representations of numerous places of secondary importance. Collectively they are the demonstration of a general uniformity of public sentiment, to which the Legislature never fails to lend a compliant attention. There are peculiarities in the present crisis of the country, which give a double importance, at this time, to the question of opening the resources of the East, as extensively as possible, to British enterprise and industry. The rapid increase which has arisen recently in the productive powers of machinery, the rising commercial spirit of other nations since the peace, the demonstrations on the part of the United States in particular, of a policy restricting our commerce with them, the continual accumulation of English capital insufficiently employed;—all these considerations concur to urge upon this country the policy of extending our commercial intercourse with the Eastern World. And it is a prospect so abounding in advantages to the empire at large, equally to those distant and invaluable possessions, and to our interests at home, that the people of England would show a supineness, very unlike the native energy of the English character, if they suffer the present opportunity to pass without taking full advantage of it. That abundance of capital which, if due means are provided for its healthful circulation, is as the vital stream of commercial prosperity; if such means are not provided, will soon expend itself and become lost, in schemes of futile and hazardous experiment, as was the case recently in the South American and Mexican loans and mining speculations; in which, from 9 to 12 millions of British capital have been extinguished as if they had never existed. Restrained until it rises higher and higher, it will in time burst its banks only to produce ruin and devastation, instead of gently and freely distributing itself, in innumerable and fertilizing streams. What is wanting is not capital, but credit, that is to say, a reasonable confidence in the prospects of commercial operations; and there is no branch of industry, and no species of property, which would not be at least remotely benefited by the activity of commerce which would be produced by opening the trade to India. Interposing between England and the East, the East India Company prevents the wants of each being supplied by the surplus productions of the other; prevents the riches of those teeming climes being exchanged for the abundant and unrivalled products of our mechanic skill. It is also a most important consideration, that the productive power of India is capable of increase to a boundless extent, by the local application of English skill, capital, and science. Nor will its resources ever fully develop themselves, till this takes place. In regard to cotton, superior methods of culture, it is well known, would carry that article to a perfection of quality, and an abundance of production, which would relieve us from our present hazardous and most undesirable dependance on the United States. The commerce which is actually carried on by the Company in India, is, in truth, very inconsiderable, and the question between them and the public, as to the commerce of India, is not so much whether a trade disadvantageously

carried on by the Company should be suffered to devolve to other parties, who would conduct it with far more advantage;—but whether an extensive trade, become necessary to the commercial prosperity of England, should not be suffered to arise, which, as far as the Company is concerned, at present hardly exists. If happily this important measure should be accomplished, and British commerce be suffered to exert its expansive energies throughout the boundless countries of the East, connecting more closely our Eastern possessions with the United Kingdom, relieving to an incalculable degree the difficulties under which we labour at home,—and reciprocating to those distant regions the blessings of civilization and science, and that highest of blessings, the diffusion of Christian Truth;—it will be one more, and not the least, of the many distinguished instances of improvement in the national policy of this country, which will endear to distant times the memory of the present reign.

E. HORNBY, Esq., rose to propose the next resolution. He said, that after the intelligent speeches which had been made, he felt that little could be added by him; but in proposing the resolution for which purpose he had risen, he should make a few observations. Monopoly, however it might be considered by our ancestors in accordance with their views of political economy, was opposed to the real interests of the community. He believed, every one he had the honour to address, was convinced, that the distress which prevailed, was not to be attributed to the want of capital, nor of that skill and enterprise, which was the honour of our British merchants. (*Cheers.*) There wanted a large field of enterprise, to extend itself more fully. He therefore could not consider it going too far to ask for that field to be opened entirely, which was opened already to a very small portion of this country, and to foreigners; and he was aware, that by a free trade to the East, a very large field would be opened. Since the trade in a few articles had been thrown open, it had increased in a great degree; for instance, the trade in indigo was opened, and that branch had extended immensely; and the export of manufactures would advance in a similar degree, because from that country the raw material came, and this country was enabled to work it up at a very cheap rate; therefore it was only right to infer that they would deal extensively in our manufactured goods. The trade in tin, and in antimony, and the still more extensive trade in opium, had increased; the latter, he believed, four-fold. There would be a large field opened for British capital; it was therefore the duty of every individual, however humble his situation might be, to join in removing that great monopoly. (*Cheers.*) It was impossible he could have other than pure motives for what he had said, as he was not in trade, nor likely ever to be, and therefore he should not be interested in the results. He concluded by moving the next resolution.

Mr. THOS. H. HIGGIN felt much anxiety and regret, that the resolution he was about to second had not fallen into abler hands; he had, however, much satisfaction in hearing the preceding speakers, who had greatly narrowed what he had intended to offer to the notice of the meeting, by the eloquent and masterly manner in which they had treated the subject. Although the trade had been but partially thrown open to British enterprise and skill, yet the result was highly satisfactory. In the year 1814, the export of plain and printed calicos amounted to 818,208 yards; in 1827, 34,295,131 yards, being an increase of ninety-three fold on that description of goods, worn priu-

cipally by the Natives. A corresponding increase had also taken place in our exports of hardware, earthenware, and of cotton twist. In the three first months of this year, viz., January, February, and March, we had exported 106,953 lbs. of cotton twist; and of calicos, cambrics, &c., 3,637,532 yards, clearly shewing that the export was progressively augmenting, notwithstanding the period had been one of considerable commercial difficulty, and not very favourable to extended commerce. In 1828, the exports to India amounted to 4,300,000*l.*, which, in fact, exceeded the Company's exports seven fold, for the same year, having all India open to them. Yet in their reports they inform us, that they lose by their exports of British manufactures, and that they only continue the trade for the benefit of the country, and with certain loss to the Company. If, gentlemen, such is the fact, we can only account for it, by the lavish manner in which they conduct every branch of their trade. Had such been the result to the private trader, we should not have had the amazing increase before stated. Since 1814, the period when the trade was partially opened, the imports of sugar have increased ten-fold, of which the Company imported one-fifth, yet in 1823, they state that they had lost 50 per cent. by the part they had imported. In 1819, Singapore was taken possession of by the British, and made an open port; in 1827, the imports were 13,387,185 sicca rupes, with a corresponding export. Since 1819, America has had an increasing trade to the East Indies and to China, yet the British merchant has not been allowed to trade to the latter, and only to the former, surrounded and encumbered with restrictions. The East India Company would have us also believe that even by their trade to China, they are losers. In 1821, they say, 'by our exports of British manufacture to China, we lose annually, upon an average of 26 years, 64,000*l.*; all our efforts to introduce British manufactures have totally failed, and no new article has been exported during the last twenty years.' How can such a statement be supported? The facts before enumerated plainly show that they can be introduced, and to a great extent, if we can only be allowed to make the experiment. The obstructions offered to the private trader by the Company, were most obnoxious and unjust, no Englishmen being allowed to reside at a greater distance than ten miles from the Presidencies, he could not travel into the interior without leave, and if he offended in any degree he was liable to banishment without trial, and all his prospects in life ruined. It was not right that the trade of the country should be carried on in this cramped manner; it almost rendered it a curse rather than a blessing. In 1814 the total exports of the Company were 870,000*l.*; from 1813 to 1823, they averaged only 680,000*l.*—contrast this with the exports of 1823. The monopoly of tea trade was shameful; the inhabitants of this country were taxed not less than 2,500,000*l.*, to support the present system, and tea could be purchased by our continental neighbours full 100 per cent. cheaper (duty free) than the East India Company chose to supply the consumers in this country. The debt of the Company in 1792, amounted to seven millions; it soon after reached twenty-five millions, and has since greatly increased, notwithstanding their revenue amounts to the enormous sum of 23,000,000*l.* annually. So lavish is the expenditure of the Company, that I am not surprised that their trade should not answer, when a single pound of cotton twist cost 50 per cent. more by the Company's ships than by the free trader; and if it goes through the agents of the Company's hands, before it reaches the consumer, it is enhanced 150 per cent. For these reasons, gentlemen, I have only to say, that the resolution has my most cordial assent, and I trust it will be equally well received by this meeting.

J. GREG, Esq. then rose, and spoke to the following effect:—It is with  
*Oriental Herald*, Vol. 22.

the greatest pleasure, but with feelings of extreme inefficiency, that I come forward to add my feeble voice to the opinions of the gentlemen who have preceded me; and, after the forcible manner in which they have urged the importance of opening the trade to the East, it is unnecessary for me to say much on the subject. It does, however, appear most curiously absurd, that a nation of twenty millions of people, most of whom have been brought into existence through the genial influence of commerce and manufactures—a nation which has been raised to its present elevation of greatness, wealth, and civilization, by its commerce with half of the globe, should lay the hand of prohibition on any intercourse with the other half. While we are forcing our fabrics into the deserts and wilds of America—while we are endeavouring to form commercial treaties with central Africa—and while Russian merchants struggle across the vast plains of Tartary, to supply the Mandarins with English manufactures, our wise institutions deny us the power of trading to India, along that great high road, with which heaven has so beneficially furnished us. There is a consideration connected with this subject, which I doubt not you will agree with me in considering of great importance. We have assumed the reins of government over a most extensive empire, containing a population equal to that of the half of Europe; and I conceive we are bound to impart to the Natives the advantages of British institutions and civilisation, and the blessings of the Christian religion. It appears to me, that the best way of effecting this, is by forming commercial establishments through every part of this vast peninsula; and, upon the foundation of those feelings of good-will and mutual dependence, which commercial intercourse will ever produce, gradually to raise the superstructure of the moral and political improvement of India. We must all feel it a disgrace that, at present, the Christian religion, so far from being encouraged, or even intolented, is persecuted and opposed by a company of Christian merchants. Mr. Greg concluded by moving the next resolution.

Mr. Alderman NOTTAGE, in seconding the resolution, said that nothing he could say, would add weight to the able observations which had already been made.

Mr. GREGSON then addressed the meeting as follows:—I had a resolution put into my hands on entering the room, but I am not at all prepared to enlarge upon the merits of the question before this meeting, nor, indeed, is it necessary; the gentlemen who have preceded me having fully, and I think satisfactorily, stated the propriety of adopting the proposed measure. On the China trade, I take leave to make a short observation. It is a well-known fact, that British capital is employed in a foreign country, and in foreign shipping in a lucrative trade to China; whilst British merchants and British ships are strictly excluded from any participation in it. It is not the employment of British capital in this way, that is most to be regretted; it is to this nation a more serious grievance, that the marine of a foreign power and her seamen are augmented, whilst the ships of our own nation remain unemployed, and a check is put to the nursery and rearing of British seamen. If this system is so continued, where are we to look for British seamen when the time comes that we want to man 'old England's wooden walls?' I think it is quite necessary that the sentiments of this country, upon so important a question, should be made known.

W. HINDE, Esq. seconded the resolution.

The petition was then read by the Town-Clerk, and was as follows:—

'To the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled,

'The merchants, manufacturers, traders, and other of the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Lancaster, in the County Palatine of Lancaster,

'Humbly prayeth,

'That the trade to China, and the interior of India may be thrown open at the earliest possible period. That the monopoly of tea may be abolished. That the right of his Majesty's subjects to settle in India may be established by law. That the power of banishment without trial, and the conviction of a defined offence may no longer be allowed; and that enquiry may be instituted forthwith into the present condition of all regions within the limits of the East India Company's Charter, in order that such measures may be adopted as shall speedily develop the resources of those countries, and most effectually promote the welfare of the inhabitants.

'And your Petitioners will ever pray,' &c.

Mr. ESKRIDGE, in moving the adoption of the petitions by the meeting, observed that much had been said, and well said, and he would add, without fear of contradiction, that there was not a British subject who must not see the necessity of laying open the trade. The agriculturist, as well as the manufacturer, was in distress, and why? because of the weight of taxes. He was unable to go on although he possessed sufficient capital. The reason was, that he had no market for his goods; or, if he had, he must sell to disadvantage. He was convinced that the time had arrived when the East India Company's charter ought to be set aside. When the charter was granted there were few enlightened merchants, and little capital, but now, he thanked God, there were both.

Mr. JAMES CRUSFIELD seconded the resolution.

E. HORNNY, Esq. said he had the satisfaction of proposing the last resolution, which he was convinced would be received with pleasure by the meeting; for all would bear testimony to the honourable conduct of the worthy Mayor in so promptly calling the meeting, and the zeal and attention he had displayed in the chair. (*Cheers*)

This concluded the business of the meeting.

The petitions then received a number of signatures, and are now lying at the Town Hall to enable those who have not yet signed to do so.

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*From 'The Dublin Journal.'*

We are glad to find that Ireland appears at length to be roused on the important subject of the East India Monopoly. We have not time this day to offer any extended observations on the subject. We request, however, the particular attention of the public to the following Petition of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce. We suppose the example will be followed by every other Mercantile Body in Ireland:—

*To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.*

The Humble Petition of the Chamber of Commerce of the City of Dublin,

'SHEWETH,—That as the period approaches when the question connected with the expiration of the Charter of the East India Company, must come under the consideration of your Honourable House, your Petitioners, in concurrence with the Mercantile and Manufacturing Classes in other parts of the United Kingdom, beg leave to express their conviction, that the commerce and manufactures, and consequently the general interests of the British Empire, could not fail to derive incalculable advantages from the removal of the existing restrictions on the trade with the East Indies and China.



‘That with respect to an East Indian trade, your Petitioners conclude, that such would be the necessary consequence of a free commercial intercourse with a vast and populous region, abounding in natural wealth, and possessing the capacity of yielding, in unlimited quantities, the principal materials of European manufacture—a capacity which requires only to be improved by the unrestricted application of individual intelligence and adequate capital, to be brought into a state of the most beneficial activity. That the new and extensive markets, which there is reason to expect, would thus be opened for the products of British industry and for the employment of British capital, enterprise and skill, would powerfully contribute, not only to raise the commercial and manufacturing prosperity of the Empire, but to establish it on a firm and more permanent basis than has hitherto been found practicable—for your Petitioners humbly submit, that in the great and growing consumption of British commodities by British subjects, which such an intercourse could scarcely fail to create, the best provision would be made against the unfriendly or mistaken regulations of other States, or the want of a demand for our manufactured articles commensurate with the national powers of production, and the best security would consequently be obtained against the recurrence of the ruinous fluctuations and reverses to which the commercial and manufacturing interests of these countries have of late years been so exceedingly liable.

‘That with reference to the trade with China, your Petitioners humbly submit that the monopoly of that trade, exercised by the East India Company, in virtue of their Charter, is alike unjust in its principle, and impolitic in its consequences—it limits commercial enterprise, excludes British subjects from any participation in an extensive and lucrative commerce, open to every other people besides, and by raising the price of tea (an article of universal use, the duty on which is proportionate to its official cost) far beyond its intrinsic value, it has the effect of materially aggravating the burden of national taxation.

‘That your Petitioners entertain a sanguine expectation that Ireland, by the gradual development of her resources, and the progressive improvement of her commerce and manufactures, will, at no distant period, be qualified to enjoy a direct participation in the benefits of an Eastern traffic, but, in the mean time, your Petitioners are deeply sensible, that bound as she is by indissoluble ties, and a common interest to the sister kingdom, nothing can either advance or depress the prosperity of the one without affecting, with a correspondent influence, the condition of the other.

‘Wherefore your Petitioners humbly pray, that your Honourable House will consider the subject of the Charter of the East India Company, with a view to the speedy and effectual removal of every injurious restriction on the trade with the East Indies and China, and that until that desirable purpose is effected, every practicable arrangement may be made to enlarge and facilitate the general commerce, now carried on with those countries.’

‘And your Petitioners will ever pray,’ &c.

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*From ‘The Liverpool Times.’*

The important subject of the India and China Trade has now been twice brought under the serious consideration of the House of Commons, and once under that of the House of Lords. The immediate object of Mr. Whitmore in his motion, and of the great towns of the kingdom in their petitions, namely, the appointment of a Committee of inquiry this Session, has not been attained; but the attention of Government has been powerfully drawn to the subject,—a promise has been obtained that an inquiry shall be instituted next session, which Ministers will facilitate by providing all necessary documentary evidence,—and Members of Parliament, and the country at large, have been apprised, in the most efficient manner, of the great and interesting discussion that is approaching. We think, with Mr. Huskisson, that the labours of a Committee, even for a

single month, during the present session, would have been highly useful, by effectively engaging many members in the investigation of this extensive subject, and still more by enabling them to draw up a scheme of the best course of inquiry, and to send out to India for the information they may want. This would have been much more satisfactory to the country than the promise of Ministers to furnish the requisite information. If the evidence obtained by the latter, should be thought defective by the Committee, it will be too late to supply the defect next session.

The speeches of Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Whitmore, contain very striking details of facts with regard to the India and China trade. They confirm the views and statements presented by several of our merchants at the public meeting in this town. The importance of giving the widest circulation to these facts, is proved by the extravagant absurdities which Mr. Astell, the Chairman of the East India Directors, attempted to impose upon the House. This gentleman would, at once, have swept away the grounds on which the opening of the trade, both to China and to the East Indies is called for, by asserting, 1st. That tea was not only cheaper, but '*infinitely cheaper*,' in England than on the Continent of Europe or in America; and 2dly. That the private trade from England to India had not increased between the years 1816 and 1827! To the first of these assertions the price-currents of Hamburgh, Holland, and New York afford the most decisive contradiction, by showing that tea is at little more than half the price in those markets that it fetches at the sales of the East India Company; and though the Company's teas may possibly be better than teas of the same nominal qualities sold in other countries—a fact which we by no means admit, except for argument's sake—it is impossible there should be such a difference in the quality, as to account for more than a small part of the difference in price. We know that gentlemen, resident in America, who have visited England, as well as English merchants who have travelled in America, represent the tea usually drunk in that country as superior to the monopoly-flavoured tea of England. There is no good reason why it should not be at least equal; for though the Company have a monopoly in England, they have none in Canton; and if the American merchant has money or broad cloth in his hands, he may purchase as fine teas for the wealthy *bourgeois* of New York and Philadelphia, as can be had for the aristocracy of England. But, in fact, Mr. Astell's piece of extravagance destroys his own case; for if the Company can import teas '*infinitely cheaper*' than the private traders of Holland and America, why should he object to throw open the trade, and thus convince our merchants, by actual experience, of their inability to cope, in economy and good management, with the Honourable Company? The Director's assertion, that the private trade to India has not increased since the year 1816 is most delusive. It was correctly stated by Mr. Whitmore, that the exports from Great Britain to the East Indies and China were, on the average, in the years from 1790 to 1795, 2,520,821*l.* per annum, and in the years from 1808 to 1812, only 1,748,340*l.* per annum—showing a gradual and considerable decline. All this time the East India Company had an entire monopoly of both those markets; but in 1814 the trade to India was partially opened, and what was the effect? From 1814 to 1819, the average amount of exports to those countries was 2,118,446*l.*; and from 1820 to 1825 the average was 4,028,516*l.*; in 1826 it was 4,877,133*l.*; and in 1827, 5,891,102*l.* Thus, since the private trade was opened, the exports have increased more than threefold; and the man who should assert that the increase is not attributable to the private trade, must be either *interested* or an idiot.

It is evident that the East India Company and their friends will endeavour to perplex the subject in every possible way, and the real difficulties which attend the political branch of it will afford them great opportunities of doing so. Whether the Company shall be altogether abolished,—or shall be allowed to govern Hindoostan, its commercial monopoly **only** being destroyed;—if it remains the governing power, what security Englishmen are to have for free intercourse and free settlement;—or, if the government is transferred to the Crown, how the enormous influence which it would give to a Minister, is to be controlled and prevented from destroying the independence of Parliament:—these are questions of the utmost moment, and of great difficulty. We do not see, however, that any of these difficulties interfere with the right of the people of this country to a free commercial intercourse with the East Indies and China. This right is so clear, and the advantages that would accrue from its exercise, both to Great Britain and to Asia, are so vast and apparent, that we hope the entire abolition of the Company's monopoly will be an indispensable feature of any mode of adjusting the question. As to the political part of the subject, it is shown, by all experience, that a mercantile body form the worst possible governors of any country; and especially a mercantile body in a distant land, whose only interest is to draw from the people the largest amount of revenue.

The duty of the people of this country clearly is to press upon Parliament their unquestionable right to a free participation in the trade to the East, and we trust they will do this with an energy and unanimity which shall overpower the influence of the Company. The political branch of the question may be left to the Legislature. The Committee on the India and China trade, in this town, has acted on the principle of pursuing the commercial object, without meddling with questions of government; and we hope all the other mercantile bodies will act in the same way,—directing their undivided and earnest exertions to the attainment of a free trade with the East, and diligently pursuing all the means that are calculated to promote that end.

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*From 'The Elgin Courier.'*

Mr. WHITMORE brought forward his motion pursuant to notice, for the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the state of trade between Great Britain, India, and China. The honourable gentleman entered into an elaborate discussion of the subject; and showed, by the unanswerable logic of stern indisputable facts, that the East India Company's monopoly has been—and so long as it is tolerated, must of necessity be—productive of evils of the greatest magnitude, both to this country and to the population of our Eastern possessions.

The advocates of the princes of Leadenhall-Street affirmed, with the utmost confidence, prior to the renewal of the Company's charter in 1813, that, even although the trade between this country and India were thrown open, without any restrictions whatever, there would be no additional export of articles of British manufacture to that empire. But how stands the fact? It stands in such a position as to furnish the most conclusive proof, that these advocates of the Company's monopoly are neither prophets nor the sons of prophets. In consequence of the very partial opening up of the trade which took place between Britain and India on the renewal of the charter at the period referred to, our export of articles of British manufacture, to the East, have materially and steadily increased. Mr. Whitmore showed, that, from the year 1795, down till 1813, the year in which a

renewal of the charter was obtained, there was a decrease in the export of our manufactured articles in the following ratio :

In 1795 the official value of the exports to India was 2,500,000*l.* ; from 1796 to 1801 it averaged 2,300,000*l.* ; from 1802 to 1807, 2,100,000*l.* ; from 1808 to 1812, 1,700,000*l.*

Now, let this important fact be contrasted with another equally momentous, and susceptible of the clearest demonstration,—namely, that since the partial opening up of the trade between this country and India immediately subsequent to the renewal of the charter in the year 1813, the increase in the export of our manufactured articles to our vast possessions in the East, has been as follows :—

From 1814 (the returns for 1813 were burned in the Custom House,) the period when the private trade commenced, to 1819, 2,100,000*l.* ; from 1820 to 1825, 4,000,000*l.* ; and from 1825 to 1827, 5,800,000*l.*

The Company's advocates, both in and out of Parliament, may still continue to sport prophecies, express opinions, and deal largely in positive affirmations, that Britain would not derive the slightest advantage from the opening up of a free unrestricted commercial intercourse between it and India and China ; but so long as the facts to which we have just referred remain uncontroverted—and if they are controvertible they should set about their demolition immediately—the nation will not fail to perceive what degree of credit ought to be attached to these prophecies, opinions, and affirmations.

But the advocates of monopoly resist any presumptuous interference with the charter of the Company, on the ground that an unlimited commercial intercourse with India would be of no advantage whatever to that country : they have, with the utmost gravity, assumed the character of philosophers and philanthropists of the first order, and made the splendid discovery—one certainly which no individual ever pretended to have made before them—that the simple circumstance of Europeans mixing with the Native population of India, would be productive of the most mischievous consequences to the latter. And as the philosophy of the Company's advocates has been sufficiently profound to make this novel and singular discovery, their philanthropy has inspired them with a determination to oppose with the utmost strenuousness, any attempt to subject the Natives of India to an evil of such fearful—such appalling magnitude, as the introduction of Europeans to our Eastern possessions.

Really there is no opponent with whom we feel a greater reluctance to grapple, than the man, who, with an air of authority, advances positions so thoroughly absurd, as grossly to outrage every principle of common sense. We hold that those who are capable of enunciating the position in question, legitimately come 'under this condemnation ;' and when we see it stated, with the utmost apparent seriousness, we involuntarily put the question to ourselves, 'can the man who brings it forward possibly feel convinced of its truth?' We appeal to any individual in the country who has any perception whatever of what is right and what is wrong, whether a position so preposterous as this was ever before submitted to the world. The settlement of Europeans, civilized and Christianized, among the barbarous Natives of India, will be productive of evils of the greatest magnitude to the latter ! We will not—we cannot bring ourselves to attempt a serious refutation of so monstrous a proposition. Absurdity in the abstract is written in legible characters on its very face. Could mankind by possibility swallow it, what a glorious recipe would it constitute for the indefinite perpetuation of gross idolatry, superstition, barbarism ! Happy was it for

our British ancestors, and happy is it for us, that those to whom we are indebted for the introduction of civilization and Christianity into this country, did not adopt the creed of the advocates of Leadenhall-Street.

From the remarks which fell from the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the discussion of Mr. Whitmore's motion, it is very doubtful whether the ministry have any intention of making the abolition of the East India Company's monopoly, a government measure. The ministry seem, in fact, to be quite perplexed as to what course they ought to pursue in reference to the subject. The side to which their principles and prejudices would incline them, is sufficiently obvious; but then they see public opinion decidedly opposed to them—they see it daily gathering in strength—and without any extraordinary infusion of the prophetic spirit, they can plainly perceive it will speedily acquire such a force, that resistance to it would be impolitic in the extreme—would, perhaps, be utterly ruinous to the country.

Still it is, as has been just remarked, exceedingly doubtful whether Government will or will not put forth its omnipotent hand for the abolition of this obnoxious monopoly. The country, if it be true to its own interests, must trust to its own persevering, energetic, united exertions, and not to the interference of the 'powers that be' for the completion of an object so devoutly to be wished. If assisted in the matter by the Government, it is well; and our task will be of incomparably more easy accomplishment; but even though the ministry should be neutral on the subject, or even though they should warmly espouse the cause of Leadenhall-Street, let us show to them—let us convince the world, that there is an intelligence, an independence, and spirit in the British character, which are capable of demolishing the strong-holds of illiberality, oppression, and injustice.

Once more we feel the most anxious solicitude to impress on the minds of our countrymen, the necessity of persevering and increased exertion in order to the success of a cause which involves in it, whether regarded in a civil or religious light, the best interests of more than three millions of people,—independently of its bearings on the prosperity and happiness of our own country. We do not now call on the British community to *think* on the subject; nor is it necessary to occupy our space in elaborate argumentation in respect to it. Fortunately a great portion of the intelligent and influential among our countrymen are beginning to comprehend its details, and to feel convinced of its importance; and from the impulse which has been recently given to the public mind in regard to it, by *one* gentleman—Mr. BUCKINGHAM—the great majority of the more intelligent of the British community will, ere the lapse of a few months, be able to understand it in all its various bearings. The success or non-success, therefore, of this momentous cause, we regard as principally, if not entirely dependent on the manner in which we *speak* and *act* in regard to it. The dying injunction of the immortal Nelson to his men, in reference to another subject, may not be inappropriately quoted in relation to this,—‘Britain expects every man to do his duty.’

PETITIONS AND DEBATES IN PARLIAMENT ON THE TRADE WITH  
INDIA AND CHINA.

House of Lords, Tuesday, June 2.

The Marquis of LANSDOWNE.—Seeing the Noble Lord, the President of the Board of Control, in his place, I wish to call his attention to the notice which I gave some weeks ago of my intention, if no papers were laid upon the table by his Majesty's Government, with respect to that most important question, the state of the trade to the East Indies, to call for such information, before the end of the Session, as might put the House in complete possession of those materials, which are so necessary for it to possess, with a view to form a right and mature judgment on the question of the renewal of the Charter to the East India Company. I, therefore, take this opportunity of asking the Noble Lord, whether it is the intention of the Government to lay such papers on the table of the House<sup>1</sup> and I shall be glad to learn that his Majesty's Government propose to do so, it certainly not being my wish to move for them, unless obliged, being perfectly persuaded that Ministers will be able to lay on the table a most complete series of papers than I, having but little acquaintance with the information they possess on the subject, could be prepared to move. If I find that it is not the intention of his Majesty's Government to give any information on the subject to the House, I shall feel it my duty to call for the production of certain papers.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH.—I certainly had hoped to be able, by this time, to lay on the table of the House, by his Majesty's command, the fullest information relating to the trade to the East Indies, but the papers were not in a perfect state. I, therefore, thought it would be better to allow two or three days to elapse before presenting the papers, than to present them in an imperfect condition.

The Marquis of LANSDOWNE.—I give notice, that on Thursday next, I shall present a variety of petitions on the subject.

Friday, June 5.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH laid on the table (by his Majesty's command) papers relating to the trade with India and China, including information respecting the consumption, prices, &c. of tea, in foreign countries.—Ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed.

The Marquis of LANSDOWNE.—I rise, in pursuance of the notice which I have given, to present petitions from some of the most important commercial towns of this country; and from one, which, in a commercial point of view, may be considered the first city in the world, on the subject of the trade to the East Indies. It is not my intention on the present, as it was not my intention on a former occasion, when I presented a petition on the same subject, to anticipate, in any degree, the discussion of those important questions which, directly or indirectly, arise out of the matter contained in these petitions, but I am desirous of presenting these important petitions this day, when the Noble Lord at the head of the Board of Control, acceding to the wish expressed in your Lordships' House on a former occasion, has, by his Majesty's command, laid on the table of your Lordships' House a mass of documentary evidence which, together with some further evidence which I am informed will shortly be prepared and laid on the table, will present to your Lordships that information on which you will have to determine, with respect to those most important questions contained in the petitions I shall have the honour to lay on the table of the House. If that information should be complete—and I have no reason to doubt that it will be complete—it will comprise an entire view of the territorial and commercial revenue of the East India Company; of the trade between the possessions of the East India Company and the United Kingdom; of the private trade of merchant-adventurers from this country to the dominions of the East India Company, of the trade of merchants of other parts of the world with the East Indies, of the exclusive trade enjoyed by the East India Company with the dominions of the Emperor of China, and, as far as can be obtained, a view of

the trade enjoyed by other countries with China, not governed by the same rules, or confined by a similar monopoly, as this country.

On all these subjects, I trust that the House will gain complete information, before proceeding to legislate on these important questions; but it is my duty to say, in calling your Lordships' attention to the subject in the present early stage of the proceeding, that when your Lordships have obtained all that information in figures, and all those facts which the Board of Control, under the superintendence of the Noble Lord opposite, will be able to produce for the information of the House, you will be masters of but a small portion of the question which you will have to pronounce upon, in providing for the future government of India; for, in a commercial point of view, and independent of the more exalted feelings of humanity and duty, which make it binding on your Lordships to provide for the future happiness and good government of the people of India, I am convinced, that on the measures which your Lordships will be enabled to take in your wisdom, and with the concurrence of the other House of Parliament, for securing to that people the benefits of good internal Government, will depend the value of those commercial relations which are hereafter to subsist between this country and that extensive portion of the world. I desire, however, not to be mistaken on this subject. I am not so wild as to suppose that it is in the power of your Lordships to confer on that vast population the benefits of a free Government, similar to that enjoyed by the people of this country; but, short of those blessings, there are the first principles of government, the right of property and an equal administration of justice, upon the due maintenance of which in those extensive countries must depend that encouragement to industry, that gradual approach to civilization, that elevation of the moral character of the inhabitants of those nations, which are necessary to create not only their prosperity and happiness, but, what would be an advantage to us in a commercial point of view, the consumption by them of our manufactures, and the causing them to enter into salutary relations with this country.

It is only by collecting information, and by studying the principles of all good government, and applying them to what your Lordships find to be the particular condition of the population of the East Indies, that you will be able to come to a safe and sound conclusion; and I, feeling as I do the immense importance and difficulty of the subject, cannot but conjure your Lordships, on whom this task has devolved, to lose no time in considering the question, though not having certainly all the information that is desirable, for not many of your Lordships can possess information derived from local inspection of that distant country; but I conjure your Lordships to take advantage of all the information you can derive from others to consider the subject in your own minds during the recess, in order to come prepared next Session of Parliament to discuss it, not as a dry arithmetical subject, but to consider it upon higher principles, and as one which must have a most material influence on the future prosperity of this country, and that of those vast dominions which fortune has committed to our charge. These few words I have thought it my duty to say on the present occasion. It is not now my intention to enter into a discussion of the important question contained in the petitions I shall shortly present; but I beg that the petition from the commercial interest of Liverpool, which I shall present first, and which will be followed up by petitions from other towns only inferior in importance to Liverpool in a commercial point of view, be read at length.

The petition was accordingly read at length.

The same Noble Marquis also presented petitions praying for the opening of the trade with India, from the merchants, manufacturers, and inhabitants of Wolverhampton: and from the Chamber of Commerce, Dublin, which was ordered to be received as the petition of Robert Roe, Esq., the Secretary, who alone had signed it.

On the motion of the Marquis of LANSDOWNE, the Report relative to the trade with the East Indies and China from the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the means of extending and securing the foreign trade of the country, together with the minutes of evidence, in Sessions 1820 and 1821, and the Appendix, were ordered to be reprinted, and an Index to be prepared and printed therewith.

## GRAND JURIES IN INDIA.—HOUSE OF COMMONS, FRIDAY, JUNE 5.

Mr. CHARLES WILLIAMS WYNNE.—The petition which I hold in my hand is one of much interest and importance. It proceeds from the Native inhabitants of Calcutta, and is signed by 116 Mohammedans and 128 Hindoos; all of the latter having subscribed their names in the English character. The prayer of it is, to obtain an extension of the privilege of sitting upon juries, which was granted to them by Parliament in 1826, so as to enable them to serve on grand juries and petit juries, for the trial of Christians, to which, by that Bill, Christians only were admitted. The petition, in some measure, partakes of the usual character of compositions which come from India, and certainly does not possess the recommendation of brevity; but the general style of it is highly creditable to the ability of those from whom it proceeds, and is demonstrative of the general progress of intelligence and education. Soon after I entered upon the office of President of the India Board, I was surprised to find a petition, which had been addressed to Lord Hastings, then Governor-General, by persons designating themselves as Indo-Britons, but more commonly known by the name of half-castes, complaining, among other things, of their exclusion from the right of sitting upon juries. At first, I doubted whether any such exclusion could legally exist, but was afterwards convinced, that from the construction which the term 'British subjects' had received, not only from the courts in India, but from its use in different Acts of Parliament, that it was only by a legislative enactment that this disability, equally unjust and impolitic, could be removed. Upon applying myself to prepare a Bill for this purpose, I was satisfied that it would be necessary to grant the same privilege to all Natives of India, and that if any distinction were to be made, it must be by religion, there being no other practicable way to draw a line between the illegitimate off-spring of an Englishman, and the son of the same mother by a Native.

For the latter concession, which had neither been prayed for nor recommended, I feel that I am myself wholly responsible. Doubts, however, were still entertained by those whom I consulted, as to the expediency of allowing Natives to sit upon grand juries at all, or on petit juries on the trial of Europeans. The little respect paid by Natives to veracity or to the sanction of an oath, had been the subject of complaint among all the most intelligent and best informed Judges; and the long-established habits of corruption and venality, in judicial proceedings, excited apprehension. Besides, recent as our empire in India is, it appeared that, at least in the first instance, it might not be desirable to place the conquered in the situation of judges of the conquerors. These considerations induced me to adopt the distinction now complained of. The measure was, in a great degree, an experimental one; and it was evidently easier, if it should succeed, to extend its effects, than, in the contrary event, to curtail them. The experiment has now, however, been tried; and, as far as it has gone, has been successful. Both from Bombay and Calcutta, I have received most favourable accounts of its success; and the judges who preside in these courts have expressed opinions that the concessions to the Natives may safely be extended so far as the right of serving on grand juries.

It is, indeed, most satisfactory to me to see this petition, as it affords the best proof that the value of the privilege is properly appreciated. Should Parliament think fit to grant its prayer, so far as respects grand juries, the proportion and selection of the Natives, who shall be allowed to avail themselves of it, will still be controlled by such rules as the Judges may think fit to establish; and it seems highly probable that it may operate as a powerful incentive to men of rank and property to qualify themselves to acquire this distinction by their intelligence, information, and general character.

It may also be advantageous, both as leading Europeans and Natives to associate in the discharge of public duties and business of mutual import, and as relieving a proportion of Europeans from the frequent recurrence of a duty, which, from their



other avocations, and the smallness of the number of persons liable to its performance, sometimes presses upon them in a burthensome manner.

I have now stated all that I feel necessary on the immediate prayer of this petition; but I consider the general principle on which it is founded as being of infinitely more importance. I look at it as connected with the great question now opening itself on the consideration of Parliament, to which we shall, I trust, apply ourselves at the earliest period of the next Session. That question, I need not say, relates to the general condition of India, and the measures which it will be fit to adopt for its improvement, at the approaching expiration of the Company's charter. Of these, I am convinced, the first and foremost is to open to the Natives a legitimate channel for ambition and exertion, by removing every exclusion on account of blood or colour. The reproach of our Government has been, that its extension has almost everywhere extinguished the former aristocracy of the country, who have gradually sunk into a state of apathy and imbecility, deprived of every incentive to exertion.

That this should have been the effect of our sway, has been lamented by every one who has looked at India with a liberal and enlightened view. Among many other authorities, I need only refer the opinions which Sir John Malcolm, and my lamented friend Bishop Heber, have recorded in the two most valuable works on India which late years have produced. The appearance of Bishop Heber's Journal has, indeed, had the effect of drawing the public attention to the situation of India, in a manner before unparallelled. In him were united qualifications which we cannot hope again to meet with in the same individual. He combined the zeal and self-devotion of a missionary with the toleration of a philosopher, and the discretion of a statesman. In every former instance recorded in history, the object of enlightening conquerors has been to connect the conquered with the conquerors by every tie which policy could frame. In India, the total difference of our habits, laws, and religion, would undoubtedly have rendered this a most difficult task, to be effected only by long patience and perseverance. Instead, however, of attempting it, our wisdom has, on the contrary, shown itself in the exclusion of the slightest admixture of Native blood from every appointment, civil and military. The strictness of this rule has, indeed, been, within the last two years relaxed, so as to confine its application only to the first cross of European and Indian blood, but the principle continues. It is not long since Committees at the India House, not content with observing the complexion of any candidate for the service of the Company, have insisted on scrutinizing his hands, to see whether, in the skin of the knuckles, they could detect any tinge of consanguinity with those over whom he was to bear rule. I believe, indeed, that some persons may still be found, who are persuaded that any mixture of Native blood augurs want of courage for military, and want of integrity for civil, employment. To argue gravely against such doctrines would be idle. I would rather advert to the case (happily not a single one) of a most gallant and excellent officer, Colonel Skinner, who being by his birth excluded from the Company's regular army, contrived, by the favour of the Governor-General, contrary to these regulations, to obtain employment in an irregular corps, in the command of which he has repeatedly rendered the most distinguished services. As long as I live, I shall recollect with satisfaction, that it fell to my lot to advise my Sovereign to reward this officer, though of Indian descent, by granting him the local rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and by placing on his breast the insignia of the Bath. I believe that every one acquainted with India will agree that these honours were never more worthily bestowed. Other instances might be quoted of officers who, after having been refused admission into the service of the Company on the same account, have risen to high rank in that of the king. Such is the case with the half-caste, but the Native is even more strictly excluded from all command or distinction. Whatever may be the length of his military service—however meritoriously he may have proved his fidelity, his courage—whatever may be his rank and family—he never can rise to an equality, either of command or emolument, with the lowest European, who has just set his foot on the shores of India.

Nor is this system of exclusion less visible in the civil departments of the Government of India. It has been frequently acknowledged to be among our first duties to endeavour to compensate to the inhabitants, the establishment of a foreign rule by an improved administration of justice. For this object we have a numerous judicial establishment, the members of which are properly, and, indeed, necessarily, liberally remunerated. Without such remuneration, purity and impartiality cannot be looked for in a country where the temptations to corruptions are so strong, and the opportunities so many. But it is impossible that we can adequately supply with European magistrates, a country extending nearly 2000 miles from north to south, and the same from east to west. The principal grievance now felt, arises from their deficiency in number, and the consequent distance which a party who seeks justice against an European must travel to obtain redress. Instances have been known where crimes have been concealed, owing to the unwillingness of those who were the objects or spectators of them to undertake the journey necessary, in order to prosecute. The only way in which this deficiency can be supplied, is by raising and training up a superior order of Native functionaries. In this, I am happy to say, all those who now govern in India, concur; and I can, with confidence, appeal to the authorities of Lord William Bentinck and Sir John Malcolm, as well as those of Sir Thomas Munro, Mr. Elphinstone, and Bishop Heber, in favour of such a course. But the first step is to open the avenues to rank, distinction, and emolument, as the reward of good conduct. It is true that the situations of village and provincial magistrates are now occupied by Natives; but they are limited in their jurisdiction, and their salary is inconsiderable. Much has been done since the last Charter Act, for the promotion of education in India; yet unless the Natives can look forward to future objects of ambition, to situations which shall not only afford them emolument, but rank and consideration in society, both among Europeans and Natives, all other incentives to improvement must prove vain and insufficient. Probably the measure recommended by Thomas Heber, of combining Native and European magistrates in periodical sessions on the same bench, might be found materially to assist this object. This, however, is a question of detail, and may be more fitly the subject of future consideration. What is material, is the general principle; and, I trust, that whatever difference in opinion may exist as to the authority through which the Government of India shall hereafter be administered, we shall concur in the propriety of a declaration, that all the subjects of Great Britain, without distinction of blood or colour, shall be eligible to every employment for which their abilities, education, and habits may qualify them.

I have already, during the present Session, said, that so far as respects India, I consider the question of commerce at an end. The trade of India has, as it is admitted by an Honourable Friend, the Chairman of the East India Company, passed out of the hands of the Company into those of the free trader; nothing remains but to afford the latter every facility for carrying it on, and establishing himself, consistent with the due protection of the Natives, from insult or oppression. To this object, the term Colonization has most improperly been applied, and has given rise to ideas the most mistaken. It is not additional population which is desirable, but the introduction of additional European capital and science, for the employment and improvement of the inhabitants of India. It is to their interest that we are called upon, in the first place, to attend to, by assuming the government of their country, we have contracted towards them a debt, which we have, as yet, most imperfectly discharged. To this object, I trust, therefore, that we shall zealously apply ourselves, and that we shall, at the earliest period of the next Sessions, inquire what has been done for the amelioration of the general state of India, since the year 1813, when this subject was last under the consideration of Parliament—what has been the success of past measures—and what new ones should be adopted for this most desirable purpose.

**MR. WOLRYCHE WHITMORE.**—It is not my intention to trespass on the House at any length, but I cannot allow this petition to be brought up without saying a very few words. I entirely concur in all that has fallen from the Right Honourable Gentleman, and I think this petition has been of very great importance,

inasmuch as it has enabled the House to hear his observations delivered from his place, because it must be gratifying to have his great authority with respect to the condition of India, to the policy by which it has hitherto been governed, and particularly with respect to the permitting British subjects to form permanent establishments in that country. Without that permission I believe that it would be impossible, whatever else we might do, to render real benefit to India. Whenever the change now sought for takes place, I think it will be necessary, not only that the petitioners be allowed to act as grand jurors, but also as petit jurors where Christians are tried, for at present they can sit on petit juries only when a Hindoo or a Mohammedan is upon trial, although, on the other hand, a Christian may serve on the trial of a Mohammedan or a Hindoo. This is an injustice and a subject of complaint; and the natural result of granting this privilege to native Christians may be a jealousy, on account of a race, which I am sorry to say is now considered degraded there, being, by this law, raised to be a privileged class. I trust, therefore, that there will be no difficulty in acceding to the prayer of the petitioners, and that all classes will be allowed an equality of rights. I shall not occupy the time of the House further, than to say that I hail with the utmost satisfaction the speech of the Right Honourable Gentleman, and that I greet, in the same feeling, the presentation of this petition, because it enables us to look forward to a period when India will be governed, for other objects and with other views than merely those which respect the contributing to the profits of a few merchants.

Lord ASHLIFF.—I shall offer, on this occasion, a few words, simply, in order to explain why nothing has yet been done relative to this subject. An Hon. Gent. last year, it is true, presented a petition similar to this from Bombay; but the Noble Lord, who was then at the head of the Department, went very soon out of office; and the Noble Lord, who now fills the situation, has been in it so short a time, that nothing effectual could have been accomplished, but I do trust that I shall very soon have it in my power to inform the House that the subject has been properly attended to. The Right Honourable Gentleman labours under a mistake when he says that no situation in the civil line is accessible to Natives of India; for a regulation has been put in force by that most philanthropic and excellent individual, Mr. Elphinstone, by which Natives are admitted to civil situations. Knowing the difficulty of allowing them to take military rank, on the ground of the requisite caution to be observed with respect to those appointed to commands, he has endeavoured to bring them forward in the civil service. In Bengal, the Natives have not a greater jurisdiction than goes to matters of property to the extent of fifty rupees; but in Bombay they have a jurisdiction as high as eight thousand rupees, and a salary in proportion. In Bombay, this has been found to answer extremely well—they are obliged to make a record of all the evidence; and so efficient is the control over them, that these courts are kept in admirable order. This system, adopted by that great philanthropic character I have just named, is now kept up by Sir John Malcolm; and it is in my power to say, that it has been found to work very well. In Madras, this circumstance will be a tolerable proof to the House of the efficiency of the system; that there have been, out of 65,000 cases, 54,000 decided by the Native tribunals; while neither jealousy nor dissatisfaction has manifested itself, either among Europeans nor Moonshies. I have not been very long in office, but I can fairly state, that during my experience, whatever suggestions have been made to the Court of Directors, have not only been met with pleasure by them, but that no body of men can be more eager or more anxious to advance any project for the improvement of the country than they are. Education, for instance, they are most anxious to forward, and it is making most admirable progress. In Madras, where a few years ago there was not one person educated, the Returns now report 188,000 receiving instruction, while at Bombay there are 115,000. I mention this to shew, that neither the Court of Directors nor the local Government are indifferent to education, which is the only means of forwarding the great cause of improvement amongst the Natives.

Mr. HUMR.—I confess that I have felt no small surprise, at hearing a speech so

replete with good sense, sound policy, and good feeling, as that delivered by the Right Honourable Gentleman, for hitherto we have heard nothing similar to it, in this House, on the subject of India. It gives me, therefore, great gratification to hear from a gentleman, who had been so long at the head of the Board of Control, that the doors ought to be thrown open for Natives to fill all offices; and that it was his opinion, that they could, in this way, be made good and loyal subjects—that the idea of being a conquered people should be removed,—that there should be no longer any distinction,—and, in short, that all that has been proposed by the friends of India for years, should now be admitted by that Right Honourable Gentleman. As to the petition, I am sorry that twelve months should have been allowed to pass by. Changes in office are, I admit, very inconvenient, but the petition was received, and I can see no reason why it should not have been before taken into consideration. The House will remember, that at the time this bill, for admitting Natives on juries in India, was under consideration, I proposed that they should be allowed to serve on grand juries, for that otherwise they would consider the privilege granted rather as a disgrace than a boon. Things have turned out just as I foretold; however, time has cleared away the clouds that obscured the prospect, and I am glad to hear that now all that I pressed for is likely to be conceded. I am also glad to notice what the Right Honourable Gentleman has said with respect to the honesty of the Natives. I can declare that every individual amongst them, connected with me officially, and I have had many of them, have shewn as great a disposition to be honest, as—and I should have said little, perhaps, even less, hesitation in trusting my property with them, than even in the hands of—the natives of England. I only speak from my own experience, and I know that the experience of the Honourable Baronet before me corresponds with mine. There is but one point more to which I shall now allude, and that is, that unless Europeans be allowed to settle in India, and the resources of the country be permitted to be drawn forth as freely as those of other countries, we shall not only not do justice to them and to ourselves, but three-fourths of any measures we may pass will be utterly useless.

Mr. FERGUSON.—I fully agree with the Honourable Gentleman who has spoken on this subject, that it is one of very great importance, and I can say, from my own knowledge, of many who have signed the petition, that it contains the names of all those individuals in Calcutta who are especially remarkable for their wealth, their intelligence, and, above all, their integrity. Some of them are names that I will not say may vie with any in this House, but they certainly are those of persons who are fully competent to the discharge of the duties of any situation. The great fault of the Bill that was passed was,—its giving in the first part what was certainly very useful, but, in the conclusion, taking away all that was most valuable in the eyes of the Natives. The Bill was, doubtless, useful, but it did not do all that was wanted. It excepted the Natives from serving on grand juries, and from petty juries wherever the life and liberty of a Christian were concerned; thus making it appear that they were not worthy at all to serve on grand juries, and not to be trusted when the life of a Christian was concerned. This petition contains a number of heads, or paragraphs, after the Eastern mode, one of them appears rather ludicrous,—it complains that they are not allowed to try Christians. That may appear an extraordinary complaint, but I do not think it will be found so, if you recollect that they themselves may be tried by Christians, that the bills upon which they are tried are found by Christians, and yet they are excluded from the same privileges in respect of their Christian fellow-subjects. There is no reason why they should not be admitted upon grand juries generally, the summoning of which of course rests with the sheriff, but the circumstance of being a Mohammedan or a Hindoo ought not to make any difference as to the eligibility of any Native party (otherwise qualified) to serve upon it, and this is the impression of the petitioners. There may perhaps, some distinction as to petty juries, although I do not mean to say anything against their conduct, but, as perhaps it might be unpleasant to an Englishman to be tried by a Native jury, so we may reasonably admit that the like feeling would be entertained by a Native. And I think, therefore, that every one ought to be allowed to be tried by his country.

In India a Native does not know what we mean by the country when a prisoner is arraigned, and the interpreter translates the phrase 'by God, and the gentlemen here.' All the petit juries in every case where life is concerned, have conducted themselves very well, but in cases of misdemeanours, there will be a jealousy; and as, in military matters, we have seen the Native tribunals at all times act with justice, there can be no reason why the Natives of Calcutta should not be allowed equal privileges. What appears necessary is, to know why the English law does not extend to all, but it has been a misfortune arising out of the Acts of Parliament, and the construction of the words 'British subjects' and 'subjects of the King.' In Calcutta, before the last Act, the privilege was not confined to British

- subjects, for the charter of King George I. directed that the 'principal inhabitants' should be summoned as grand and petit jurors, and, therefore, before the Act of 1783, establishing the Supreme Court, the Natives might have served on either grand or petit juries. The Act says, 'our subjects within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court,' but when it speaks of juries, it mentions the words 'our subjects of Great Britain.' It has happened, therefore, when there has been a trial of a Mohammedan for an offence committed beyond the limits of Calcutta, that there has been a dispute as to whether or not he should be tried as a British subject. Is it not, therefore, a great misfortune that a doubt should exist, whether a man should be tried for his life or no? and, indeed, I think that it would be extremely proper to have a Committee for the purpose of considering the state of the administration of justice in India. It is still a great problem, there, whether it would not be better to have Judges ignorant of jurisprudence than of the language. If they have spent their time in becoming masters of the law of our courts, they cannot acquire the language of India, but, against the first objection, I must say that I have seen Natives who have administered justice with ability, and I have been connected with, and have had longer and greater experience of the Natives, from which I have been led, in place of entertaining a low opinion of their morality, to the conclusion that they would not suffer by a comparison with our own people, and indeed, that they were in no wise inferior to them. In their dealings, on the whole, I am inclined to believe that the palm of honesty should be conceded to them. I say this from conviction, and I therefore hope that Honourable Members will not give way to any prejudices which may have been excited in their minds against the character of the Natives. Now, as to the judicial capacity of the Natives, I do not think there can be any question upon it, and there is nobody who has seen their conduct upon arbitrations but will admit their skill, their intelligence, and their readiness to draw a fair conclusion. The Noble Lord says, that Mr. Elphinstone was the first to give the Natives a larger jurisdiction than fifty rupees; but the Noble Lord was mistaken with respect to Bengal, as there they have a jurisdiction to the amount of 120 rupees, which is a greater amount than any petty court in this country extends to. Therefore it is a mistake to suppose that Natives are excluded; they are placed under the superintendence of certain officers, who conduct themselves very well, although they have not all the advantages of education. I know myself a pundit of the supreme court with a salary of 150 rupees per month, which is a great deal for that country. But what is his office?—he is the expounder of the law to the English Judge: and I have had to prosecute a pundit for bribery, he having received 50,000 rupees to give an opinion to the Judge. He, upon his trial, acted most ingeniously, as he proved, that although he did take the money, he had kept it only one night in his house, and sent it back to the party. It afterwards turned out, however, that the reason of his doing so, was, that he had in the interim got 55,000 rupees from his antagonist in the cause, for giving a different opinion to the Judge.

I am sure that this is a question worthy of the consideration of the Government, and I shall conclude without entering into the next question of the Government of this empire, as I shall have various other opportunities for discussing that, when free-trade and its benefits are spoken of, although I agree with its advocates generally, still I think that there has been some reason for regret, from its operation upon the manufacturers of India. I know that 500,000 manufacturers of that

country have been cast into a state of destitution by the introduction of our manufactures there ; I also say, that we observe as shameful conduct towards India by the duties levied here, whilst our cottons and muslins have admission into India at the rate of 2½ per cent. ; although, at the same moment, we charge 10 per cent. upon their cottons, and even now 20 per cent. upon their silks, except, indeed, the raw material. I think, therefore, that when we speak of free-trade, we have a right to do something for India.

Sir CHARLES FORBES.—I rise to say, that I entirely coincide in what has fallen from the Honourable and Learned Gentleman who has just sat down, and to say, that I never felt myself more gratified than I have done at hearing the sentiments expressed by all the Honourable Gentlemen who have spoken on the presentation of the petition. I wish to admit the Natives of India to a participation in all civil rights belonging to British subjects. I have had the good fortune to serve on petit juries with Natives—the Sessions were held before the Governor and Council as judges, and on all occasions upon which Natives were to be tried, they were tried by juries composed one-half of Natives and one-half of Europeans—it was usual for some of the principal gentlemen to be called on to serve as foremen to these juries. I say, Sir, I have had the satisfaction to serve with Natives—I will assert that I have often had more satisfaction in being associated with them, than with my own countrymen. Under these circumstances, I have frequently regretted that Natives were not eligible to serve as grand jurors, having had experience of their efficiency as petit jurors. I think it will often be found impossible to find a sufficient number of European gentlemen to serve on grand juries efficiently, without admitting Natives to that privilege. Some gentlemen upon grand juries amuse themselves with a newspaper or a novel, and if this is questioned, they avow, that having made up their minds on the subject, they do not care to hear the evidence which may be produced. I wish to have no such exclusions continued as those under which the Natives at present labour. I have had a great deal of experience, and the fullest opportunities of considering the subject, and I concur in all that has been so justly urged by the Honourable and Learned Gentlemen over the way. It is quite true, that to trust men without paying them an adequate salary for their services is an extremely bad principle, and I entirely agree with the observations of the Noble Lord. I wish to see the odious distinctions at present subsisting between the Natives and Europeans abandoned. Native peculators are not only dismissed the public service, but their names are published in all the newspapers, and in every language, and this is done without trial, at least, without that which would be called so here. Europeans are differently treated when accused of a similar offence. I think such distinctions ought not to exist.

Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH.—I do not think that a few hours would be misemployed if applied to what so nearly concerns the interests and rights of 80 or 100 millions of inhabitants of India, as does the present question. For my own part, I confess I feel much interested in the welfare of India—I mean of the Natives of India ruled by English merchants, but still his Majesty's Indian subjects. I entirely concur in the observations that have proceeded from every part of the House on this subject—and I rejoice exceedingly at the spirit that has breathed throughout every portion of this conversation. I believe there never was an absolute government so well administered as that of India, and that circumstance affords a full confutation to the observation of a celebrated political writer—namely, that the dependencies of free States are of necessity worse governed than those of absolute monarchies. I believe public opinion in England to be the guarantee of the good government of India. The British Government of India has two great merits—it affords perfect security to persons and property, and toleration in all matters of religion. These are benefits of the very highest class—against them are to be placed two defects,—the enormous taxation, and the too great exclusion of the Natives of India from the privileges of civil office. The Noble Lord has shewn that not only is it possible to make great progress in the improvement of the condition of the Natives, but that it has been made. It is the duty of every man who wishes well to the government of India to promulgate the fact, that of all persons who have been concerned in

governing that country, Mr. Elphinstone, at Bombay, did the most towards admitting Natives to so large a share of civil privileges as possible. I am glad that testimony to this effect has proceeded from more unbiassed lips than mine, because it might have been thought that my sincere friendship for that individual influenced me too much when speaking in praise of his public acts. Great benefits are to be anticipated from introducing improvements in the education of the Natives, and it is due—and but justice—to Sir John Malcolm to say, that no man is better fitted to carry into effect their improvement in that particular than himself. I rejoice at the generous testimony that has been borne to the good character of the Natives of India in this House. I do not wish to deduct anything from the character they have so deservedly received—their private character is excellent, and if from peculiar circumstances their public integrity has been impaired, the remedy is in our own hands. I say, if an absolute government has impaired that quality, the only remedy consists in a just government and equal laws, and in cautiously approaching to the grand remedy of political vices, a free government, a thing which, in the present case, I admit is only to be contemplated through the vista of distant ages, but which is still exceedingly desirable.

Dr. PHILLIMORE.—How much soever I might have wished to have taken part in this discussion at an earlier period of the debate, the sentiments I entertain on the general subject have been so much anticipated by many Members who have addressed the House, that I should have abstained from uttering a syllable, had it not been for some expressions that have fallen from an Honourable Member behind me. That Honourable Member seemed to assume to himself the credit of the improvements which have taken place in the administration of justice of India, and to imagine that it was by his exertions in this cause that my Right Honourable Friend was stimulated to direct his attention to this subject. On this point no individual is more competent to give evidence than myself; and I can assure the House, that from the moment my Right Honourable Friend was invested with the important functions attached to the Presidency of the Board of Control,—from that moment he zealously devoted himself to the affairs of India; and that no object, from the outset, more incessantly occupied his attention than the administration of justice in the vast territories there submitted to our rule. Whenever vacancies occurred in the judicial situation at the three Presidencies, he anxiously sought out the most competent persons in Westminster Hall, and exerted himself in persuading them to accept these appointments. So with respect to the Zillah courts; he exerted himself to the utmost to introduce improvement into them, and, ultimately, he carried the great measure which is the more immediate object of this petition.

Having witnessed the exertions of my Right Honourable Friend in this cause for six years, I have not been able to deny myself the satisfaction of bearing testimony to them. For the rest, I cannot sit down without observing, that in the lapse of ages, and the revolutions of mighty empires, no more extraordinary circumstance can have occurred, than that we should have witnessed (as we do this night) the inhabitants of one of the most populous and most flourishing cities of Asia, presenting petitions to this House, and earnestly entreating to be admitted to transplant into their soil those municipal regulations and institutions which have justly been considered as the peculiar birthright of the natives of Great Britain.

Mr. WARBURTON said,—All persons, I am afraid, are not so well agreed as to the good character of the Natives of India, as seems to be assumed. I confess, that, from the various accounts I have read, and from the evidence of Sir Henry Strachey in corroboration, I am much disposed to doubt the morality of their general character. I think, therefore, that at all events this House should be very cautious in admitting them to the privileges prayed for in the petition.

Sir CHARLES FORBES.—I maintain, on an experience of three-and-twenty years, and as long as I exist I will never cease to maintain, that the Natives of India are as good and as moral, and as much entitled to respect, as our own countrymen.

Mr. JOHN STEWART.—I am disposed to support this petition of Native Indians to be allowed to serve on grand and petit juries. I am bound to confirm the testimony

which has just been borne, to the character of these people, by the Honourable Baronet opposite. I have the highest opinion of them; and that opinion, I take leave to say, is not peculiar to me, but is entertained by everybody who has ever had a fair opportunity of judging of them.

The petition was brought up. On the question that it be read,

Mr. CHARLES WATKIN WILLIAMS WYNN said,—I believe no man ever discharged his duty with more advantage to those over whom he presided, than Mr. Elphinstone; and I may add, that Sir Thomas Munro was quite as strongly impressed as anybody could be with the advantage to be derived from availing ourselves of the services of Native functionaries. I have heard with great pleasure the testimony borne by my Noble Friend to the attempts that have been made since the date of the last charter for the furtherance of education among the Natives of India. A sum not less than a lac of rupees (10,000*l.*) was, by the Act of 1813, directed to be expended annually for the attainment of that object; and I believe no one year has passed in which much more than that amount has not been so expended. I think it desirable that the privileges now sought should be granted as a favour; and, therefore, much as I desire that it may be conceded, I do not regret that it has not been granted before it was asked, for then we could not know how it might have been accepted—whether as a boon or as a burden. If it be now yielded after this request, we may trust that it will be received in the same spirit as it will be conceded.

#### DEBATE AT THE EAST INDIA HOUSE.

A Quarterly General Court of Proprietors of East India Stock was held on Wednesday the 17th of June.

##### DIVIDEND.

The usual routine business having been gone through,

The CHAIRMAN (J. Loch, Esq.) announced that the Court of Directors had, on the preceding day, agreed to a resolution, recommending that a dividend of 5½ per cent. should be declared on the Company's capital stock, for the half-year commencing on the 5th of January last, and ending 5th of July next, which he then submitted to the proprietors for their approbation.

The resolution of the Court of Directors, declaratory of a dividend of 5½ per cent., was unanimously agreed to.

##### BY-LAWS.

Mr. D. KINNAIRD presented the annual report of the committee of by-laws. The committee referred to the delay which had, on several occasions, occurred in sending home accounts of the Company's finances from India, which prevented them from being laid before the Proprietors at the time pointed out by one of the by-laws, and they expressed their satisfaction at the result of the correspondence which had taken place on this subject with the authorities abroad, from which they were led to infer, that such delays would be provided against in future. They certified that, during the last year, the by-laws, except in this particular point, had been strictly complied with; and they recommended that the by-law, cap. i. sec. 4, should be altered, so as to render it imperative on the Directors to lay before the Proprietors 'copies of all bills or resolutions submitted to Parliament which at all affected the East India Company.'

The members of the committee of by-laws of the last year were re-elected



for the ensuing year, with the exception of Mr. Cumming, who resigned on account of ill-health. In his place, William Ward, Esq., one of the Members for London, was elected.

#### LAND REVENUE.

Mr. TRANT, in pursuance of notice which he had given at the last General Court, moved for 'Copies of any letters addressed by the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council, relative to the settlement of the land revenue in the ceded and conquered provinces of India, under the Marquis Wellesley, since the year 1820, containing instructions by which the Governor-General was prevented from adopting any measure for the permanent settlement of the land revenue in those provinces; and also Copies of any minute or protest made by Mr. Edmonstone against the principle of such instructions.' The Hon. Proprietor argued that a positive pledge had been given to the Proprietors of the general districts ceded to, or conquered by, the Company, during the administration of the Marquis Wellesley, that a permanent settlement of the land revenue should be effected. This pledge had never been redeemed, and the refusal to do that which he and many other individuals well versed in Indian affairs considered to be an act of justice, was calculated to endanger the interests of the Company in India. In support of his view of the question, the Hon. Proprietor quoted extracts from the correspondence of Sir E. Colebrooke, Mr. Dowdeswell, Mr. James Stuart, and Mr. Adam.

Captain MAXFIELD was of opinion that, when a question of such immense magnitude was brought forward, the individual with whom it originated ought to give a clear and distinct notice of his intention, so that the Proprietors might be prepared to meet it fairly.

The CHAIRMAN said, he felt it to be his duty to oppose the motion, not from any desire of concealment, but purely because he considered it inexpedient to debate a question of so extremely complicated a nature in the Court of Proprietors. He could assure his Hon. Friend, that this question had never been lost sight of either by the Court of Directors or the local governments; but difficulties of the most serious nature stood in the way of an arrangement. His Hon. Friend had stated, that the Company had given a pledge to the Natives on this subject. Now, how stood the fact? In 1803, during the administrations of the Marquis Wellesley, a certain promise was made, coupled with certain conditions, which conditions had not been fulfilled, and, he believed, never could be fulfilled; but whether they could or could not be fulfilled he would not then discuss, because he did not wish to agitate the question. This he knew, that the more inquiry had been pursued on this subject, the greater did the difficulties of the case appear. The fact was, that there were two classes of people connected with this case. There was a middle class, who were anxious to make a settlement. They were desirous that the Company should take a certain assessment for ever, leaving the real proprietors, the *ryots*, out of the question. The Company were called on to grant an advantage to a small class of people, and to inflict an injury upon a very large body. Under these circumstances, it was a very serious subject to decide upon; and one which, he was sure, could not be usefully debated in that court.

Mr. TRANT denied that the subject was so complicated as the honourable chairman had described it to be; and he maintained that the conditions, which were to be followed by a permanent settlement of the land revenue, had been amply fulfilled.

The CHAIRMAN observed, that it was the wish of the Government to

keep the assessment as low as possible, and to equalize, but never to increase it. In the ceded and conquered provinces there had not been an increase for fifteen years. The proprietors of land had been decidedly told that there should be no increase under existing circumstances : and all that could be alleged against the Government was, that they had given no pledge that the assessment should not be increased under any circumstances whatever.

Mr. S. DIXON opposed the motion ; which, after a few words from Mr. Trant, was negatived.

#### PENSIONS.

General THORNTON moved for a return of the pensions granted by the East India Company. He said, that his attention had been called to the subject by seeing that a printed return, similar to that which he moved for, had been laid on the table of the House of Commons.

The CHAIRMAN said that a list of the pensions granted by the Company, was annually laid on the table of the Court in conformity with the by-laws.

General THORNTON said he would be perfectly satisfied if he understood that the list referred to by the Chairman included the whole of the Company's pensions.

The CHAIRMAN replied, that a list of pensions had annually been laid before the Court, from 1813 to the present time.

General THORNTON wished the whole of the persons to be included in one return, which would render it unnecessary to refer to the annual lists separately.

The CHAIRMAN said he had no doubt the gallant Proprietor would find all the information he required, if he sought for it.

General THORNTON said he would withdraw his motion for the present, with the intention of renewing it at the next General Court, if he thought it necessary.

The Court then adjourned.

#### CIVIL AND MILITARY APPOINTMENTS, PROMOTIONS, AND CHANGES IN INDIA.

[B. signifies Bombay—M. Madras—C. Calcutta.]

- ATKINSON, C., Cornet, to do duty with 4th. L. Cav.—C. Nov. 25.  
 Anderson, G., Mr., admitted Assist.-Surg.—C. Dec. 13.  
 Alcock, R. F., Lieut., to act as Adj. to left wing of 46th N. I.—C. Dec. 23.  
 Alexander, J., 1st Lieut. Artill.—C. Dec. 23.  
 Anthony, J., Capt., rem. from 6th N. I., to 2d Batt. Pioneers.—M. Dec. 13.  
 Anderson, R., Surg., to be Garr.-Surg. at Cannanore, v. Cuddy.—M. Dec. 23.  
 Bruce, Thomas, Mr., to be Assist. to Magis., and Collector at Midnapore.—C. Dec. 10.  
 Baker, F., Cornet, rem. from 6th to 9th Light Cav.—C. Nov. 25.  
 Bazett, C. Y., Cornet, posted to 2d Light Cav.—C. Nov. 25.  
 Baker, Wm., Cornet, posted to 2d Light Cav.—C. Nov. 24.  
 Bryant, J., Lieut.-Col., Judge Adv.-Gen., directed to resume charge of his office at Presidency.—C. Dec. 19.  
 Becher, H. M., Cadet, prom. to Ensign.—C. Dec. 19.  
 Brookes, W., Lieut.-Col. Comm., posted to 41st N. I.—C. Nov. 29.  
 Boland, W. H. R., Lieut., to act as Adj. to left wing of 7th N. I.—C. Nov. 19.  
 Brown, C., Lieut., to act as Interp. and Quarter-Master to 18th N. I., v. Brice, on sick list.—C. Dec. 2.

- Baldock, R. W., Lieut.-Col., 45th N. I., perm. to retire.—C. Dec. 26.  
 Barwell, H. M., Ens., rem. from 45th to 59th N. I.—C. Dec. 8.  
 Bowman, C., Mr., Dep.-Commis., app. to Mag. at Cawnpore.—C. Dec. 8.  
 Bush, R. Y. B., Ensign, app. to do duty with 13th N. I.—C. Dec. 10.  
 Baker, G. P., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 2d European Regiment, to 11th N. I.—C. Dec. 18.  
 Brown, R., Surg., rem. from 61st to 1st N. I.—C. Dec. 18.  
 Bishop, S. P., Lieut.-Col., posted to 68th N. I.—C. Dec. 20.  
 Burney, H., Capt., 25th N. I., to be Major, v. Davis, dec.—C. Jan. 9.  
 Bertram, W., Major, 16th N. I., on furl. to Europe.—C. Dec. 13.  
 Biscoe, J., Lieut. 43th N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—C. Dec. 19.  
 Barber, J., Assist.-Surg., on furl. to Europe.—C. Dec. 31.  
 Burleigh, H. L., Ensign, posted to 34th, or Chiracole Light Infantry.—M. Dec. 9.  
 Baker, W. T., Sen.-Major, 40th N. I., to be Lieut.-Col., v. Sale, dec., posted to 40th N. I.—M. Dec. 16.  
 Beetson, G., Assist.-Surg., posted to 33d N. I.—M. Dec. 20.  
 Bowdler, H., Lieut.-Col. rem. from 48th to 7th N. I.—M. Dec. 31.  
 Bowen, C., Lieut.-Col., posted to 41th N. I.—M. Dec. 31.  
 Bucke, G., Surg., posted to 22d N. I.—M. Dec. 31.  
 Bullock, R. sen., Ensign, 41th N. I., prom. to Lieut., v. Cunningham, prom.—M. Dec. 23.  
 Briggs, James, Capt., 13th N. I., to be Assist. Quarter-Master-Gen. in Mysore.—M. Dec. 23.  
 Baillie, G. A., Lieut. 52d Madras N. I., on furlough to Europe, for health.—B. Nov. 20.  
 Burnet, W., Lieut. 2d European Reg., on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. Nov. 20.  
 Casement, G., Cadet. Engin., prom. to 1st Lieut.—C. Dec. 13.  
 Coke, J., Ens., rem. from 59th to 10th N. I.—C. Nov. 19.  
 Cooper, H., Surg., rem. from 63d to 24th N. I.—C. Dec. 3.  
 Clarkson, E., Surg., rem. from 47th to 49th N. I.—C. Dec. 3.  
 Curling, C. S., Surg., rem. from 63d to 47th N. I.—C. Dec. 3.  
 Cooper, Surg., to act as Garr.-Surg. at Chunar.—C. Dec. 3.  
 Colvin, John, Assist.-Surg., appointed to do Med. duties of Civil station at Goruckpore, v. Clark, on furl.—C. Dec. 26.  
 Clarkson, J. O., Capt., 42d N. I., app. to charge of Invalids, &c., proceeding to Europe.—C. Dec. 31.  
 Cumberland, R. B., Assist.-Surg., placed under direction of Super.-Surg., at Cawnpore.—C. Dec. 28.  
 Cumberlege, H. A., rem. from 43d to 74th N. I.—C. Dec. 23.  
 Craigie, J., Capt. 37th N. I., returned to duty.—C. Dec. 26.  
 Croxton, Wm., Lieut.-Col., Comm. 21st N. I., on furl. to Eur.—C. Dec. 11.  
 Candy, F., Lieut., 61th N. I., on furl. to Europe.—C. Dec. 11.  
 Clark, H., Assist.-Surg., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. Dec. 19.  
 Clarkson, J. O., Capt. 42d N. I., on furl. to Eur.—C. Dec. 31.  
 Cooper, H. E. G., Lieut.-Col. 63d N. I., on furlough to Europe for health.—C. Jan. 9.  
 Clementson, F. F., Esq., to be Sen. Dep.-Acc.-Gen., and Comm. Accountant and Auditor.—M. Dec. 26.  
 Cherry, A. J., Esq., to be Assist. to Collector of sea customs.—M. Dec. 26.  
 Cosby, C. A., Lieut. 25th N. I., rem. to 2d Batt. Pioneers.—M. Dec. 17.  
 Campbell, J., Assist.-Surg. 45th Foot, to have Med. charge of Depôt and Garr. at Poonamallee, v. Irving, res.—M. Dec. 9.  
 Clayhills, G. D., Sen. Lieut. 40th N. I., to be Capt., v. Pew, prom.—M. Dec. 16.  
 Cuddy, James, Surg., to be Super.-Surg., v. Dyer, retired.—M. Dec. 23.  
 Cunningham, William, Sen. Lieut. and Brev.-Capt., 44th N. I., to be Captain, v. Kutzeben, prom.—M. Dec. 23.  
 Colebrooke, J. U., Lieut. 43d N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. Jan. 9.  
 Cruickshanks, Capt. 5th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. Dec. 19.  
 Day, E. F., Lieut., to act as Adj. to 7th batt., v. Ludlow.—C. Nov. 14.

- Delamain, John, Lieut.-Col, removed from 58th to 52d N. I.—C. Nov. 29.
- Dunlop, W., Lieut.-Col, removed from 52d N. I., to 1st European Regiment.—C. Nov. 29.
- Dawkins, Lieut.-Col., to resume his duties as effective Aid-de-Camp, v. Parker.—C. Nov. 19.
- D'Oyly, T., Capt. Dep. Commiss. of Ordnance, app. Chunar Mag.—C. Nov. 19.
- Darley, C., Lieut., to act as Adj. to left wing of 52d N. I.—C. Dec. 4.
- Dallas, C., 1st Lieut. Artill., to be Adj. and Quar.-Mas. to 2d batt., v. Garrett, on furl.—C. Dec. 5.
- Davidson, C., Ens., app. to do duty with 66th N. I.—C. Dec. 6.
- Duncan, Alex., Brig., to Comm. Field Force proceeding to Mhow.—C. Dec. 6.
- Dickson, J. B., Assist.-Surg., app. to Med. charge of Civ. Station of Burdwar, v. Coulter, absent on duty.—C. Dec. 31.
- Deverell, K., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Jan. 3.
- Dodd, D., Superintend.-Surg., on furl. to Eur.—C. Jan. 9.
- Dunergue, H. F., Esq., to be Regis. to Zillah Court.—M. Jan. 20.
- Douglas, W., Esq., to be Sen. Assist. to Regis. to Court of Sudr. and Foujdarry Adawlut.—M. Jan. 20.
- Deacon, R., Lieut. 18th N. I., posted to 2d batt. Pioneers.—M. Dec. 17.
- Daria, F. J., to officiate as Mil. Chap. at Secunderabad, v. Boyes.—M. Dec. 9.
- Dyer, S., Superint.-Surg. perm. to retire.—M. Dec. 12.
- Dalzell, W. D., Capt. 16th N. I., on furl. to Eur.—M. Dec. 9.
- Downing, G., Lieut. 2d N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. Dec. 16.
- Davidson, D., Lieut. 17th N. I., to act as third Assistant Comm. Gen., v. Le Messurier.—B. Nov. 20.
- Edwards, J. M., Dep.-Commis., app. to Arsenal of Fort William.—C. Dec. 10.
- Elliot, T. C., Assist.-Surg., app. to Med. duties of 1st troop, 2d brig. of Horse Artill.—C. Dec. 18.
- Flower, J. K., Ens. 25th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Maugrave, prom.—C. Jan. 9.
- Fullarton, R., Assist.-Surg., placed under Super. Surg. at Cawnpore.—C. Dec. 28.
- East, J. W., Lieut.-Col. Comm. 42d N. I., returned to duty.—C. Dec. 26.
- Fraser, Jos., Capt. 2d L. Cav., on furl. to Eur.—C. Dec. 11.
- Fraser, Wm., Lieut. 61st N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. Dec. 11.
- Fitzsimons, H., Lieut. 29th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. Dec. 31.
- Field, G., Sen. Capt. 11th N. I., to be Maj., v. Marrett, prom.—M. Dec. 12.
- Fraser, W. C., Lieut.-Col. Comm., rem. from 10th to 30th N. I.—M. Dec. 31.
- Ferrior, C., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 11th to 3d N. I.—M. Dec. 31.
- Flockton, J., Mr., adm. Assist.-Surg., and to do duty in garr. of Poonamallee.—M. Dec. 23.
- Field, G., Maj. 11th N. I., transf. to non-effective Estab.—M. Jan. 9.
- Freshfield, J. S., Cadet, prom. to Cornet.—M. Jan. 9.
- Fennell, J. R., Lieut. 16th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. Dec. 23.
- Flower, Thos., Mr., to be Collec. of Customs and Revenues.—B. Dec. 28.
- Farish, Jos., Mr., to be warehouse-keeper.—B. Dec. 28.
- Frederick, Lieut.-Col., directed to proceed to Presid.—B. Nov. 20.
- Gibb, John, Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Dec. 19.
- Gordon, J., Surg., posted to 9th N. I.—C. Dec. 3.
- Glover, C. H., Major 35th N. I., perm. to retire.—C. Dec. 31.
- Garbett, C., Assist.-Surg., app. to do duty with the 19th Foot.—C. Dec. 23.
- Godley, C., Capt. 36th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. Dec. 26.
- Garbett, H., Lieut. Artill., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. Jan. 9.
- Gibb, J. R., Assist.-Surg., rem. from 43d to 9th N. I.—M. Dec. 9.
- Gunning, John, Sen. Lieut. 17th N. I., to be Capt., v. Low, prom.—M. Jan. 6.
- Godfrey, F., Assist.-Surg., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. Jan. 9.
- Grantham, G., Lieut. 43d N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. Dec. 16.
- Grimes, J., Lieut. 9th N. I., on furl. to Eur.—M. Dec. 16.
- Gordon, J., Lieut. 24th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. Dec. 23.
- Godfrey, F., Assist. Surg. 40th Mad. N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. Dec. 19.

- Hay, John, Lieut.-Col. 17th N. I., permitted to retire.—C. Dec. 11.
- Hodgson, J. S., Lieut. 12th N. I., to act as Adj. to Mhairwarrah Loc. Batt., v. Warren, absent on leave.—C. Nov. 24.
- Harris, J. S., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Dec. 13.
- Howard, W. H., Lieut. 1st Eur. regt., to be Capt. by brev.—C. Dec. 19.
- Hodgson, J. A., Lieut.-Col., posted to 42d N. I.—C. Nov. 29.
- Hull, L. N., Capt. 16th N. I., to be Sub-Assist. Com. Gen., v. J. W. Hull, on furl.—C. Dec. 26.
- Heathcote, G. D., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 9th to 32d N. I.—C. Dec. 10.
- Hogg, R. W., Lieut., to officiate as Interp. and Quarter-Master to 8th Lt. Cav., v. Blair.—C. Dec. 18.
- Hall, A., Surg., rem. from 1st to 61st N. I.—C. Dec. 18.
- Heptinstall, D. H., Major 31st regt., app. to charge of 57th N. I.—C. Dec. 20.
- Holmes, S., Assist.-Surg., placed under direction of Super. Surg. at Cawnpore.—C. Jan. 19.
- Hall, J. W., Capt. 14th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. Dec. 13.
- Hall, John, Lieut. 7th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. Dec. 26.
- Henderson, T., Surgeon, on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. Dec. 26.
- Harper, the Rev. H., (M.A.) to be Chaplain at Vizagapatam.—M. Jan. 6.
- Henderson, R., Cadet of Engin., prom. to 2d Lieut.—M. Dec. 16.
- Hackett, J., Lieut.-Col. rem. from 40th to 18th N. I.—M. Dec. 31.
- Haig, J. R., 34th L. I., to Deputy-Assist. Adj. Gen. of Army, v. Francklyn.—M. Dec. 31.
- Hill, H. P., Cadet, prom. to Ensign.—M. Jan. 9.
- Humfrays, S. J., Assist.-Surgeon, on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. Dec. 16.
- Harrison, E. C., Surgeon, on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. Nov. 20.
- Irving, J., Surgeon, on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. Dec. 16.
- Jervis, John, Capt., 5th N. I., to have temporary Command of Dehly Prov. Batt., v. Hutchinson, prom.—C. Dec. 11.
- Jacobs, G. O., Surg., posted to 67th N. I.—C. Dec. 3.
- Johnstone, J., Assist.-Surg., posted to 55th regt.—C. Dec. 10.
- Johnstone, Jas., Assist.-Surg., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. Dec. 26.
- Jones, J. L., Capt. 5th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. Jan. 3.
- Knox, G., Assist.-Surg., rem. from 9th to 43d N. I.—M. Dec. 9.
- Kelly, H. M., Lieut.-Col. Comm., rem. from 32d to 23d, N. I.—M. Dec. 31.
- King, T., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 41th to 13th N. I.—M. Dec. 31.
- Kutzleben, Wm., Sen. Capt. 44th N. I., to be Maj., v. Bowen, prom.—M. Dec. 23.
- Kerr, C. A., Lieut. 3d L. Cav., on furl. to Europe for health.—M. Jan. 9.
- Kelman, J., Assist.-Surg., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. Jan. 9.
- Lushington, M., Cornet, posted to 1st L. Cav.—C. Nov. 25.
- Lane, J. T., 1st Lieut. artill., on furl. to Europe for health.—C. Dec. 19.
- Le Fevre, P., Lieut.-Col. 26th N. I., on furl. to Europe.—C. Dec. 23.
- Lockhart, W. E., Esq., to be Regis. to Zillah Court of Vellore.—M. Jan. 6.
- Laurie, W., Assist.-Surg., rem. from 2d Extra reg. to 30th N. I.—M. Dec. 15.
- Lake, H. A., Cadet of Engineers, prom. to 2d Lieut.—M. Dec. 16.
- Low, J. Sen. Capt. 17th N. I., to be Major, v. Ogilvie, dec.—M. Jan. 6.
- Morris, G. J. W., to be Judge and Magis. of district of Bohar.—C. Dec. 18.
- McCreagh, Col. 13th Foot, to be a Brigadier on establish. for Berhampore, v. Ebrington.—C. Dec. 19.
- Maclean, H., Assist.-Surg., app. to 26th N. I.—C. Dec. 3.
- Marshall, G. T., Lieut., to act as Adj. to 35th N. I., v. Shiel.—C. Dec. 15.
- Martin, R., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 11th N. I. to 2d Eur. reg.—C. Dec. 18.
- Margrave, R. R., Lieut. 25th N. I., to be Capt., v. Burney, prom.—C. Jan. 9.
- Marvitie, R. F., Lieut. 49th N. I., returned to duty.—C. Dec. 26.
- Morrison, H., Capt. 57th N. I., on furl. to Europe.—C. Dec. 19.
- Moody, S., Capt. 7th N. I., on furl. to Europe.—C. Dec. 26.
- Mackenzie, K. F., Lieut. 64th N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—C. Dec. 26.
- Maclean, G., Lieut. Artill., on furl. to Europe for health.—C. Jan. 3.

- Muston, E., Surg., on furl. to Europe.—C. Jan. 9.
- Mackenna, J., Assist.-Surg., posted to 45th N. I.—M. Dec. 10.
- Marrett, T., Sen. Maj. 11th N. I., to be Lieut.-Col. of Inf., v. Taylor, prom., posted to 11th N. I.—M. Dec. 12.
- Macauley, K., Superintend.-Surg., appointed to duties in Malabar, &c., v. Dyer.—M. Dec. 28.
- Moore, M. S., Superintend.-Surg., appointed to duties at Dooab.—M. Dec. 28.
- Macdonnell, D., Assist.-Surg., to be Med. Officer at the Presidency of Travancore and Cochin, v. Burke.—M. Jan. 6.
- Mowbray, R. H. C., Cadet, prom. to Cornet.—M. Jan. 9.
- Molyneux, W. M., Cadet of Artill., prom. to 2d Lieut.—M. Jan. 9.
- Merrill, W. H., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—M. Jan. 9.
- Melville, P., Lieut., Port Adj., directed to proceed to Presid.—B. Nov. 20.
- Nesbitt, N. S., Lieut., to officiate as Interpreter and Quart.-Master to 22d N. I.—C. Nov. 24.
- Nesbitt, J., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 32d to 9th N. I.—C. Dec. 10.
- Nixon, J. W., Sen. Ensign 17th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Gunning, prom.—M. Jan. 6.
- Norris, C. W., to resume his office of Surveyor to Government in judicial, general, and marine department.—B. Dec. 28.
- O'Halloran, J., Cadet, prom. to Ensign.—C. Dec. 11.
- Oldfield, J. R., Cadet Engin., prom. to 1st Lieut.—C. Dec. 19.
- O'Brien, L., Ensign 40th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Clayhills, prom.—M. Dec. 16.
- Oakeley, J., Lieut 6th L. Cav., on furl. to Europe for health.—M. Dec. 16.
- Outram, F., Lieut. of Engineers, to be Executive Engineer at Kavai, &c.—B. Jan. 5.
- Playfair, G., Surg., posted to 62d N. I.—C. Dec. 3.
- Paterson, J. J., Surg., posted to 6th N. I.—C. Dec. 3.
- Penberton, G. R., Capt. 56th N. I., on furl. to Europe.—C. Dec. 11.
- Price, J., Brig.-Gen. of Infantry, on furlough to Europe.—C. Jan. 3.
- Pew, J. W., Sen. Capt. 40th N. I., to be Major, v. Baker, prom.—M. Dec. 16.
- Parbury, B. B., Lieut.-Col., removed from 13th to 9th N. I.—M. Dec. 31.
- Pope, P., Lieut. 24th N. I., to be Adj., v. Gordon, on furlough.—M. Dec. 31.
- Pearse, A. C., Cadet of Artill., prom. to 2d Lieut.—M. Jan. 9.
- Patrickson, J., Cadet of Artill., prom. to 2d Lieut.—M. Jan. 9.
- Powell, H., Surg., to be Garrison Surg. at Bombay, v. Harrison.—B. Dec. 27.
- Parkinson, R. J., Lieut. 22d N. I., on furlough to Europe for health.—B. Dec. 19.
- Roberts, R. G., Lieut., Commiss. of Ord., app. to Cawnpore Mag.—C. Nov. 19.
- Ramsay, D., Assist.-Surg., rem. from 26th to 27th N. I.—C. Dec. 3.
- Rainey, A. E., Ens., app. to do duty with 13th N. I. at Dinapore.—C. Dec. 10.
- Ryley, J. S. G., Cornet, to officiate as Interp. and Qu.-Mas. to L. Cav., v. Lawrence, absent on leave.—C. Dec. 26.
- Rees, W. W., Capt. 50th N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—C. Dec. 13.
- Ramsay, R., Ens. 34th N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—C. Dec. 19.
- Rogers, S., Assist.-Surg., posted to 4th L. Cav.—M. Dec. 10.
- Roworth, J. W., Sen. Lieut. 11th N. I., to be Capt., v. Field, prom.—M. Dec. 12.
- Reid, D., Surg., rem. from 17th to 52d N. I.—M. Dec. 20.
- Robertson, John, Cadet, prom. to Ens.—M. Jan. 9.
- Roper, P. B., Ens. 38th N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—M. Jan. 9.
- Rooke, C., Ens. 22d N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—A. Dec. 31.
- Showers, E. H., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Dec. 13.
- Spencer, W., Assist. Surg., app. to 58th N. I.—C. Dec. 18.
- Swinton, W., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 68th to 57th N. I.—C. Dec. 20.
- Smith, John, Lieut.-Col. 19th N. I., permitted to retire.—C. Jan. 9.
- Stewart, Alex., Lieut.-Col. 4th N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—C. Dec. 13.
- Stewart, R., Capt. 61st N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—C. Dec. 19.
- Starling, P., Lieut.-Col. 21st N. I., on furl. to Europe.—C. Dec. 23.
- Scott, T. H., Lieut. 38th N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—C. Dec. 31.
- Swinton, W., Lieut.-Col. 47th N. I. on furl. to Europe.—C. Jan. 3.

- Sheridan, B. B., Esq., to be Head-Assist. to Secretary to Board of Revenue.—M. Dec. 26.
- Spring, F., the Rev., (B. A.) to be Chaplain at Poonamalee.—M. Jan. 6.
- Symons, John, Lieut. 18th N. I., to act as Quar.-Mas., Interp., and Pay-Mas., v. Power, prom.—M. Dec. 12.
- Stephenson, J. L., Cadet, prom. to Ens., to do duty with 46th N. I.—M. Dec. 16.
- Sheddin, A., Surg., rem. from 52d to 17th N. I.—M. Dec. 20.
- Smith, T. H., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 7th to 48th N. I.—M. Dec. 31.
- Showers, E. S. G., 2d Lieut. Artill., to be 1st Lieut., v. Paterson, deceased.—M. Dec. 23.
- Sevestre, Sir Thos., Surg., to act as Garr.-Surg. of Fort George.—M. Dec. 31.
- Sharp, Thos., Lieut. 43d N. I., to be Adj., v. Colebrooke, on furl.—M. Jan. 6.
- Simpson, J., Maj., 3d N. Vet. Batt., permitted to retire.—M. Jan. 9.
- Sandys, G., Capt. 6th L. Cav., on furl. to Europe.—M. Dec. 16.
- Smith, T. H., Lieut.-Col. 7th N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—M. Jan. 6.
- Simpson, J., Maj., 3d N. Vet. Batt., on furl. to Europe.—M. Jan. 6.
- Simpson, J., Capt. 17th N. I., on furl. to Europe.—B. Dec. 19.
- Templar, J. W., Mr., to be Judge and Magis. of City of Patnah.—C. Dec. 10.
- Thomason, T., the Rev., to be Sen. Chaplain of Old Church.—C. Dec. 10.
- Thomson, J., Capt. 68th N. I., to have temp. comm. of Purneah Batt., v. Watson.—C. Dec. 11.
- Turner, V. F. T., Cornet, posted to 1st L. Cav.—C. Nov. 24.
- Taylor, Edw., Cornet, posted to 5th L. Cav.—C. Nov. 25.
- Tebbs, G., Ens., rem. from 12th to 33d N. I.—C. Nov. 19.
- Thomson, J., Surg., posted to 1st Eur. Regt.—C. Dec. 3.
- Tytler, R., Surg., rem. from 67th to 50th N. I.—C. Dec. 3.
- Thomas, W., Surg., to officiate as Superintend.-Surg. to Presid. Div., v. Todd.—C. Dec. 19.
- Thomas, James, Esq., to be Sub.-Col. of Coimbatore.—M. Dec. 26.
- Taylor, W. R., to be Judge and Crim. Judge of Combaroon.—M. Jan. 13.
- Taylor, H. G. II., Sen. Lieut.-Col., prom. to Lieut.-Col. Com., v. Coppage, dec.—M. Dec. 12.
- Tainsh, J., Sen. Ensign 11th N. I., to Lieut., v. Lally, dec.—M. Dec. 12.
- Taylor, D. G., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—M. Dec. 12.
- Taylor, D. G., Col., app. to do duty with 2d L. Cav.—M. Dec. 22.
- Taylor, H. G. A., Lieut.-Col. Com., posted to 10th N. I.—M. Dec. 31.
- Trewman, J. T., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 49th to 5th N. I.—M. Dec. 31.
- Train, W., Surg., to act as Cantonment-Surg. at St. Thomas's Mount, v. Sevestre.—M. Jan. 6.
- Timius, J. K. B., Cadet, Artill., prom. to 2d Lieut.—M. Jan. 9.
- Vibart, Edw., Lieut. 3d L. Cav., on furl. to Europe.—C. Dec. 26.
- Vallancy, C. P., Lieut., 36th N. I., to be Qu.-Mas., Interp., and Pay-Mas., v. Wallace, on furl.—M. Jan. 9.
- Worthan, Arther, Lieut. 19th N. I., to be Capt., by Brevet.—C. Dec. 19.
- Ward, J., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 1st Eur.-Regt. to 58th N. I.—C. Nov. 29.
- Webster, A., Lieut., to officiate as Interp. and Quart.-Mas. to 19th, N. I., v. Campbell, on sick list.—C. Dec. 3.
- Willan, J., Assist.-Surg., to do duty with 41st N. I.—C. Dec. 3.
- Wise, T. A., Assistant-Surg., app. to Med. duties of Civ. Station at Hooghly, v. Craigie.—C. Dec. 31.
- Wilson, W., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 57th to 31st N. I.—C. Dec. 20.
- Wemyss, W. B., Cornet 9th L. Cav., to be Lieut., v. Macdonald struck off the list.—C. Jan. 9.
- Wheeler, F., Lieut., Interp., and Quarter-Mas., to act as Adjutant to 2d L. Cav.—C. Dec. 26.
- Wilson, R. B., Capt. Artill., on furl. to Eur.—C. Dec. 19.
- Wood, T., Lieut.-Col. Engineers, on furl. to Eur.—C. Dec. 26.
- Wahab, W. M., Ens., posted to 40th N. I.—M. Dec. 11.
- Wheeler, F. H. M., Capt. Pioneers, rem. from 2d to 1st batt.—M. Dec. 17.

- Walker, L. W., Ens, posted to 44th N. I.—M. Dec. 30.  
 Webber, H., Col. and Maj., rem. from 33d to 32d N. I.—M. Dec. 31.  
 Webster, T., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 5th to 49th, N. I.—M. Dec. 31.  
 Wajah, G., Lieut. Col., 33d N. I., on furl. to Eur.—M. Dec. 23.  
 Wallace, R. G., Lieut. 44th N. I., on furl. to Eur.—M. Jan. 9.  
 Younghusband, O. J., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Dec. 11.  
 Yeatman, E. J., Assistant-Surgeon, app. to Sappers and Miners, v. Warlow.  
 —C. Dec. 8.  
 Young, S. A. G., Assist.-Surg., app. to do duty in Garrison of Poonamallee.  
 —M. Dec. 23.

BIRTHS.

- Brown, the lady of R., Surgeon, 61st N. I., of a daughter, at Calcutta, Nov. 19.  
 Belli, the lady of W. H., Esq., of a daughter, at Hooghly, Dec. 19.  
 Baldwin, the lady of W. J., Esq., of a son, at Calcutta, Dec. 28.  
 Bell, the lady of W., Capt. Artill., at Chinsurah, Jan. 20.  
 Bruce, the lady of A. F., Esq., Civ.-Serv., of a son, at Vellore, Nov. 24.  
 Canhan, the lady of G., Esq., of a daughter, at Nautpore, Dec. 6.  
 Cavork, the lady of C. A., Esq., of a daughter, at Calcutta, Dec. 6.  
 Cheek, the lady of G. N. Esq., Civ.-Surg., of a daughter, at Bancoora, Dec. 10.  
 Cox, the lady of Lieut. G. H., 62d N. I., of a son, at Sectapore, Dec. 30.  
 Cooper, the lady of H. E., Lieut.-Col. 69th N. I., of a son, at Calcutta, Jan. 6.  
 Colhoun, the lady of Wm., Esq., of a son, at Madras, Dec. 20.  
 De Verinne, the lady of J. M., Esq., of a son, at Allipore, Dec. 11.  
 Dampier, the lady of W., Esq., Civ.-Serv. of a son, at Chowringhee, Dec. 22.  
 Dunbar, the lady of John, Esq., Civil Service, of a daughter, at Mymensing,  
 Dec. 30.  
 David, the lady of A. M. Esq., of a daughter, at Sonnamuddee, Dec. 30.  
 Dods, the lady of Capt., of a son, at Palaveram, Dec. 31.  
 Dent, the lady of John, Esq., Civ.-Serv., of a daughter, at Madras, Jan. 20.  
 Fitzgerald, the lady of Capt., W. R., Engineers, of a son, at Allipore, Dec. 11.  
 Fairhead, the lady of Lieutenant, and Adj. Prov. Batt., of a daughter, at Ber-  
 hampore, Jan. 10.  
 Gale, the lady of Lieut.-Col., of a daughter, at Kernaul, Dec. 2.  
 Hay, the lady of P. M. Major, 29th N. I., of a daughter, at Meerut, Dec. 27.  
 Hamilton, the lady of C., Surgeon, 51th Foot, of a daughter, at Cannanore,  
 Dec. 24.  
 Harwood, the lady of Lieut., 49th N. I., of a son, at St. Thomé, Jan. 7.  
 Lindesay, the lady of A. K., Esq., Surg. of a son, at Bareilly, Nov. 25.  
 Morton, the lady of the Rev. Wm., of a daughter, at Chinsurah, Dec. 11.  
 Moore, the lady of Lieut. F. R., of a daughter, at Calcutta, Dec. 28.  
 O'Connell, the lady of Lieut. Commiss. of Ordnance, of twin daughters, Madras,  
 Jan. 26.  
 Poole, the lady of G. N., Esq., of a son, at Loodianah, Dec. 12.  
 Pratt, the lady of G., Esq., of a son, at Calcutta, Dec. 28.  
 Pendergast, the lady of T., Lieutenant 45th Foot, of a daughter, at Ragapore,  
 Dec. 18.  
 Ronald, the lady of R. M., Esq., of a daughter, at Calcutta, Dec. 16.  
 Ritchie, the lady of J. Esq., of a son, at Calcutta, Dec. 25.  
 Robertson, the lady of H. D. Esq., of a son, at Bellevue, Jan. 2.  
 Stacey, the lady of Capt. L. R., of a daughter, at Simla, Nov. 24.  
 Stevens, the lady of the Rev., T. N., of a son, at Patna, Dec. 11.



Swinnoe, the lady of R. Esq., of a daughter, at Calcutta, Jan. 10.  
 Span, the lady of O. W., Esq., 53d reg., of a son, at Barrackpore, Jan. 14.  
 Sage, the lady of Lieut. J. C., 72d N. I. of a son, at Mullye, Jan. 14.  
 Smaller, the wife of L. S., Esq., Assist.-Surveyor, of a son, at Dharwar, Jan. 3.  
 Thomson, the lady of G. F., Esq., Civ.-Serv., of a son, at Bareilly, Dec. 10.  
 Turner, the lady of T. J. Esq., Civ.-Serv., of a son, at Saharunpore, Dec. 28.  
 Tennant, the lady of Capt., Assist.-Adj.-Gen. Artillery, of a son, at Calcutta, Jan. 10.  
 Taylor, the lady of W. R. Esq., Civ.-Serv., of a daughter, at Madras, Jan. 7.  
 Varden, the lady of A. M., Esq., of a daughter, at Calcutta, Dec. 6.  
 Vincent, the lady of John, Esq., 16th Lancers, of a daughter, at Meerut, Dec. 9.  
 Vincent, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Wm., 25th Madras N. I., of a son, at Titalya, Dec. 17.  
 Vandenberg, the lady of J. Esq., of a son, at Calcutta, Dec. 22.  
 Vrignon, the lady of G. Esq. of a son, at Calcutta, Jan. 26.

## MARRIAGES.

Bower, Capt. 48th Foot, to Mrs. Susanna Heale, Calcutta, Dec. 13.  
 Bell, C. C., Capt., to Miss Ann Moore, Calcutta, Dec. 22.  
 Biss, J. S., Esq., to Eliza Sarah, eldest daughter of the late Capt. E. C. Kemp, at Calcutta, Dec. 29.  
 Bamfield, D., Lieut. 56th, N. I. to Christian, younger daughter of the late James Loch, Esq., at Lucknow, Jan. 8.  
 Brae, J., Esq., to Miss C. Duncan, Calcutta, Jan. 17.  
 Elliott, H. M., Esq., Civ. Serv., to Eliza, third daughter of William Cowell, Esq., Bareilly, Dec. 22.  
 Frank, J. Esq., to Miss E. Whitmore, daughter of the late William Whitmore, Calcutta, Dec. 30.  
 Graham, J. H., Esq., to Jane, daughter of Dr. J. A. Maxwell, at Severndroog, Dec. 18.  
 Innes, Dr. James, Civ. Sur., to Jane A., eldest daughter of Lieut.-Col. M'Leod, of Engineers, Calcutta, Dec. 10.  
 Jarvies, William, Lieut. 42 N. I., to Pauline S., eldest daughter of the late Lieut. Colonel J. Swinton, at Cawnpore, Dec. 29.  
 Lawford, Edward, Esq., Lieut. Engin., to Diana L., third daughter of Rev. R. Smith, at Arcot, Dec. 19.  
 M'Mahon, Alexander, S., Esq., to C. M., eldest daughter of the late R. M. Fishbourne, Calcutta, Dec. 16.  
 Palsgrave, J. H., Esq., to Miss M. C. Fooks, at Dacca, Dec. 8.  
 Pauvereau, A. J. C., Esq., of the ship *La Laur*, to E. J., daughter of the late Captain Ford, R. N., Calcutta, Dec. 16.  
 Paterson, James, Esq., (M. D) Surgeon 13th Foot, to Jemima, youngest daughter of George Aitken, Esq., Calcutta, Jan. 6.  
 Shean, R. Esq., 13th Light Dragoons, to Elizabeth, third daughter of Sir George Garrett, Madras, Jan. 8.  
 Varden, M., Esq., to Regina, second daughter of Mr. M. Mitchell, Calcutta, Dec. 29.  
 Wilkinson, Charles, Esq., to Miss Llewelyn, Calcutta, Jan. 12.

DEATHS.

- Boyd, William, Captain-Paymaster 3d Bufts, at Bhaugulpore, Dec. 31.  
 Brookenden, J., Esq., at Cochin, Dec. 31.
- Cropper, the Rev. Mr., aged 22, of the Baptist Mission, Orissa, Dec. 11.  
 Cochrane, William, Dr., (at sea) Madras N. I., Jan. 13.
- Dennie, W. N., eldest son of Major Dennie, 13th Light Infantry, at sea, Dec. 11.  
 Davis, T. D. L., Major 25th N. I. V., Titulya, Dec. 23.  
 Dalrymple, J., Lieut.-Colonel 30th Foot, Wallajahab, Jan. 9.
- Forde, A. N., Esq., late Collector of Moradabad, Calcutta, Sept. 26.
- Fulton, James, son of Captain R. B., of Artill., Calcutta, Dec. 13.
- Jones, R., Lieut. 16th Lancers, aged 38, Meerut, Dec. 8.
- Kincaid, Mrs. wife of Captain Peter Kincaid, Pens. Estab., aged 45, Chittagong  
 Dec. 13.
- Le Fevec, J. H., Lieut. 26th N. I., Nusseerabad, Dec. 31.
- Marshall, the lady of Capt. T., Beng. Artill., aged 25, at Saugor, Jan. 2.
- Miller, David, Captain of ship *Coldstream*, Calcutta, Jan. 17.
- Mainwairing, Thomas, Esq., (at sea) Midshipman, second son of Sir Harry  
 Mainwairing, Bart., Jan. 4.
- Nicholson, Jane, widow of the late Major H., aged 44 Calcutta, Dec. 18.
- Ogilvy, George, Major 17th N. I., at Ootakamund, Dec. 30.
- Stirling, the lady of Captain W., 74th N. I., at Chittagong, Jan. 1.
- Smith, A., Captain 15th N. I., at Azingurh, Jan. 10.
- Sale, H. W., Lieut.-Col. 9th Mad. N. I., at Wallajahbad, Dec. 11.
- Thompson, Mrs. C., widow of the late Major, aged 60, at Chinsurrah, Dec. 7.

## SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

## ARRIVALS FROM EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Place of Depart.	Date.
1829.					1829.
May 27	Portsmouth .	Anthony ..	Headley ..	Mauritius	Feb. 22
May 27	Cork ..	Barbara ..	Dunn ..	Cape	
May 29	Portsmouth .	Comet ..	Arniston ..	Madeira	May 10
June 1	Penzance ..	March. of Ely..	Mangles ..	Bengal	Feb. 1
June 3	Isle of Wight	Lord Lowther..	Stewart ..	China	Jan. 19
June 4	Portsmouth	Juliana ..	Tarbutt ..	Bengal	Jan. 1
June 4	Easthorne ..	Janet ..	Kenwicke..	St.Helena	April 5
June 5	Brighton ..	Belle Alliance ..	Timmins ..	China	Jan. 28
June 5	Portsmouth .	Lord Amherst..	Ardlie ..	Bengal	Jan. 20
June 5	Hastings ..	Samuel Brown..	Reed ..	Mauritius	Feb. 12
June 8	Downs ..	Cts. of Harcourt	Harrison ..	Mauritius	March 1
June 9	Falmouth ..	E. of Balcarras.	Broughton .	China	Feb. 2
June 9	Plymouth ..	Alfred ..	Hill ..	Madras	Feb. 16
June 11	Beechy Head	Schoon ..	Krayer ..	Batavia	
June 11	Cork ..	Luna ..	Sturriker ..	Mauritius	Feb. 14
June 13	Falmouth ..	Mountaineer ..	Cumrey ..	Bengal	Feb. 4
June 16	Downs ..	Mary Ann ..	Carter ..	S. Seas	
June 16	Isle of Wight	Thos. Coutts ..	Chrystie ..	China	Feb. 16
June 16	Isle of Wight	Gen. Harris ..	Stanton ..	China	Feb. 4
June 16	Isle of Wight	Castle Huntly..	Dunkin ..	China	Feb. 4
June 17	Portsmouth .	Prince Regent..	Hosmer ..	Bengal	Feb. 17
June 17	Portsmouth .	Jas. Pattison ..	Grote ..	Bengal	Jan. 13
June 17	Portsmouth .	Marq. Huntly..	Ascough ..	Mauritius	March 8
June 17	Portsmouth .	Ld. W. Bentinck	Alison ..	St.Helena	
June 17	Plymouth ..	Wellington ..	Evans ..	Madras	Feb. 14
June 18	Dover ..	Isabella ..	Fox ..	Bombay	Dec. 15
June 18	Downs ..	Anna Maria ..	Grant ..	Mauritius	March 3
June 18	Downs ..	Fairy ..	Wibburn ..	Mauritius	
June 18	Downs ..	Moffatt ..	Brown ..	Bengal	Feb. 16
June 19	Margate ..	Ellen ..	Taylor ..	N.S.Wales	Jan. 6
June 19	Downs ..	Ld. Hungerford	Heathorne .	Bengal	Feb. 3
June 19	Downs ..	Reynard ..	Grey ..	S. Seas	
June 19	Dover ..	Bride ..	Brown ..	Bombay	Feb. 3
June 19	Portsmouth .	Sarah ..	Hill ..	S. Seas	
June 19	Portsmouth .	Moirs ..	Thornhill..	Bengal ..	Jan. 17
June 20	Gravesend ..	Francis Watson	Bragg ..	Singapore	Feb. 7
June 20	Margate ..	Duncan Gibb..	Hume ..	Bombay .	Mar. 28
June 20	Downs ..	Dublin ..	Stewart ..	Bombay .	Feb. 10
June 20	Plymouth ..	Hercules ..	Vaughan ..	Bengal ..	Jan. 6
June 22	Liverpool ..	John Taylor ..	Atkinson ..	Bengal ..	Jan. 1
June 23	Weymouth..	Caroline ..	Flower ..	Mauritius	March 12
June 24	Dover ..	Louisa ..	Mac Kay ..	Bengal ..	Dec. 3
June 24	Falmouth ..	Clifton ..	Carmichael	Mauritius	March 16
June 25	Bristol ..	Clyde ..	Scott ..	Mauritius	
June 26	Hastings ..	George ..	Home ..	Mauritius	March 15
June 26	Portsmouth .	Atlas ..	Hunt ..	Bengal ..	Jan. 25
June 26	Portsmouth .	Thalia ..	Biden ..	Bengal ..	March 5
June 26	Portland ..	Moffatt ..	Brown ..	Bengal ..	Feb.
June 26	Portland ..	Scipio ..	Petrie ..	Singapore	Dec. 25

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Depart.
1829.				
Jan. 12	Penang	.. Elizabeth ..	Brown ..	London
Feb. 2	Calcutta	.. Lady Mac Naghten ..	..	London
Feb. 2	Calcutta	.. London ..	Huntley ..	Liverpool
Feb. 2	Calcutta	.. Royal George ..	Wilson ..	London
Feb. 2	Calcutta	.. Fairlie ..	Fuller ..	London
Feb. 5	Madras	.. Baretto, jun. ..	Shannon ..	London
Feb. 7	Calcutta	.. Protector ..	Waugh ..	London
Feb. 14	Madras	.. Duke of Roxburgh ..	Brown ..	London
Feb. 15	Calcutta	.. Protector ..	Waugh ..	London
Feb. 16	Calcutta	.. Lord Melville ..	Bell ..	London

DEPARTURES FROM EUROPE.

Date.	Port of Depart.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
1829.				
June 17	Clyde	.. Joanna ..	Mackeller ..	Mauritius
June 17	Gravesend	.. Eliza Jane ..	Liddell ..	Mauritius
June 18	Downs	.. Glenalvon ..	Rickaby ..	Cape
June 19	Downs	.. Orient ..	White ..	Bengal
June 19	Liverpool	.. St. George ..	Swainstone ..	Bengal
June 20	Gravesend	.. Trunmere ..	Smith ..	N. S. Wales
June 20	Downs	.. Hoopoo ..	Indell ..	Manilla
June 21	Liverpool	.. Gipsy ..	Quirk ..	Bombay
June 24	Liverpool	.. Clansman ..	Ritchie ..	N. S. Wales
June 24	Gravesend	.. Catherine ..	Fenn ..	Bengal
June 24	Gravesend	.. Captain Cook ..	Willis ..	Bombay
June 25	Gravesend	.. Carn Brea Castle ..	Barber ..	Bengal
June 25	Gravesend	.. Margaretha ..	Rouse ..	Japan
June 26	Gravesend	.. Dart ..	Hastings ..	South Seas
June 26	Gravesend	.. Olive Branch ..	Anderson ..	Cape
June 26	Gravesend	.. Diamond ..	Clark ..	Bengal
June 26	Gravesend	.. Bolton ..	Clarkson ..	Bombay

PASSENGERS OUTWARDS.

By the *St. George*, Captain Swainson, for Calcutta:—Col. Brooks; Capts. Applin and Martin; Lieuts. Hughes and Shiel; Messrs. Willis, Earl, Ingholm, Bellares, Sellars, M'Garth, and Boyd; Messdames Brookes, Applin, Bush, and servant; Misses Brookes, (2) Finden, and servant, and Cassiday.



# THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

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No. 68.—AUGUST, 1829.—VOL. 22.

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## MR. PLAYFAIR'S DEFENCE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY— MONOPOLY OF THE CHINA TRADE.\*

THE nearer we approach to the great question of Eastern commerce and dominion, which must soon be discussed in Parliament, the more we are impressed with the immense weight of the task which we have undertaken, and the responsibility attached to its conscientious discharge. Placed, as we are, at the bar of the British public, the avowed, earnest, uncompromising advocates of the rights and liberties, the peace, happiness, and prosperity of our Indian fellow-subjects, pledged to demonstrate the utter incorrigible theoretic inaptitude of the system, under which they are doomed to live, and the urgent necessity of commencing a zealous, active, and vigorous reform; the revolution of every new month adds to the strong sense of duty which animates our efforts, an imperious conviction of increasing obligation, under which nothing but the consciousness of unimpeachable motives, and the approving encouragement of the true friends of human improvement could possibly sustain us.

To enlarge the means of enjoyment, and accelerate the progress of social happiness at home, by unfolding the boundless resources and capabilities of the East; to open to those whose benevolence is perpetually seeking occasions of philanthropic employment, a field of unlimited promise and extent; to place before the Legislature and people of England, a true representation of the cruel, heartless, unprincipled system of Indian rule, which not only in the immediate sphere of its exercise, but from one extremity of Asia to the other, has rendered the British name an object of opprobrium, detestation, and contempt; these are the exalted objects for which, spite of the discountenance of power, and the discouragement of

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\* 'Remarks on the East India Company's Charter, as connected with the interests of this country, and the general welfare of India.'

popular indifference, we have not feared to toil, and in which, while the present iniquitous system continues, we are determined to persevere.

In the course of the protracted struggle, the successful issue of which may already in the distance be descried, it has not escaped us, that many, knowing no standard of estimation but the mean, sordid, unworthy considerations by which their own conduct may be regulated, have presumed to insinuate doubts as to the purity of the motives which actuate the determined opposition by which this work has for some time checked the extravagancies, exposed the oppressions, and controlled the despotism of the East India Company. It is easy for those who would gladly escape from our scrutiny, to patch the veil which we have rent asunder, and again shroud themselves in impenetrable darkness; to discredit our authority, and find reasons for our zeal, in the suggestion of private pique, or the reminiscences of personal injury. These are not, we boldly affirm, the stimulants of our hostility, nor is there any colour for the pretence in the manner of its conduct. Were it otherwise, the victims of unconstitutional power are surely good evidence of its excesses,—the sufferers of abuse deserve, at least, as much credit as its abettors. ‘Our Indian Government is, in its best state, a grievance. It is necessary that the correctives should be uncommonly vigorous, and the work of men, sanguine, warm, and even impassioned in the cause.’ That we are warm and impassioned in the cause, why should we deny? So were Burke, Fox, Sheridan, Grenville, and the rest of the long list of illustrious men, who have embraced, and still avow their principles, principles, the truth and justice of which is demonstrated by the continued experience of the utter incapacity of the Company, the increasing confusion of their affairs, and the hopeless wretchedness of the people of India.

It is, indeed, much to be regretted, that a question in which such a multitude of various and important considerations are involved, cannot be settled by a fair and liberal understanding between the Government and the Company, it is lamentable to observe the pertinacity with which the latter cling to their exorbitant privileges, and the obstacles they oppose to every suggestion of useful reform. That the people at the India House are intimately acquainted with every branch of their complicated system, that they are aware of the injurious effects produced by it in their own dominions, and the impediments which it presents to the full development of the resources of this country, might be proved by innumerable citations from their correspondence with the King’s Government at home, and with their own in Asia. If the familiarity with Indian details which they possess, and the ability and experience of their servants were employed to inform the conscience, and direct the deliberations of the legislature; if they would abandon their character of partizans, and enter into a generous and patriotic

alliance for the public good, then, indeed, the difficulties which embarrass this question would disappear, we would gladly modulate our tone to their altered temper, and instead of an angry contest, we might hope for a calm, dispassionate and temperate inquiry. Unfortunately, however, the supposed interests of the respective litigants are so various and discordant, that a consummation devoutly to be wished, seems scarcely attainable. The battle, we fear, will be fought, as hitherto; every inch of the ground disputed, every stratagem which practised ingenuity can devise, employed; skilful disputants will be engaged to discolour and distort; ponderous folios abstracted, to mystify and conceal; alleged experience will discredit unanswerable argument, every fact be met with peremptory contradiction. Thus it was in 1813, between Mr. Rickards and Mr. Grant, and thus, no doubt, it will be again. But time has refuted the prophecies of the latter, and the assertions of Mr. Rickards have been more than proved. Mr. Grant was a dexterous and plausible advocate; forty years of almost uninterrupted official service, had rendered his own defence identical with that of the Company's policy, and he will be admitted to have conducted it with ability and zeal. Had he lived, however, until now, he must have yielded to the testimony of facts and figures, which the experience of the last fifteen years affords; and surely it would have been as painful to him to reflect on the indiscriminate resistance which he opposed to every innovation, as it must now be satisfactory to Mr. Rickards, to witness the full reality of his anticipations. Indeed, the points at issue are too momentous to be made the instruments of party objects or personal aggrandizement. Twenty years hence, pre-engagements, pre-possession, promises and pledges, will be poor apologies for the neglect of the duty of to-day. When the advantages now derivable from extended intercourse with Asia, shall have been lost by our mismanagement or indifference, when our industrious artisans and manufacturers shall pine in hopeless misery and want, when civil war shall convulse our Indian Empire, and the hopes of civilization and Christianity vanish with the power and influence of England, the recollection of pensioned relatives, and the enjoyment of corrupt emolument, will afford but meagre consolation to the authors of such aggravated ruin.

A pamphlet has recently been published by a gentleman of the name of 'Playfair,' entitled, 'Remarks on the East India Company's Charter, as connected with the interests of this country and the general welfare of India.' The object of the writer is to prove that the existing system of Indian government cannot be surpassed, and that the commercial Monopoly is at least as beneficial to the country as to the Company itself. We must do Mr. Playfair the justice to say, that though sufficiently positive and dogmatical, he conducts the discussion with temper and moderation; and if the ability of his arguments were at all commensurate with his zeal, he



would, no doubt, become an especial favorite at the India House. Unfortunately, however, his valour is much more prominent than his discretion; and though he has contrived to select some authorities in favour of the principles which he professes to support, he has also in pure unconsciousness appended the documents which refute them, and furnished, in a compact, accessible shape, the evidence on which we have always rested the wisdom and expediency of extending our relations with the Eastern world. One would hardly have expected to find, stitched together in an octavo pamphlet of eighty-eight pages, the testimony of Lieutenant-Colonel Munro, on the immutability of the Hindoos, and the official account of goods exported from the United Kingdom to the East Indies, China, and the Mauritius, from the year 1814 to 1828. But so it is, and as long as the poison and the antidote are sold together, it is not very likely that much mischief will be done.

‘As I have before observed,’\* says he, ‘from the clamour raised regarding free trade, persons uninformed on the subject, would imagine that the public are totally excluded from the benefit of any intercourse with the East Indies; whereas, in fact, the trade of private merchants on an average exceeds that of the Company, in extent and value; which fact induces me to conclude my observations with an account of a few important items of the exports and imports between Great Britain, and India, and China, from the year 1814 to 1828, distinguishing the Company’s from the private trade. It will probably serve not only to establish the truth of what I have advanced, but prove interesting, as giving some insight into the state of our Indian trade, during an important period, when and in what articles an increased or decreased demand has occurred, and the proportion of private trade compared with that of the Company.’—p. 76.

Now we doubt not that Mr. Playfair is perfectly sincere in his desire to extend the knowledge of ‘persons uninformed upon the subject,’ and is actuated by a laudable anxiety to communicate to them a portion of the astonishment which these novel discoveries have excited in his own mind. To him, indeed, every thing seems new. The evidence of Mr. Pitt, of Warren Hastings, and Lord Teignmouth, is cited with as much solemnity and ostentation, as if it had been given during the present session of Parliament: then come Sir John Malcolm, and Sir Thomas Munro; and lastly, the statistical data which furnish such irrefragable proof of the misstatements and errors of them all. It is fit that Mr. Playfair should know that the increase of exports since 1814, to which he refers as convincing testimony of the liberality and patriotism of the Hon. Company, was brought about by ‘agitation,’ precisely similar to that on which he now takes upon himself to pronounce his

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\* Page 76.

unqualified condemnation. Previously to the last renewal of the Charter, the ports of India were open to the shipping of every nation but England. The French, Dutch, Danes, Swedes, Portuguese, Americans, had all carried on a lucrative commerce with our Eastern Territories. The advantage derived by these nations naturally excited the jealousy of our merchants, and petitions from all parts of the country, for free admission to the Indian trade, were presented to parliament. In opposition to this just and reasonable demand, the gentlemen in Leadenhall Street sent regiments of witnesses to Westminster, all prepared to attest the superstition and misery of the Hindoos; some protesting that they were too poor to purchase our manufactures; others, that if we distributed them gratuitously, they would not wear them; all affirming the immutability of their habits, the peculiarity of their climate, and the prejudices of their religion. Though the House of Commons is said to have been electrified by the statement of Sir Thomas Munro, a gentleman who had enjoyed ample opportunities of observation, of unimpeached character and honour, yet the story was too marvellous for implicit belief, and the legislature determined to submit his theories to the test of experiment. In 1813, English merchandize ceased to be contraband at the three presidencies and Penang. What was the result? From 1814 to 1819, the increase of exports was so rapid and extensive, that when Mr. Grant was examined before the Committees of the two Houses in 1820-21, he could find no explanation for a phenomenon so unexpected, but 'commercial indiscretion,' from the effects of which he confidently foretold the ruin of the adventurers. Spite of the prediction the trade went on, every year increased its amount, and confirmed its prosperity, until, in 1828, the export of British goods by the private trade to India alone, exceeded that of their chartered rivals to all the countries east of the Cape of Good Hope. Is it to be borne, that an argument for the continuance of the Monopoly should rest upon such facts as these? Shall we be told that the people of the interior will not use what the inhabitants along the coast have purchased with avidity? Is disinclination to be inferred from eagerness of demand, or 'commercial indiscretion,' from annual increase? Is it pretended that the inhabitants of the islands in the Eastern Archipelago, are prejudiced against the use of foreign manufactures? or that the cottons of Manchester, the woollens of Leeds, or the hardware of Birmingham, are not suited to their taste? Are not British goods annually shipped in the Mersey and the Thames, and conveyed in American bottoms to Canton? These are the questions on which the policy of renewing the East India Company's Monopoly depends; and Mr. Playfair will find them answered much more satisfactorily in the Reports of the Committees of both Houses in 1821, than by any of the antiquated documents to which his researches have been confined.

'It is true,' says Mr. Playfair, 'the word "Monopoly" sounds

harshly on a British ear, without some qualification ; it is therefore necessary, in the first instance, to consider the extent to which the term is applicable in a commercial sense. As all vessels are now permitted to trade with the different ports in India without restriction, the Monopoly so far has ceased to exist. The China trade alone remaining exclusively in the Company's hands, must therefore constitute the *imaginary* grievance. But what is this Monopoly ? Certainly, he continues, ' it is a grant, from which arise some of the most valuable resources of the Company, because no political expenses interfere with them. But is this benefit confined to that body alone ? On the contrary, from the duties payable on this branch of trade, England derives an annual revenue, amounting, on an average, to four millions sterling, without any trouble or expense to Government in its collection. How valuable a consideration is it, in viewing this subject, to find the great benefit, in fact, which the Monopoly has proved to this country ; for it must be remembered, that the East India Company *alone* have made the China trade what it is. The great prudence at all times observed by the civil authorities at Canton, their knowledge of the peculiar character and prejudices of the Natives, acquired by long observation, combined with uniform integrity of dealing on the part of the Company, have gradually established a mutual confidence, and formed a connecting chain, so delicately wrought, that injury to a single link might, in a moment, put a stop to all commercial intercourse ; and those powers, already jealous of our present good footing, would not fail to take advantage of such an event ; and we might then in vain desire re-possession of this Monopoly, gladly again to place it in the hands of the East India Company, through whose good judgment and perseverance the trade has been rendered so beneficial. To those who view the subject in its full extent, I think this must be obvious : it is not, however, uncommon to meet with persons, who form an opinion upon no stronger ground than the circumstance of tea bearing a high price ; that, at all risks, the trade should be thrown open, solely in the hope that they may obtain tea a few pence per pound cheaper, forgetting that the hope, in the first place, probably would not be realized by an open trade, which, on the contrary, might cause an advance in price : and the regulations now observed by the Company for the supply of genuine tea, being dispensed with, that the community would be liable to be poisoned wholesale ; at how cheap a rate this might be done, I cannot imagine any one desirous to ascertain. I presume many persons are not aware that, on all tea imported by the East India Company, a duty is paid in the first instance to Government of nearly a hundred per cent., and that the profits of intermediate dealers are considerable ; so that, by the time it is distributed for public consumption, the price is necessarily high. The regulations contained in the Act of Parliament regarding the sale of tea by the Company, prove that they are compelled to bring it into the market under

established rule, and at no higher rate than a moderate profit on the capital employed,—in reality, having nothing to do with the price it afterwards attains among retail dealers ; which, if a serious evil, rather becomes a question of consideration with his Majesty's Government, whether any, and what, reduction can be made in the present excessive duty, and if, under a less duty, an increased sale might be calculated upon, as is the case with other articles of consumption ; his Majesty's Ministers, in all probability, would not be disinclined to reduce it to a rate which would still ensure a great revenue to the country, yet afford a general benefit to society, tea being now almost regarded as a necessary of life ; at all events, I doubt not that Government hold the national welfare as too intimately concerned in an amicable intercourse between China and this country, to disturb the good understanding which now fortunately exists, or to attempt making any material change in that particular part of the Charter.

We do not remember to have met a paragraph distinguished for so little candour, and so much mis-statement, as the foregoing extract. 'All restrictions on the trade to India,' says Mr. Playfair, 'are now removed, and the China Monopoly is an *imaginary* grievance.' Is Mr. Playfair so ignorant of the course of trade, as not to know that the mere power of exporting manufactured goods is utterly valueless, unless return cargoes can be obtained ? Did he never hear of the traffic in furs formerly carried on by the North West Company at Canton, and by them abandoned to the Americans, merely on account of the prohibition to ship China produce ? Is he not aware that the cotton, the rice, the sugar, the tobacco, of India are all inferior to the produce of America, and consequently almost unsaleable in the English markets ? If Mr. Playfair were ignorant of these facts, he ought not to lecture us on East Indian commerce. The truth is, that the China Monopoly, though in itself sufficiently vexatious, inasmuch as it deprives our manufacturers of the consumption of that populous empire, has indirectly the effect of restricting our intercourse with *all* the countries east of the Cape of Good Hope. The Americans ship hardware, cottons, and woollens in the port of Liverpool, or London : with these they proceed to the Eastern islands, and barter a portion of our manufactures for such articles of their produce as are suited to the Chinese market. At Canton a second exchange takes place, and they return to Europe laden with the produce of the Celestial Empire. Our manners, on the other hand, having once doubled the Cape, proceed to Bengal or Bombay. If these markets should not furnish the opportunities of advantageous sale, their cargoes must be transferred to the country ships, and by them taken to the Archipelago and China. The productions of these countries are brought to the Indian Presidencies ; and some small portion of them may perhaps find their way to Europe by this circuitous and expensive navigation. It is true that British vessels may sail to the Eastern Archipelago direct, as well

as others; but as these islands do not furnish the materials of a return cargo, and the traffic in tea is prohibited, this lucrative branch of commerce is of necessity abandoned to the Americans.

‘The connection between the China Monopoly and the free trade of the Eastern Islands and Cochin China, depends chiefly upon the fact, of which there is abundant evidence, that the products of those islands, though very valuable, are not suitable to any European market, or indeed to any other extensive market, than that of China. Although, therefore, there appears among the Malays a considerable demand, capable of much extension, for British manufactures (especially cotton goods, iron and steel, copper and woollens), no sufficient returns can be procured for these articles, otherwise than by way of China, or perhaps of Bengal, with a view to re-exportation to China, where the inland produce, may be exchanged for merchandize re-exportable to Europe. The exportation, therefore, of our manufactures to these islands, is greatly impeded by the want of a return, which nothing but a permission to seek it at Canton can ensure.\*

The next proposition of Mr. Playfair is, that the present high price of tea is not attributable to the Monopoly of the Company, but to the duty imposed upon it by the Government. Now, if tea were an article of mere luxury, and the consumption of it confined to the affluent classes, the difference of a few shillings in the price, might be admitted to be an object of minor consideration. If, again, it were of an intoxicating quality, like spirits or opium, and injurious to the health and morals of the people, there might be some pretence for keeping up its price, by the double imposition of monopoly and taxation. But neither of these suppositions is true. Probably there is not a single family in England, from the highest to the lowest, in which tea would not be daily consumed, were it not for the exorbitant rate at which it is sold. The use of the worst descriptions is, in fact, a costly luxury to the great majority of the people; and it were idle to deny, that the middle orders of society abstain from the enjoyment of the better varieties. The duties levied by Government, are, no doubt, considerable restraints upon consumption; but is Mr. Playfair not aware that these duties are ‘*ad valorem*,’ and, consequently, rise and fall with the Company’s prices? ‘The Government,’ says he, ‘may lower the duty, and thus give ease to the consumers.’ The Government know very well that such reduction would not relieve the people while the Company’s Monopoly continues. So long as competition is excluded, it is their interest to maintain the price, and the substitution of a fixed, to the present fluctuating, duty, would not, in all probability, benefit the public. But be that as it may, the present high price of tea is attributable to the Monopoly

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\* Vide a Report of a Committee of the House of Commons, 1820-21.

of the Company. The *ad valorem* duty will fall with the reduction of their demand, and no man who is not interested in the continuance of the present system, can doubt that the diminished cost of a commodity, so generally used, would be conducive to the morals, the comfort, and enjoyment of the people.

‘ But,’ says Mr. Playfair, ‘ the admission of free traders to Canton would endanger our footing in China. Strong arguments could be here introduced, founded on the opinions of men of long experience, to prove the danger which might arise from the China trade being opened, in consequence of the jealousy and bigotry of the Natives, the intriguing spirit of the Mandarins, &c. But I shall content myself with a reference to the evidence of Sir George Staunton, before the Committee of Investigation of the Company’s affairs, appointed by both Houses of Parliament, prior to the last renewal of the Charter, from which a just idea may be formed of the difficulties the Company have had to contend with, and continue to experience. In proportion to those difficulties, is required that regularity of demeanour, combined with firmness of character, which the civil authorities of the Company have supported, and continue strictly to observe, any alteration in which would considerably disarrange, if not totally destroy, so delicate a piece of machinery, as our trade with that country.’

It is no doubt politic to appeal to the authority of a gentleman so justly respected, in proof of this opinion. Why the evidence of Sir George Staunton in 1812, should be preferred to that given by him in 1821, we are at a loss to conceive. They are both precisely to the same effect, and we rather suspect that Mr. Playfair was not aware of the existence of the latter. However that may be, we have not the smallest desire to weaken the influence which the high character and long experience of the honourable baronet attach to his deliberate conviction; and we believe his evidence, and the pamphlet published by him some years ago, have produced, in the best informed minds, very considerable hesitation respecting the policy of permitting the indiscriminate, unregulated resort of British vessels to Canton.

The principal reason assigned by Sir George Staunton for apprehending danger from the admission of the free-traders, is, his own experience of the jealous and capricious character of the Chinese government. Disputes and misunderstandings occurred during his Presidency at the Canton factory, which it required no small degree of firmness and management to allay, and which certainly go far to justify the opinion he has formed. We are content, therefore, to admit, on the authority of Sir George Staunton, the necessity of establishing some effective control over the adventurers and sailors, who may frequent that port. Whether this be effected by extending the authority of the factory, or the establishment of a Consulate, is a subject of little moment, and merely collateral to

the merits of the question. The point really in dispute between the free traders and the Directors, is, the continuance of their Monopoly of the traffic in tea. Yielding to their fears of insubordination and disorder at Canton, Mr. Canning, when President of the Board of Control, submitted two propositions to the Court of Directors :—

1st. That the Company should allot a portion of their tonnage to individuals, in the way pointed out in the Act of 1793.

2dly. That a *dépôt* should be formed at some island of the Eastern Archipelago, where free traders might take in tea and bring it to the ports of foreign Europe.

In either case the resort of British subjects to Canton would have been as effectually prevented as at present. To both of these suggestions the Directors, however, refused to accede. As to the arrangement suggested by the act of 1793, it probably would have failed. The tonnage allotted under that act to private speculators, was always purchased by foreigners, and few merchants would trust their ventures to the management of their chartered rivals. The establishment of a *dépôt* in the Archipelago was liable to none of the objections, until then urged by the Company, and the sudden rise and importance of Singapore sufficiently prove the wisdom and policy of such a measure. 'The trade (says Mr. Crawford)\* carried on between Singapore and China, in European vessels, is very considerable. A few sail direct from Singapore to Canton; but in general the trade is conducted by English and Portuguese ships from Bengal and Bombay, especially by those from the former. Many of these take Malayan produce to China, and instead of returning as formerly, lightly laden, bring on Chinese goods to be eventually sent to Europe by the direct traders for England. These goods chiefly consist of raw silk, cassia, camphor, and nan-keens. In this manner the existence of Singapore contributes, in a small degree, towards mitigating the pernicious effects of the Monopoly of the East India Company with the Chinese Empire. Through Chinese junks, there is no question but that a large quantity of tea might be imported, in a free trade, for the consumption of Europe, without being subjected to the expense of reaching us indirectly through the port of Canton; the only one with which Europeans have any intercourse. Some of the junks trading to Singapore are from the very province most distinguished for the production of tea. In 1823, the quantity of tea imported into Singapore by Chinese junks, was only 17,640lbs. In the three following years, it rose progressively as follows:—111,200lbs., 117,148lbs., and 320,913lbs. This tea is brought from almost every port of China with which we trade, and some is even imported indirectly from Kamboia and Siam. The whole is intended for

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\* Embassy to Cochin China and Siam.

Native consumption, and is for the most part of the quality which in this country would be called ordinary Bohea. In 1825, it was sold at so low a price as from three pence to six pence a pound, according to quality. There is no doubt but any quantity and any quality for which the market would create a demand, might be imported in this manner. Even contemplating an event highly improbable, and I think indeed nearly impossible, the total exclusion of a direct intercourse in European vessels with China, the trade might still be carried on through the channel of the junks, which in reality would amount to a direct intercourse with almost every port of a great empire, instead of with one as at present. This is virtually the present state of our commercial intercourse with Cochin China, Kamboia and Siam; although, in the latter case especially, the navigation is longer, more difficult and intricate, than it would be with any of the ports of China carrying on a foreign trade.'

From this extract Mr. Playfair may learn that the expediency of withdrawing the Tea Monopoly from the Company, is not necessarily connected with the indiscriminate resort of free traders to Canton. As far as we know, it has never been proposed to open the trade to China, without first providing suitable precautions against the license and irregularity of the seamen engaged in it. All we contend for is, that the supposed difficulty of adjusting a matter of mere local police and regulation, should not be received as a conclusive objection to an alteration, promising so much benefit to the country. If the Company would permit teas to be shipped by the free traders at Singapore, and thence conveyed to Europe, their exclusive privileges at Canton would be much more secure from invasion than they are at present. The truth is, that they are much more anxious about the Monopoly of the English, than the Chinese, market. The deficiencies of their Indian land revenue are supplied by the profits of this branch of their trade, and they cannot afford to renounce it. From the time when they first acquired territorial possessions until now, their financial embarrassments have incapacitated them for the task of effective reform. The exclusive privileges which they possess are necessary to the existence of the present system, and it is perfectly true, as they allege, that if deprived of the income derived from their Tea Monopoly, they could not carry on the Government of India. This may be a very good argument to prove the propriety of relieving them from a burthen so much above their strength, but when used to justify restrictions on British commerce in the East, it is in the last degree idle and inconclusive.

From the early appearance of Mr. Playfair in the arena of Eastern controversy, and the decided opinions he has formed in favour of things as they are, we presume it is not unlikely we may again hear from him during the approaching discussions. If so, we advise him to be provided with authorities somewhat more recent than those on



which he now relies.\* If he will undertake to refute the testimony of Mr. Rickards, Mr. Crawford, and other gentlemen, respecting the probable advantages of European settlement in India, and extended intercourse with the other countries of Asia, he will establish an unquestionable claim on the gratitude of the Company; but we cannot admit his conclusions without some better voucher for their correctness, than their coincidence with the opinions of Warren Hastings and Mr. Pitt.

We cannot prevail upon ourselves to respect the judgment of a writer, whose crude lucubrations it is mere pastime to refute, and who evidently does not know the merits of his own case. That our author is in this unfortunate predicament, no one who reads his pamphlet can entertain a doubt.

We had originally intended to make the 'Remarks on the East India Company's Charter,' the stalking horse for a few strictures on the present condition of India, the frame and form of our delegated authority over these vast possessions, the administration of justice, the constitution of the Court of Directors and of the Board of Control. This course would have been perfectly justifiable, seeing that Mr. Playfair, whose ambition on a moderate estimate is as the square of his information, has indulged us with his impressions on all these subjects. But in noting the passages for animadversion, we felt the injustice of selecting, as the Company's champion, an undisciplined recruit, armed only with the rusty weapons of 1784. When Mr. Playfair has gone through the course of reading, which we have taken the liberty to recommend, it will give us great pleasure to remove any doubts he may continue to entertain. In the mean time we advise him to avoid the 'debilitaturum munus,' of the Company's vindication. It really is above his strength.

#### EPITAPH ON AN INFANT.

BRIGHT to the sun expands the vernal rose,  
And sweet the hly of the valley blows;  
Sudden impetuous whirlwinds sweep the sky;  
They shed their fragrance, droop the head and die.  
Thus the dear infant, from life's storms retired,  
Put forth fair blossoms, charmed us, and expired.

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\* Mr. Playfair may find much valuable information in the following works:—'Crawford's Account of the Eastern Archipelago;' 'Crawford's Embassy to Siam;' 'Free Settlement and Colonization of India;' 'Rickards on India;' 'Reflections on the Present State of British India;' 'Minutes of Evidence before Committees of both Houses, in 1820-21,' &c.

STATE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN ENGLAND, AND CHARACTERISTICS  
OF THE LAST SESSION OF PARLIAMENT.

THE session of Parliament which has recently closed, presents a greater number of political anomalies than has been witnessed for very many years. As a legislative assembly, it will for ever be celebrated for one great measure of public policy and national justice,—‘The Catholic Relief Bill,’—but as if exhausted by the magnitude of this solitary effort, it will boast no other statute to distinguish its existence. This too has happened at a time when the peculiar exigencies of the state would have appeared to call for serious consideration and remedial enactment. Debate after debate might fairly have been anticipated on various questions; the state of commerce and manufactures, the change in the currency and banking systems, the amendment of the common law, and the reform of the Court of Chancery, would have afforded numerous and important points of enquiry; and on each of these all men hoped or expected discussion. They have been disappointed.

During the early part of the Session, the whole time of both Houses appeared to have been engrossed by the Catholic Question; and sufficient pains were certainly taken by one faction, to overload the discussion with the greatest possible quantity of extraneous matter, and to disguise the poverty of their argument, by ringing almost endless changes on the half dozen ideas involved in their view of the subject. But as the debates were almost exclusively conducted by men of the third and fourth class, to whom the politicians of first and second rate only listened because it was necessary for them to watch the moment of division, it might have been expected that these greater spirits would have employed the leisure thus afforded them, in maturing those other measures, which they knew to be necessary. This they have not done, and both sides of the Houses are equally chargeable with the neglect.

It is quite true, that no important subject could have been fairly canvassed during the prevalence of the artificial excitement, so diligently kept up by the No Popery tirades; it is equally true, that a short languor succeeded the cessation of that excitement; in this instance it was peculiarly short; with the exception of the very few who make the remembrance of their bigotry a part of their political stock in trade, the question was forgotten, almost as soon as it was decided:

What then was the cause of our Parliamentary idleness? why will the statute book of George IV. be comprised in its comparatively moderate space? Be it remembered, we do not complain of this more reasonable bulk, except as we hoped for enactments which should sweep away the rubbish of past legislation. With the exception of a very crude and unsatisfactory Police Bill, nothing has been done for the reform of the law; though an Ecclesiastical

Courts Bill, calculated to perpetuate the abuses of our very worst tribunal, passed almost without opposition. With the exception of some slight allusions to the policy and justice of opening the trade to China, little has been said on the depressed, but still fettered, state of commerce, and Mr. Peel, has omitted to give that lucid exposition of his measures, respecting the currency, which might have served to remove popular prejudice on a subject vitally affecting every man's interests.

For these various sins of omission, the state of Parties affords a reason, some will call it an excuse; but as the confusion of political boundaries has been the work of the administration, we must not suffer them to plead their own wrong, in justification of their inactivity.

An honest, straight-forward course, though it would have changed the materials, would not have altered the constitutional relation of parties; there would have remained a ministerial, an opposition, and a neutral phalanx. The Duke of Wellington might have formed the first, out of the friends who adhered, and the former adversaries, to whose opinions he had conformed; the Ultra Tories would have formed the second; and the idlers and country gentlemen, as usual, the third. His Grace, however, thinks it better policy to confound party distinctions, and if it be his object to reduce confidence in political integrity to its lowest ebb, in order to destroy popular faith in future opposition, he has done much for the accomplishment of his purpose. Yet, in exposing the characters of others, he has not sufficiently guarded the just consistency of his own; the man who would not hear of the *mistake* of Huskisson, tolerates the tergiversation of Bankes; he could part with the talents of Lord Dudley; but he could not dispense with the votes of Lord Lowther; he would endure no in-subordination on the disfranchisement of East Retford; but he was bearded by his Attorney-General, till the coldest prudence wondered at his patience; after long delays, widening infirmity of purpose, he has chosen a successor to Sir Charles Wetherall, from the ranks of the regular opposition, and he has given one other appointment, of small value and no influence, to a nobleman of similar opinions; while on the other hand, he has chosen, as his Solicitor-General, the determined advocate of an opposite system, and re-admitted to the Board of Control, one of the most virulent of his adversaries. If the legal appointments had been made on the score of the undenied and undeniable forensic eminence of Sir James Scarlett, and Sir Edward Sugden, we could not have objected to them; but we are not Utopian enough to suppose that mere merit is yet to be made the criterion of promotion; we must still consider it as an insidious attempt to disarm and debase opposition, and to hold power, *quocunque modo*, by seducing and sacrificing principle.

From the confusion thus generated, it is exceedingly difficult to state either what parties exist, or to enumerate the members who compose them; the decided colour which once distinguished the

political hosts exist no more ; like the female fashion of the day, the ribbon is so confused by narrow stripes and unexpected crosses of various tints, that it is next to impossible to define the pattern, and quite enough to be able to state the general shade of the ground. With this understanding, we will endeavour to show our distant readers something of the present state of parties.

First in the list, only because first in aristocratic pretension, we place the Ultra Tory, or, as it has been often and properly called, the Servile Party. Generally distinguished by their rank, and seldom indeed by their talent, the members of this faction are the pertinacious defenders of all existing abuses, the dogged opponents of every purposed innovation ; *stare super vias antiquas* is their motto, and the leading feature of their practice ; except, indeed, when an inroad can be made on popular rights, in which they eagerly join, as a mode of recovering their feudal supremacies ; selfishness, the leading principle, because the foundation of all aristocracies, is their main motive of action ; looking upon the world as made for them and for their enjoyments, and the rest of mankind as the creatures of their use, they consider all questions as they affect, or may, however distantly, affect their own individual interests : satisfied with their own state, they dread the first intimation of change, because they cannot calculate how soon the progress of improvement may call for the abolition of their privileges. Is the law to be amended ? they think that real property may be made subject to the payment of simple contract debts. Are the statutes against usury to be repealed ?—they count their mortgages. Is corn to be imported ?—they calculate their rents. Are the jails filled with poachers ?—they consider their sports an equivalent. When they are satisfied, they hold it the duty of the people to be contented ; when they have dined, they cannot conceive that any man is hungry. ‘ I cannot,’ said a celebrated Marchioness, ‘ imagine what they mean by talking of the distresses of the people ; I never knew peaches so plentiful, or so cheap, for many winters !’

To this class belong the rich and dignified clergy, almost to a man ; and their poor brethren (of which the number is, to them, disgracefully numerous) must, if they expect promotion or provision, enlist themselves in the same party ; and this is the easier, because it makes the alliance of Church and State one of its principal dogmas ; its standing toast is ‘ Church and King.’ You cannot offend a high Tory more grievously than by drinking ‘ King and Constitution,’ for the very word ‘ Constitution’ is hateful to them, as implying an antithesis to arbitrary power. Tyranny is their idol, under whatever shape it can be worshipped ; whether it be a king or a governor, a prince or a jailer, the autocrat of Canada or Calcutta, it matters not,—let him be the enemy of popular rights, and he is their sworn friend. Thus the beloved Ferdinand, and the amiable Miguel, are the special objects of their fondness and protection ; defended by Lord Aberdeen, and culogized by ‘ The Age,’ they may

console themselves for the hatred of their subjects, in the sympathies of the British Serviles.

But though the divine and indefeasible rights of kings,—passive obedience, and non-resistance, with that prostration of the soul to superior power, which, according to the Archbishop of Canterbury, constitutes the essence of Christian humility,—be the leading principles of this party, as respecting others at all times, and themselves generally; yet if their individual interests are to be affected, they conceive themselves absolved from their vows of obedience. Thus, on the late question, it became difficult to distinguish the Ultra Tories of the House of Lords, from the most furious radicals of Spadfields; sedition was invited by their speakers, and rebellion justified by their organs. 'The Standard' and 'The Morning Journal' endeavoured to excite the more ignorant classes of the people to resistance, in language which, in the days of Sidmouth and Castlereagh, would have consigned their editors to the seclusions of Ilchester and the mercies of its jailer. 'The Age,' after its kind, vomited abuse on all the advocates of liberal opinion; and their former friends, 'The John Bull' and 'Courier,' did as much in the trade of aspersion and falsification, as could be consistent with a prudent resolution to keep a retreat open, should the ministry prove victorious.

Brother John, in 'The Tale of a Tub,' tearing his coat to tatters in order to divest himself of the trapping of Popery, was a prototype of the holy zeal with which some of the Ultras have become reformers of Church and State; this, too, will suit the purposes of their more judicious friends; they will readily part with half a dozen votes, in order to render the cause of their adversaries ridiculous, and, as the Duke of Wellington is said to have done on a late occasion, connive at desertions, in the confidence that their spies would mislead their enemies.

The moderate Tories, or Government men, or King's friends, as they are sometimes called, partake of the vices of their more violent leaders; but in a less degree; probably for this reason, that they are, for the most part, men of small or moderate fortunes, who look to official emolument for themselves, or relatives, as a principal means of supporting their newly acquired dignities: they cannot, therefore, take so strong a line of politics as to exclude themselves from forming a portion of any ministry; and the fiction of going with the crown, enables them to share its favours under every administration. Of this material are made, Chamberlains, Stewards, Masters of the Horse and Buck Hounds, Captains of Gentlemen Pensioners, Lords of the Bedchamber, and other ornaments of the Court, Chairmen of Committees, Junior Lords of the Admiralty, Under-Secretaries, Envoys, and other minor functionaries of the State, Departments, or Diplomacy. They will initiate no good, but they will yield to necessity; they do not love the people, but they will not exasperate them so far, as to risk the closing of their purse-strings.

A very small class of independents separate this party from the Whig Aristocracy,—a body sometimes greatly over-valued, sometimes, as in the spirit of the present day, traduced beyond their demerit. It has constituted for many ages the barrier between absolute power and popular right; and if its members have sometimes yielded to the blandishments of a monarch, or the intrigues of a ministry, they have more frequently stood forth as the champions of independence and the opponents of tyranny. Selfish they are, but they have identified their interests, not with the King, but with the people; we owe the Great Charter to the self-interest of the Barons, the Reformation to the Dissolution of the Monasteries, and most probably the Revolution itself to the fear, that, with the restoration of Catholicism, under the Stuarts, would come the restitution of Church Revenue; once convinced that the Abbey-lands were safe, they no longer hesitated to advocate freedom of conscience. This, therefore, will form a distinction between the Whig and Tory Aristocracy; the one will yield a popular right, if it be not inconsistent with its own interest; the other will oppose it in the dread, that the concession may at some distant day, and by some distant possibility, prove injurious to the privileges or monopolies of 'the order.' The Whig nobility have almost uniformly ranged themselves under the popular banner, and though it may be necessary to watch their movements, as it is always expedient to doubt the faith of an auxiliary not bound to you by identity of interest, it is bad policy to declare war *ad interventionem* with them, because they will not go lengths which are inconsistent with their nature: we still require their aid, we still are bound in gratitude to them for past services; let us not then play the game of the enemy, by depreciating their value. The more furious of the faction, called Radicals, first commenced this false tactic (principally influenced by a personal quarrel), the example has been unfortunately followed by men of higher character, and a party of rising influence, with which it is the fashion to abuse the Whigs with much more acrimony than either the occasion or good policy can require or justify. We, on the other hand, are most anxious to assign to this party its due merit; we believe very many of them to be sincere in their expressed wish to ameliorate the condition of mankind; we acknowledge their talents, and their inclination to encourage talent, not of the first class indeed, for the higher spirits will not brook the subserviency required or imputed in rich men's houses; but there is much use in the protection of secondary ability, and yet more in those occasional examples, where the judicious choice of a retainer has augmented the fortunes of a family. A Tory nobleman fills the House of Commons with his sons, nephews, and cousins; they count in majorities as well as better men; the Whig Aristocracy, knowing themselves a minority, must make up in talent, and diligence, what they want in number. While in Lord Lonsdale's eleven members there is not a man, except Lord Lowther, of even moderate capacity,

the most shining abilities are to be found among the members introduced by the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Fitzwilliam, and the Marquis of Cleveland.

We have hitherto spoken of parties as constituted by the oligarchy, which is, for the present, the actual government of England; we are now to describe the very small, and unfortunately disunited, force, which constitutes the strength of the people. Under various designations, Whigs, Political Economists, Utilitarians, Benthamites, and Radicals, but properly to be united in the order of 'Liberals,' are to be found a comparatively small, yet increasing, number of men of high talent, and indefatigable energy; without numerical strength either in, or out of Parliament, they enforce their doctrines, and compel the adoption of their principles. They have already done much; they will do infinitely more, when, disregarding intestine bickerings, they unite for a common purpose, against a common enemy; but as no disputes are so acrimonious as family quarrels, as no differences are so irreconcilable as the polemics of sectarians from the same church, so, also, to the shame of political philosophy, no parties are so bitterly hostile to each other, as those who with a single object, 'the greatest happiness to the greatest number,' seek different, yet almost parallel, paths to attain it; split into little divisions of sixes and tens, they constantly annoy by skirmishes, yet not unfrequently afford their enemies the gratification and advantage of seeing a petulant marksman fire a well directed shot into the ranks of his confederates, in resentment of some trifling deviation, slackness, or interference. Those who are irresistible as a phalanx, can only harass in a partizan warfare; whenever the ministerial masses are brought to bear on them, they are defeated; and while they are priding themselves on the honesty of their independent system, a well disciplined legion is feeding on the plunder of their country. Thus Brougham and Burdett can occasionally rally the dispersed parties, and though they do not carry a question, they make that impression, which, often repeated, insures success; but when Mr. Hume requires their aid to support his less brilliant, and frequently more useful objects, instead of assisting his purpose, they are possibly mimicking his oratory, or ridiculing a blunder, which they are the first to point out to his opponents.

This want of unity of action in Parliament, and the Press, is in all probability the true cause why public opinion (we do not speak of the mass of the people, but of those capable of forming opinions), has made so slow a progress; to facilitate this progress and to hasten the day when the interests of the many, and not the selfishness of a few, may be made the rule of policy, is our object in advocating a union of popular parties: whenever we can see the adverse hosts ranged under the just denominations of *Liberals* and *Serviles*, we shall feel no doubt of victory.

## CRAWFURD'S EMBASSY TO AVA.

THE most remarkable circumstance, perhaps, connected with the history of the Burmese, is our extraordinary ignorance respecting them. Excepting the singular tribes inhabiting Tibet, there is no portion of the population of Asia about which our notions are more crude, vague, and unsatisfactory, although they inhabit a country bordering upon our own territories, and into which it does not appear peculiarly difficult for a traveller to penetrate. The attempts, however, which have hitherto been made to obtain precise information on the manners, customs, and opinions that prevail in Ava, and the neighbouring countries, have been exceedingly few, and their history is imperfect and obscure.

Before we examine the work of Mr. Crawford now before us, it may not perhaps be uninteresting to trace a slight sketch of the history of the intercourse of European nations, or rather of European travellers, with the Burmese, Peguans, Siamese, and the other nations of India beyond the Ganges. Among the earliest voyagers who visited these countries, was Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, who was born of obscure parents at Mentemar Velho, near Coimbra, about the year 1509. His early adventures, having no relation to the countries of which we are now treating, we shall pass over, merely observing, that having been taken prisoner by Corsairs at a very early age, and undergone numerous hardships, he embarked for the East, and arrived at Diu in the year 1537. India was at this period over-run by Portuguese adventurers, who, like Mendez Pinto, had their fortunes to carve out for themselves, and were not extremely delicate about the mode of effecting it. Arriving with Pedro de Faria, Captain-General of Malacca, in Trans-Gangetic India, Pinto was dispatched as an ambassador into the interior, to conclude treaties with the Native princes, and also to observe their weakness and the nakedness of the land. Pinto, like many others, was unfortunate in these expeditions, and returned to his countrymen poorer than he went. To repair this misfortune he became a pirate, and after a series of extraordinary adventures, among which the most singular was an attempt to plunder the tombs of the Chinese kings on a solitary island in the Gulf of Peking, he returned westward, and visited the kingdom of Ava, of which he has left a curious account in his travels. He afterwards joined Francis Xavier in his mission to Japan; and accompanied that celebrated man until his death. Mr. Crawford considers his account of the

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\* 'Journal of an Embassy from the Governor-General of India to the Court of Ava, in the year 1827, by John Crawford, Esq. F.R.S. F.L.S. F.G.S. &c., late Envoy. With an Appendix, containing a Description of Fossil Remains, by Professor Buckland, and Mr. Clift. Colburn. London, 1828.'



events which occurred during his visit to the Burman empire, as exaggerated and unfaithful; but others, though allowing that his relations, being written from memory, are inexact and somewhat embellished, place considerable reliance upon his testimony.

The next European who visited Ava, or, at least, compiled an account of the country, was Gaspard Balbi, a Venetian, and, like Chardin and Tavernier, a jeweller by profession. He travelled with commercial views into the East, in 1579, and remained there nine years; and on his return to Europe, in 1588, published, under the title of '*Viaggio delle Indie Orientali*,' a very exact account of the various countries which he had visited. This work, says M. Ginguené, was inserted by the De Brys, in their collection of '*Travels in the East*,' in seven volumes, published at Frankfort in 1606.

Balbi was succeeded by Ralph Fitch, an English merchant, who travelled in the East from the year 1583 to the year 1591. Like a genuine traveller, he was seduced into his adventures by the mere desire of seeing strange countries and manners; and he was fortunate enough to find several of his countrymen who were actuated by the same desires. They set out, in the first instance, for Tripoli, in Syria, passed into Mesopotamia, descended the Euphrates, and then embarked for the island of Ormus. Passing from thence to Hindoostan, and remaining some time at Goa for commercial purposes, where they were imprisoned and persecuted by the Jesuits, they at length exchanged their money for pearls, and fled farther towards the East. Crossing the peninsula from the western to the eastern coast, and losing two of their companions by the way, one of them having changed his religion and deserted them at Goa, and the other entering into the service of the Rajah of Futtepoor, they at length reached the Ganges, and embarked for Pegu in 1586. Ascending the principal river of the country, they arrived at a large city, which at that period was much frequented by the Chinese; and afterwards visited the place whence rubies, sapphires, and other precious stones are obtained. He returned to England in the April of 1591, and compiled an account of his travels, which Mr. Crawfurd, who has trodden part of the same ground, pronounces to be 'surprisingly accurate and faithful.' The work is contained both in Hackluyt's and in Purcha's Collections; and M. Eyries, a competent authority, remarks, that it is still read with pleasure and interest, because it contains many curious particulars respecting the countries visited by the author.

In 1695, Ava was visited by an embassy from the Governor of Madras. This embassy was conducted by a Mr. Edward Fleetwood, who, from various circumstances, appears to have been well calculated for the post he occupied. Mr. Crawfurd has given two or three curious and characteristic extracts from his relation. The next account of the Burman dominions occurs in '*Hamilton's New Account of the East Indies*;' but in interest and value it is far in-

ferior to Fitch's narrative, written one hundred and twenty-three years earlier.

As we approach more nearly to our own times, our accounts become proportionably scanty and uninteresting. In the year 1755, while a fierce war was raging between the Burmese and Peguans, Captain Robert Baker, the commander of an East Indiaman, was sent by the Company on an embassy to the Court of Ava, at the time when Alompra was seated on the throne. The Company's ambassador was not surrounded, on this occasion, by much of that pomp and circumstance which Orientals require; but he was not on that account ill received. His presents, however, were mean and scanty; but, on the other hand, his prostrations and politeness were profuse. These prostrations, he says, 'were performed on the knees, bowing the head three times low down, which was repeated three separate times, from the place where it was first began, to the palace steps.' From Captain Baker's account of his interview with Alompra, we discover that his Burman majesty was by no means disposed to underrate the merit of his own actions, or the strength of his country or armies.

Another embassy was sent to Alompra in 1757, three years before the death of that prince, from the chief of Negrais. The ambassador on this occasion was a Lieutenant Lester, who, after expressing some little reluctance, complied with the usual etiquette of the Burman Court, and approached the sovereign on his knees. Alompra conversed for a considerable time with the envoy, partly on indifferent matters, and partly on his own achievements; and, having put himself into a good humour by boasting of his own mighty deeds, allowed the Company to reap the benefit of it by granting them the island of Negrais, with leave to build a factory at Bassein, and at the same time signing a favourable commercial treaty; which, as Mr. Crawford observes, was the last concession made to the English, through mere diplomatic agency, by any state to the east of the Bay of Bengal.

From this time until 1795, when the mission of Colonel Symes took place, a period of thirty-four years, we appear to have had little or no diplomatic intercourse with the Burman empire; in which a prophecy, of older date than the age of Alompra, existed, foretelling that the country would one day be overrun and subdued by white men. The mission of Colonel Symes was followed, in 1796, by that of Captain Cox, the narrative of which has only been recently published. In 1802, Colonel Symes went on a second mission to the Court of Ava, of which no account has hitherto appeared; and, in 1809, Major Canning was entrusted with a mission to the same Court. Our next intercourse with the Burmese was such as war induces; and the mission of 1826, of which the narrative is now before us, brings down the history of our negotiations with these barbarians to our own days.

Having thus presented the reader with a slight sketch of the history of our intercourse with the Burmese, from the earliest times down to the present, we shall endeavour to extract from Mr. Crawfurd such information respecting the country and its inhabitants, as appeared to be either new or interesting. Before we do this, however, we shall make one or two remarks upon the work itself. Mr. Crawfurd is already extensively known as the author of the 'History of the Indian Archipelago,' a work of much merit; and of 'An Account of an Embassy to the Courts of Siam and Cochin China.' The great fault of these two works, is prolixity, and want of method: words are multiplied without mercy, trivial circumstances are related with too much minuteness, and things naturally connected are separated in the description. The present work is still more faulty in these respects. At every page we experience the want of condensation; and are wearied with slight notices of subjects which should have been viewed in connexion, and described once for all. In one word, the book is too large, and too inartificially written. Notwithstanding this, however, it must be confessed to possess very considerable merit, as it contains information nowhere else to be met with, and many remarks upon Asiatic society, which are evidently the fruit of much learning and experience.

It would be tiresome and useless to follow the movements of the mission, which consisted of Mr. Crawfurd, Lieutenant Chester, Dr. Steward, Lieutenant Cox, Lieutenant de Montmorency, Mr. Judson (an American missionary), and Dr. Wallich, who was commissioned to examine the forests of Pegu and Ava. They left Rangoon in September, 1826, and sailed up the Irrawaddi to the capital, occasionally landing, and making excursions into the country. During these excursions, nothing beyond the mere exterior of things could be observed, and therefore we pass on at once to the capital, where leisure was obtained for conducting more lengthened investigations. The reception of the mission at Ava, was curious and characteristic.

'At noon (September 31) arrived at Ava, anchoring opposite to the house constructed for our reception. An Atwen-wun\* came on board almost immediately, to compliment us, and attend us ashore to our house, where a Wungyi was ready to receive us. The Atwen-wun in question proved to be Maung-pa-rauk, the same who had signed the treaty of Yandabo, but who now discharges the office of Kyi-wun, or Lord of the Granaries. Our party landed, and entered an inclosure formed by a bamboo railing. At the front gate of this we were met by the Wungyi Maung-lá-kaing, who handed me to a large temporary house in the centre of the inclosure, where chairs were ready for us. The conversation which ensued was not of a very interesting nature; but, upon the

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\* From *Atwen*, interior, and *wun*, a burden. The word may be translated Privy Counsellor; while the term Wungyi may be rendered Secretary of State.

part of the Burman chiefs, it was dictated by a spirit of conciliation and politeness. As usual, they inquired first after the health of the King of England, and of the Royal Family in general. On our side, we inquired after the health of his Burman Majesty, after that of the Queen, the young Prince, and the favourite Princess. Inquiries after the female branches of their families, it should be observed, are considered by the Burmans as marks of civility; in which respect they differ entirely from the inhabitants of Hindostan and other countries of Western Asia, among whom such questions would be considered as betraying the utmost indelicacy. The Burman chiefs informed us, that "the glorious King," as they repeatedly called him, had directed the house we were now in to be constructed for our accommodation; and that he desired we would be at our ease and happy, since friendship was restored between the two countries. They told us, that a guard of eighty men, twenty to each of the four gates of the inclosure, were appointed to keep the populace from intruding upon us. All this preparation was a show of keeping up the usage of the Burman Court, and indeed that of all the nations to the eastward of Hindostan,—of placing foreign ambassadors under a certain restraint, until a public presentation. This was intimated with much delicacy; and it seemed that the rule, in regard to us, was not to be much insisted upon. Maung-lá-kaing, so called from his estate, was the same Wungyi who signed the treaty of peace; and the choice of the two officers who brought this event about, seemed an indication of good feeling on the part of the Court, and was, at all events, certainly dictated by good taste. Maung-lá-kaing was a feeble-looking old man, and extremely emaciated. His manners were gentle, affable, and courteous. He told us his age, which was fifty-eight, although he seemed to us full seventy. He asked all of ours: there is no incivility in doing so among the Burmans; on the contrary, to question their new acquaintances respecting their age, implies that they take some interest in their welfare. After sitting for half an hour, the Burman chiefs left us, and we inspected our new habitation: it consisted of one large house in the centre, surrounded, at the distance of the railing, by five smaller ones, with a large open shed for the accommodation of the Burman officers and attendants;—these temporary dwellings were all raised, according to the custom of the country, on posts a foot high, and had bamboo floors, walls of plaited bamboo, and roofs thatched with grass. Some of us preferred continuing on board, but the younger members of the party took possession of the house; and I sent the European guard ashore, where their comfort could be more attended to.

‘When we arrived, a great concourse of people, notwithstanding the attempts of the officers to keep them away, had crowded down to the bank to see the steam-vessel and the strangers. Their behaviour, as we passed through the crowd in landing, as well as

before and after this, was entirely decorous and respectful. Indeed, not a single indication had occurred of an unfriendly or hostile spirit, on the part of the people, from our quitting Rangoon until our arrival at the capital. Among the spectators were a great many priests; although the indulgence of curiosity, laudable or otherwise, is a thing expressly forbidden by the rules of their order.—pp. 487, 88.

The journey from Rangoon to Ava was performed in thirty days, and might have been performed in twenty, had not the mission halted frequently, and been detained by having to tow a heavy boat along. The actual distance, according to computation, is about 540 miles; yet, during the freshes, a war-boat, proceeding day and night, has been known to go from Ava to Rangoon in four days, and to return in ten.

During the stay of the mission at Ava, their residence was watched by a Burman guard; but, as they were not prevented from making excursions, in whatever directions they pleased, into the fields, they had numerous opportunities of observing the state of the country, and the condition and manners of the peasantry. In their intercourse with the agricultural portion of the Burmese population, they found them communicative and intelligent, and were, therefore, able to collect much valuable information respecting the methods of culture, and the various crops raised in the country. In all their excursions, they met great numbers of people, chiefly women, carrying heavy burdens, of different goods and wares, to market, upon their heads; the principal articles, generally, being cotton, fire-wood, and various species of coarse esculent greens, most, if not all, of which were culled from the marshes and forests.

For the first week after their arrival there was little or no rain, and although the mornings and evenings were pleasant, the weather was hot, and the sky cloudless. The husbandmen, however, in the neighbourhood of the metropolis were busy ploughing, and Mr. Crawford observes, that he counted twenty ploughs and harrows at work within the space of a few acres. Their agriculture is rude, and it is remarkable that their plough-shares, the only respectable part of the plough, are imported from China or Lao. Little or no manure is used, except in the betel-vine gardens. Reaping is performed, as in England, with the sickle; the corn is trodden out by oxen; and the straw is carefully preserved for fodder. The husbandmen, who are compelled to suspend their labours during the heat of the day, are generally in the field before sun-rise, and from three o'clock until sun-set, and upon an average labour about seven hours a day.

In the vicinity of the capital, wheat is cultivated in considerable quantity. It appears to have been introduced into the Burman empire in times comparatively modern, and is known by a name

derived from the common language of Hindoostan. The Burmese have not yet learned to make it into bread, and only eat it boiled entire, mixed with coarse sugar or oil, and made into sweet cakes. In the markets of Ava it is about one third cheaper than rice, being about two shillings and sixpence per Winchester bushel. Our countrymen found it to be a plump and heavy grain, and the bread they made from it was well-tasted and remarkable for its whiteness, superior upon the whole to that made from the Patna wheat. This being the case, it is somewhat remarkable that the Burmese should have hitherto neglected to enjoy the luxury of wheaten bread.

The mission at length obtained an audience of the Golden Foot, and the Palace and Hall of Audience are thus described :

‘ That portion of the Palace which contains the Hall of Audience, consists of a centre and two wings ; the first containing the throne, and directly fronting the outer gates of the enclosure. The building is entirely of wood, with the exception of its many roofs, which are covered with plates of tin, in lieu of tiles. Over the centre is a tall and handsome spire, called by the Burmans a *Pyat-thad*, crowned by the *Ti*, or iron umbrella, which is an exclusive ornament of the Temple and Palace. The Hall of Audience is without walls, and open all around, except where the throne is placed. The roof is supported by a great number of handsome pillars, and is richly and tastefully carved. The whole fabric is erected upon a terrace of solid stone and lime, ten or twelve feet high, which constitutes the floor : this is so smooth, even, and highly polished, that I mistook it at first for white marble. With the exception of about fourteen or fifteen inches at the bottom of each pillar, painted of a bright red, the whole interior of the Palace is one blaze of gilding. The throne, which is at the back of the hall, is distinguished from the rest of the structure by its superior brilliancy and richness of decoration. The pedestal on which it stands is composed of a kind of mosaic of mirrors, coloured glass, gilding, and silver, after a style peculiar to the Burmans. Over it is a canopy richly gilt and carved, and the wall behind it is also highly embellished. The Palace is new, not having been occupied altogether above two years and a half ; so that the gilding and ornaments were neither tarnished nor defaced, as we often found to be the case in other places. Although little reconcilable to our notions of good taste in architecture, the building is unquestionably most splendid and brilliant ; and I doubt whether so singular and imposing a royal edifice exist in any other country. It has the same form and proportions with that described by Colonel Symes, at Amarapura ; but is larger, in the proportion of one hundred and twenty to ninety.

‘ There are three entrances to the Hall of Audience, by a flight of a few steps,—one at each wing, and one at the centre; the last being appropriated to the King alone. We entered by the stair which is to the right, at the bottom of which we voluntarily took

off our shoes, as we had from the first agreed to do. We passed through the hall, and seated ourselves where our station was pointed out, in front of the throne, a little way to the King's left hand, the presents being directly in front of the throne. The King made his appearance in about ten minutes. His approach was announced by the sound of music, shortly after which a sliding door behind the throne opened with a quick and sharp noise. He mounted a flight of steps which led to the throne from behind with apparent difficulty, and as if tottering under the load of dress and ornaments on his person. His dress consisted of a tunic of gold tissue, ornamented with jewels. The crown was a helmet with a high peak, in form not unlike the spire of a Burman Pagoda, which it was probably intended to resemble. I was told that it was of entire gold, and it had all the appearance of being studded with abundance of rubies and sapphires. In his right hand his Majesty held what is called in India a Chowrie, which, as far as we could see, was the white tail of the Thibet cow. It is one of the five established ensigns of Burman royalty, the other four being a certain ornament for the forehead, a sword of a peculiar form, a certain description of shoes, and the white umbrella. His Majesty used his flapper with much adroitness and industry; and it occurred to us, who had never seen such an implement but in the hands of a menial, not with much dignity. Having frequently waved it to and fro, brushed himself and the throne sufficiently, and adjusted his cumbrous habiliments, he took his seat. The Burman courtiers, who were seated in the usual posture of other Eastern nations, prostrated themselves, on his Majesty's appearance, three times. This ceremony, which consists in raising the joined hands to the forehead, and bowing the head to the ground, is called, in the Burman language, Shi-ko, or the act of submission and homage. No salutation whatever was dictated to us; but as soon as his Majesty presented himself, we took off our hats, which we had previously kept on purposely, raised our right hands to our foreheads, and made a respectful bow.

‘The Queen presented herself immediately after his Majesty, and seated herself upon the throne, at his right hand. Her dress was of the same fabric, and equally rich with that of the King. Her crown of gold, like his, and equally studded with gems, differed in form, and much resembled a Roman helmet. The little Princess, their only child, and about five years of age, followed her Majesty, and seated herself between her parents. The Queen was received by the courtiers with similar prostrations as his Majesty, and we also paid her the same compliment as we had done to the King. When their Majesties were seated, the resemblance of the scene which presented itself to the illusion of a well got up drama, forcibly occurred to us; but I may safely add, that no mimic exhibition could equal the splendour and pomp of the real scene.

Farther on the author adds :—

‘ The princes and public officers were all habited in their court or state dresses, which, as I before stated, consisted of purple velvet cloaks, with highly ornamented caps of the same material : each had his chain of nobility over his shoulders, and his title blazoned on a thin plate of gold affixed to the front of the cap. The princes were distinguished by dresses of superior splendour, and especially by the form and decoration of their caps. The dress of the Prince of Sarawadi was particularly brilliant. The courtiers, according to their rank, were seated more or less near to the throne. The nearest to it was the Prince of Sarawadi ; for the heir-apparent, having as yet, on account of his youth, no public station assigned to him, did not attend. The inferior courtiers were scattered over the body and wings of the hall : this might have made their number appear fewer than they really were. It struck us, however, that the attendance was not numerous, and certainly it by no means equalled the crowd assembled at the Siamese Court. The spectacle, upon the whole, was sufficiently imposing. Yet, notwithstanding the better taste of the Palace, and the superior dresses of the Burman courtiers, (for those of Siam, when I saw them, did not appear in their dresses of ceremony,) the pageant was less calculated to affect the imagination than that exhibited by the Court of Siam, where the demeanour of the courtiers was more constrained, the crowd of suppliants more numerous, and the manners of the sovereign himself unquestionably more imposing—authoritative and dignified. The Siamese Court, in short, seemed more consonant to our preconceived notions of the pride, the barbaric magnificence, and wild despotism of an Eastern monarch.’—pp. 138, 139.

The constables of Ava are unquestionably very worshipful personages, and every way worthy the despotism they aid in supporting :—

‘ The nature and history of the office of these constables, form one of the ugliest and most odious features of the Burman Government. They are denominated in the language Pa-kwet, which means “ the cheek branded with a circle.” They are, in fact, most frequently atrocious malefactors, pardoned in consideration of their performing for life the duties of constables, gaolers, and executioners, for all these offices are united in one person. They receive no pay or reward for their services, and must live by their wits ; that is to say, by the extortion and impositions practised upon their unfortunate prisoners. Besides the ring on each cheek, a mark which implies the commission of a capital crime, these guardians of the peace are to be seen with such epithets as the following tattooed upon their breasts, “ man-killer,” “ robber,” “ thief,” &c. The chief of these persons was pointed out to us, and was soon recognised by Mr. Judson as the person who had the principal charge of the European and American prisoners during the war. This was



an old man of sixty, lean, and of a most villanous countenance. He was by birth of the tribe of the Kyens, had murdered his master, and had a large circle on each cheek, with the Burman words "*Lu'-that*," or "man-killer," in very large letters on his breast. The Pa-kwet are held to be infamous. Even in the execution of their office, they are not permitted to enter any house, nor in any case to come within the walls of the Palace. When they die their bodies cannot be burnt, nor the usual funeral rites performed, but they are interred like those of lepers and others held to be impure.'—pp. 115, 146.

The following account of a visit to the Queen's brother is highly interesting:—

'Our public visits were nearly completed this morning, by our introduction to the Queen's brother. The dwelling of this personage, who in consequence is beyond all comparison the first subject of the Burman Government, is in the inner town, a short distance beyond the palace. This is a good house of brick and lime, with a spacious and convenient court in front. Our reception here was far more splendid than at the palaces of the Heir-apparent and the Prince of Sarawadi, and it was evident that the owner had the key of the royal treasury at his command. A tent pitched in the street in front of the house served as an ante-room, but instead of benches, we had European chairs to sit upon. We were not detained here above twenty minutes, when we were ushered into the hall prepared for our accommodation: this was the front part of the house. The verandah, or front gallery, through its whole length was shaded by a canopy of scarlet broadcloth, which threw the most singular shade upon every object within, making the candles especially appear as if a phosphorescent light issued from them. At one end of the hall, the King's numerous band of dancing-women, richly and most fancifully attired, was playing; the players were all young females, and some of them very handsome. Two dancing-women, still more richly dressed than the rest, one in male and the other in female attire, were in advance, acting a kind of Burman opera. The hall was crowded with chiefs, and towards the back part of it were a number of their wives and daughters. The Queen's brother himself made his appearance almost immediately. A richly decorated couch, on which he commonly sits, was at the back of the hall; but instead of occupying it, he placed himself upon the floor, on the lowest of two cushions, and exactly upon a level with us. His attitude was the most respectful possible: he was upon his knees, resting himself upon his heels, so as effectually to keep the soles of his feet out of view—a point of indispensable etiquette towards visitors of any respectability. We were quite unprepared for so much condescension. We had reckoned at least upon a cold and haughty demeanour, and even thought it possible that the favourite might display some of

the assumption of an upstart, but were agreeably disappointed. His wife and daughter followed him into the hall, and seated themselves to his right hand, but farther back. The daughter was a very handsome young woman, about seventeen or eighteen years of age, and understood to be engaged in marriage to the Prince of Mendong, a half-brother of the King. He asked the same question respecting his Majesty or the Governor-General, which had been put at the Palace, and by the Prince of Sarawadi. It appeared to me at the same time, and since, that the form of expression was previously studied and concerted between the parties. He then asked if we were pleasantly situated, begged to know the ranks of the different gentlemen as connected with the Mission, and what particular appointment I held myself, before coming as Envoy to the Court. After ordering refreshments for us, he retired for a short time, politely intimating that he wished to remove all constraint and put us at our ease while we were taking our repast, as he was aware that the position we were in was unusual and inconvenient to us. The chief returned in a short time, renewed his conversation, and then finally withdrew; informing us, that if we wished to view the spectacle exhibiting in the area, we should find chairs and refreshments ready for us under a shed. In passing through the court-yard, on our departure, we stopped for a few minutes, from motives of civility, to see an exhibition of dancing-women. Two of the King's *corps de ballet* were performing, considered the first dancers in the kingdom. They displayed great agility in their way: sometimes they bent their body backwards in such a manner as to touch the ground with the head, and without any assistance from the hands to recover the erect position; but their movements were violent, their gestures ungraceful, and sometimes a little indecent. They sung while they danced, and in both respects seemed as if they were performing for a wager. The presents given to us upon this occasion were to each a small ruby-ring, a broad-brimmed straw hat, not unlike a lady's Leghorn bonnet, and a handsome bamboo betel-box, of Shan or Lao manufacture.

The learned in Europe, who infer from the form and features of the image of Buddha, the country to which he belonged, may learn from the following passage to appreciate the foundation upon which they build their theories. It is true the sculptors are compelled to imitate a certain model; but from the comparison instituted by the author, between the statues of this god manufactured in Java, and those produced by the artists of Ava, it is clear that in each country a different type is followed. The village inhabited by the sculptors is situated about three miles to the north-west of Sagaing.

‘This is the place at which the marble images of Gautama are manufactured for the whole kingdom. There are about thirty sheds, or manufactories, and at each we generally saw about ten or twelve statues either finished or in progress. The range of hills close at

hand, although composed of marble, does not afford any fit for statuary, and the material is brought from a place called Sakyin, where there is an entire hill of pure white marble: this is ten miles distant from the eastern bank of the Irrawaddi, and forty miles, or twenty taings, above Ava. The blocks of marble, rough-hewn generally into the form necessary to make a figure of Buddha in the sitting posture, are conveyed to the Irrawaddi by land-carriage. From hence they are brought to Sagaing by water, and from this again by land to the place where the manufacture has been conducted,—from *time immemorial*:—the only reason assigned to us for incurring so heavy and unnecessary an expense in conveyance. Our inquiries respecting the marble quarries, furnish a remarkable instance of the difficulty of getting precise and accurate information among a people so incurious in such matters as the Burmans. Sometimes we were told that the quarries were fifty miles distant from Ava; but no one could tell the name of the place. At other times we were confidently informed that they were in the range of the Sagaing hills, two or three miles distant only. With this last impression, we arrived at the place of manufacture; and it was not until we had conversed with those immediately concerned in the business, that we learnt the truth.

‘The statuary marble used by the Burmans is a primitive limestone; it is large-grained and highly chrystalized; its colour is a snow-white, with a semi-translucency, and it is capable of receiving a high polish; it is devoid of fissures, and free from streaks and all discolouration. Some of the fragments which we examined in the shops, contained a few rare particles of mica; and the manufacturers informed us, that now and then they found in it an ore, which they said was that of lead; but they could not supply us with any specimens. The means used for cutting and fashioning the marble into statues, are extremely rude: they consist of an iron chisel, or rather punch, and a wooden mallet. The prominent parts are smoothed down by the successive use of bits of sandstone, of various degrees of fineness; and the last polish is given with a soft stone, which I believe to be a clay-iron ore. This last part of the operation is very successfully performed by the Burmans. In every other respect, the statues are as rudely fashioned as possible. They are almost all in the same attitude: the form and position of the limbs are the same; the head and features are the same; and there is no room in any respect for the display of taste, fancy, or talent, the whole operation being purely mechanical, and this of the lowest order. The statues of Buddha, in the ancient temples of Java, sculptured of the inferior material of trap-rock, are Grecian forms in comparison to the Burman images. The largest block of marble which we measured was five cubits long by three broad, and its thickness about a cubit and a half. Statues are manufactured of all sizes, from this down to a few inches in length. A block of marble, two cubits long, was valued

to us, at the place of manufacture, at fifteen ticals. Another rough block, measuring in length three cubits, was valued at twenty-five ticals, and when sculptured would cost eighty.'

The following account of our late war with the Burmese, by a Native historian, is too amusing to be omitted.

'I learnt last night, from good authority, that the Court Historiographer had recorded in the National Chronicle, his account of the war with the English. It was to the following purport:—In the years 1186 and 87, the Kula-pyu, or white strangers of the West, fastened a quarrel upon the Lord of the Golden Palace. They landed at Rangoon, took that place and Prome, and were permitted to advance as far as Yandabo; for the King, from motives of piety and regard to life, made no effort whatever to oppose them. The strangers had spent vast sums of money in their enterprise; and by the time they reached Yandabo, their resources were exhausted, and they were in great distress. They petitioned the King, who, in his clemency and generosity, sent them large sums of money to pay their expenses back, and ordered them out of the country.'

The Sagaing range of mountains, which was visited by Mr. Crawford and Doctor Wallich, in the intervals between their political conferences, contains much interesting and beautiful scenery. Having reached the summit of a hill five hundred feet above the level of the Irrawaddi, the author observes:

'From this spot we had a noble prospect, embracing many reaches of the river, the towns of Amarapura, Ava, and Sagaing. On both sides of the Irrawaddi there are a number of lakes, which we had not observed before. The numerous temples formed a remarkable feature of the landscape. On the Sagang side alone I counted about two hundred, without being able to enumerate those on the northern part of the range which were concealed from view. This enumeration also excludes all the monasteries and zeyats, a kind of caravanseras, which are not only used for the accommodation of travellers, but also occasionally for religious purposes, such as preaching and disputations. In the dells and ravines of the range of hills, in very romantic and pretty situations, are to be found a great many Kyaungs, or monasteries. These secluded situations are chosen by the priests as favourable to study and meditation; but we saw several extensive ones which had been abandoned, and were told that this was in consequence of the numerous gangs of robbers that haunted the place; and who, from all accounts, were not disposed to respect even the sacred character of the Rabans.

'The view of the Sagaing hills themselves, as they are approached, is striking. Almost every remarkable peak is crowned with a temple, some ancient and mouldering, but the greater number in a state of repair and whitewashed. To a good number of these, the ascent from the very bottom of the hills is by a flight of stairs of solid masonry, with a wall on each side, to serve the purpose of

a ballustrade. These are but clumsily constructed; but, being whitewashed, this and their immense extent give them a very remarkable appearance.'—pp. 214, 215.

On the hill commanding the prospect just described was a temple, near which, fixed in the terrace, was an inscription in good preservation, upon a slab of sandstone. It was in the Burman language, with a slight intermixture of Pali, and purported that the temple had been erected about five hundred and fourteen years ago, by a nobleman, whose name it still bears. This method of obtaining immortality must greatly encourage the building of such sacred edifices; and may in some measure account for the immense number of them which Mr. Crawford found in this single range of mountains. In Hindoostan the temples erected by the piety of individuals, are frequently suffered to fall to ruins by the negligence of succeeding times; but the Burmese appear to keep these buildings in tolerably good repair, whether it be that more merit is here attached to the labour of reparation, or that the original founders take more care to provide for the future. Close to this monument of piety was a striking proof that there are persons among the Burmese to whom the Gods themselves are objects of contempt. This was a small temple, containing a large image of Gautama, which had been undermined by thieves in search of the silver images of the divinity of the place, and the sacred utensils of the temple, which are usually of considerable value. It appears that this kind of sacrilege is very common among the Burmese, though the punishment of the crime is death, and generally of the most cruel kind.

The following description and history of a temple, are curious and characteristic.

'Close to our dwelling there was the neatest temple which I had yet seen in the country. It was quite unique, being entirely built of hewn sandstone. The workmanship was neat, but the polished stone was most absurdly disfigured by being daubed over with whitewash. The temple itself is a solid structure, at the base of a square form, each face measuring about eighty-eight feet. It is surrounded by a court paved with large sandstone flags, and enclosed by a brick wall. At each corner of the area there is a large and handsome bell with an inscription. To the eastern face of the temple there are two open wooden sheds, each supported by thirty-eight pillars. These were among the richest things of the kind that I had seen in the country. The pillars, the carved work, the ceiling, the eaves, and a great part of the outer roof, were one blaze of gilding. In one of them only there was a good marble image of Gautama, of which the annexed plate is a faithful representation. Buildings of this description are called by the Burmans *Za-yat*, or, in more correct orthography, *Ja-rat*. Some of these are attached to temples, but others are on the public road. Their purpose is

both civil and religious. They constitute a kind of caravanseras, where travellers repose themselves. Votaries who repair to the temple to perform their devotions, use them as resting-places and refectories; and it is from them that the priests deliver their orations or discourses. On the west side of the temple there is a long, rudely constructed wooden shed, where are deposited the offerings made by the King and his family to the temple. These consist of two objects only, state palanquins and figures of elephants. The palanquins are the gifts of the late King's wives and concubines, bequeathed, by the will of the deceased, to the temple. It is among the superstitions of the royal family, that the houses and equipages of the individuals belonging to it cannot, as things too sacred, be used by others after their death. Their costly edifices are constantly allowed to go to decay, and their equipages are presented to the temples. The palanquins now alluded to are litters of immense size and weight, with two poles, and each requiring forty men to bear them. They are all richly gilt and carved, with a high wooden canopy over them. In each of those in the temple there was placed one or more large figures of Gautama or his disciples. The figures of elephants are about a foot and a half high, standing upon wooden pedestals. The material is wood gilt over, and the figure of the animal is very well preserved; for the Burmans pride themselves upon this, as we found when we submitted our drawings of the white elephant to them. These figures, which would be considered as good children's toys amongst us, are annually presented by the King, to the number, I believe, of four, and have increased now to a hundred and eighty, the accumulated donations of five-and-forty years. Why the gifts to this temple in particular consist of elephants, I was not able to learn. In another temple of Sagaing, which I visited a few days back, the greater number of the offerings consisted of small marble images of Buddha, not above fifteen inches high. Of these I counted not less than between three and four hundred.

‘On the river-face of the temple which I have now been describing, there are two large houses of brick and mortar of one story, with flat stone roofs, called Taik by the Burmans, and purporting to be in imitation of European dwellings. These are also considered Za-yats, or caravanseras. They are comfortless places as can be, the interior being so occupied with stone pillars, that there is hardly room to move about. These two buildings were occupied by the Cochin Chinese Mission in 1821, and were proposed for our accommodation; but we declined them, chiefly on account of their dampness and want of light.

‘The guardian Nat of the temple now described, is Tha-kyamen, or, more correctly, Sakya Men, or the Lord Sakya. He is, according to the Burmans, the second in power of the two Kings of the Nats. Of this personage there is in a small temple a standing

figure, in white marble, not however of a very good description, measuring not less than nine feet eleven inches high. The statue seems to be of one entire block.

‘I have been thus minute in describing the present temple, not only because it is a complete specimen of the best Burman modern architecture, but still more on account of the history of the building itself, which is extremely curious, and places the character of the Government in a very odious light. In a small vaulted building, within the area surrounding it, there is a handsome marble slab, with an inscription on both sides in the Pali character. From this it appears, that the temple is named *Aong-mre-lo-ka*; which, as far as I can understand, means the “ground or spot of victory;”—that it was built by the late King, in the year 1144 of Burman time, or 1782 of ours, being the second year of his reign;—that he endowed it with four hundred and thirty-seven slaves; and, that he fed and clothed five thousand priests on the occasion of its consecration. His Majesty, in the inscription, vaunts of his own wisdom and power; describes himself as master of one-fourth of the universe, meaning the whole terrestrial globe; and states that one hundred kings paid him homage. The authentic history of the foundation of the temple is less to his Majesty’s credit, and, in truth, paints him as an odious and unfeeling tyrant. He was the fourth son of *Alompra*, the founder of the present dynasty. His first and second brother, and his nephew, the son of the last, had respectively succeeded *Alompra*. *Maong-maong*, the son of the elder brother, had been excluded from the throne by his uncle, who first occupied it himself, and then left the succession to his own son, *Senku-sa*. *Men-ta-ra-gyi*, the founder of the temple, conspired against the son of his younger brother, raised the son of the elder brother to the throne, and in a few days seized the throne for himself, and caused his nephew, the legitimate successor of *Alompra*, to be drowned in the *Irrawaddi*. It was to consecrate such deeds as these that he built the costly temple which I have just described, and upon the very spot where his own house, as a prince, had stood, and from which he had commenced his successful rebellion. The persons made slaves were the unoffending inhabitants of the district allotted for subsistence, while a prince, to the nephew whom he had murdered. To make this picture of tyranny complete, it is necessary to understand what is the lot of those condemned to be slaves to a temple. They are reduced, hereditarily and for ever, to the same degraded rank in society as the *Chandalas*, or burners of the dead. They cannot intermarry with the rest of the people, nor indeed in almost any manner associate with them, and few persons will even condescend to sit down and eat with them. This is a fair sample of the united effects of despotism and superstition among the Burmans.’—pp. 227—230.

With this specimen of Burmese manners we conclude our notice of Mr. Crawford’s valuable and interesting volume.

ASIATIC JOURNAL.—EXAMINATION OF AN ARTICLE ON THE  
EAST INDIA AND CHINA TRADE.

THE facts and arguments elicited in the debate, on the 14th of May, by Mr. Whitmore's motion for a committee to inquire into the state of the trade between Great Britain, the East Indies, and China, have produced an effect upon public opinion, as alarming to the supporters of Monopoly as it is gratifying and encouraging to the friends of commercial freedom. This preliminary agitation in parliament, of a question which exceeds all others in extent, variety, complexity, and importance, has excited a spirit, almost universal, of curiosity and inquiry. Among all classes of men, in all ranks of life in which knowledge and education are to be found, the injury inflicted on this country by the Monopoly, of the East India Company, has become the subject of daily complaint and lamentation. At length it seems to be understood and acknowledged that there is no species of industrious occupation, the prosperity of which is not in some degree retarded by the impolitic restrictions on British intercourse with Asia. The necessity of counteracting the avowed hostility of the American System, announced in the Tariffs of 1824, and 28, and the impossibility of retaliation while the full development of Indian resources is impeded, have sunk deep into the minds of all who are interested in that important branch of national industry, the cotton manufacture, which has attained, during the last twenty years, such prodigious extension; the people of Manchester and of Glasgow, the ship owners of Liverpool, Bristol, and Belfast, the manufacturers of Leeds and Birmingham, and Sheffield, have all supported the prayer of the petitions, presented by Mr. Whitmore, by unqualified spontaneous attestations of the injustice done to them by the continuance of the present system.

It was to be expected that a great corporation of chartered Monopolists, who, though not really rich, have abundance of anticipated means at their disposal, would not want advocates and apologists in so dangerous a crisis. The Playfairs and the Robertsons—the first with some candour and no knowledge, the second with some knowledge and little candour—started into life, armed, as they conceived, at all points, to prove, that things as they exist are right, that the Monopoly is good for England and good for India, and that the Company deserve the gratitude and admiration of mankind! Of Mr. Robertson, after the notice taken of him in July, it is hardly necessary to speak; we have paid as much attention in our present number to the antiquities of Mr. Playfair, as his wonderful inadvertencies deserve, and we are now about to make a few remarks on the composing opiate prepared by 'The Asiatic Journal,' to allay the disquiet and apprehensions which all



this turmoil and agitation has occasioned to the inmates and visitors of the house in Leadenhall-Street. It is indeed high time that our contemporary should bestir himself to retrieve the desperate condition of his masters' affairs—

Hostis habet muros ruit alta à culmine Troja.

The pledge of early and extensive inquiry into the affairs of the Company—and the condition of India, given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, has struck terror into the hearts of numberless well-meaning respectable people, who foolishly imagine their 1000*l.* or 2000*l.* India stock give them an interest in the continuance of Eastern oppression. These good folks look upon Mr. Crawford and Mr. Whitmore, and Mr. Rickards and Mr. Huskisson, as so many disaffected unprincipled incendiaries, who would pilfer their dividends if they could, and unless there appear in the list of contents some attempt to fabricate apologies for these silly prejudices, the tables of numerous libraries from Wapping to Park Lane would soon cease to be decorated with the recreating verdure of 'The Asiatic Journal.'

We sincerely commiserate the condition of those who, delighting in the calm tranquil enjoyments of literary and scientific pursuits, are thus dragged *volentes volentes* into the bustle and confusion of political strife; we are aware how painful it is for men, whom long familiarity in a bad cause has enabled to discern its iniquity, to rack their invention for arguments which they know to be fallacious; to stoop to the meanness of imposing on the credulity of indolence by a pompous parade of figures, irrelevant or inconclusive; to apply epithets of taunt and reproach to the most respectable and honourable names; to discredit the petitions of the Liverpool and Bristol merchants, by illiberal recollections of the views taken by their ancestors of the slave trade, and confounding the manufacturers of Manchester with the destroyers of their looms! These are the last resources, the violent convulsions of effete and worn-out partizans, who having undertaken a task above their strength, are pledged to prove what the experience of each successive month suffices to confute. They may be good evidences of zeal, but they are fatal to all character for discretion. The thing was better done in the days of Mr. Grant. His urbanity did not detract from the cogency of his arguments, and we are at a loss to understand why hard names should be applied to the advocates of principles repeatedly urged by the king's ministers on the attention of the Directors, the recognition of which has been declared essential to the interests of British commerce, by committees of both Houses of Parliament.

It is not our intention to follow the writer of the article on the East India and China trade, through the superfluous accessories by which he has contrived to distract attention from the real points at issue between the free traders and the Company. Those points were in succession, and at length, treated in our pages long before

the discussion in the House of Commons ; they have since been ably condensed and embodied in speeches, at various public meetings throughout the country ; and to Mr. Whitmore and Mr. Huskisson, we are indebted for their lucid exposition in that place, where alone, general attention can be drawn to matters of public concern. Why wait to detect imaginary errors in the statement of Mr. Whitmore, when the works of Bishop Heber, of Messrs. Rickards and Crawford, invited and challenged refutation ? Let the conductors of 'The Asiatic Journal' disprove, if they can, the rapid increase of our exports and imports since the permission of the private trade ; let them show that the inhabitants of China, and the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, entertain those prejudices against articles of foreign manufacture, which once were fabled of the Hindoos ; let them refute the alleged injury to our shipping interests, by American Monopoly of the carrying trade between Asia and Europe, and prove that this misfortune is not attributable to the restraints upon the China trade, and the traffic in tea ; when they have done this service to their patrons, we may be disposed to give them credit for any ingenuity displayed in discovering the incidental inaccuracies of speeches and reports.

The charges advanced against Mr. Whitmore, by the writer of the article on the East India and China trade, are reducible to the following propositions. Firstly, that he mis-stated the condition of the India and China trades antecedent to the last renewal of the Charter. Secondly, that he borrowed from the Glasgow petition, or the Memorial of the Liverpool Association, an untrue comparison of the prices of tea in England, with those in the markets of foreign Europe and America ; and Thirdly, that he treated the question as one entirely commercial, not looking to the East India Company as a peculiar engine for the government of a mighty territory. To avoid all suspicion of misrepresentation, we insert the statement of Mr. Whitmore, and the arguments of 'The Asiatic Journal,' as we find them.

'It is not extraordinary (said Mr. Whitmore) that gentlemen connected with the East India Company, should endeavour to give currency to these notions ; nor is it perhaps surprising, that they should even contrive to bring their minds to this conclusion : it was quite natural that they should conceive it must be a losing trade, inasmuch as from 1793 to 1813, the Company had lost to the extent of about 4,000,000*l.* by it ; in short, from first to last, at that time, and from persons interested in the continuance of the Charter, it was argued that the trade to India was an injury instead of a benefit. Looking at the previous falling off in the trade, from impediments thrown in the way of it, perhaps they were in some degree justified in taking this unfavourable, though false, view of the subject. I trust that the House will allow me to refer to the state

of that trade a short time antecedent to the renewal of the Company's Charter; first noticing the gradual falling off in the trade, and then contrasting it with the rapid extension of it, from the time it was made free. From 1790 to 1796, it was 2,520,000*l.*; from 1796 to 1801, it was 2,342,000*l.*; from 1802 to 1807, it had decreased to 2,153,000*l.*; and from 1808 to 1812, it was only 1,748,000*l.*? The charter having been renewed in 1813, the produce of the trade from 1814 to 1819, was 2,118,000*l.*; from 1820 to 1826, it ascended to 4,877,000*l.*; and in 1827, it rose to 5,891,000*l.* The House will not fail to remark during the first period, that is, up to the year 1813, the gradual diminution of the trade, and during the last, from 1814 to 1817, its constant and rapid augmentation; so that the predictions in which some indulged, as to the impossibility of extension,\* were founded upon misapprehension and miscalculation.' So far Mr. Whitmore; now for 'The Asiatic Journal.'

'But admitting, it may be said that much of the increase in the trade to India since the last renewal of the Charter is fictitious, it has certainly increased to some extent. No doubt; and it had been increasing for many years before, in spite of the assertions made to the contrary. It is one of the artifices and uncandid modes of argument adopted by the adversaries of the East India Company, to cull items and institute comparisons between periods which do not show the real state of the facts. It is part of Mr. Whitmore's case, that whilst the trade was confined to the Company, it was stationary or deteriorating.' What are the facts? Mr. Milburn, a writer upon whom Mr. Whitmore confidently relies, gives the following statement of the Company's exports (exclusive of bullion) and imports for 102 years, from 1708-9 to 1809-10, founded, as all his statements are, upon official documents, uniform in their rates of valuation.

Periods.	Merchandise exported from England.	Average.	Merchandise imported into England.	Average.
	£.	£.	£.	£.
26 Years, 1708-9 to 1733-4 ..	3,064,774	117,876	33,571,709	1,291,219
32 — 1734-5 — 1765-6 ..	8,434,769	263,586	64,452,377	2,014,136
27 — 1766-7 — 1792-3 ..	16,454,016	609,408	101,383,792	3,754,955
17 — 1793-4 — 1809-10 ..	31,060,752	1,827,103	102,737,954	6,043,409

'Mr. Milburn adds, that in the last ten years, the Company's exports amounted to 21,413,807*l.*, or, upon an average, 2,141,380*l.* per annum, whereof, he says, "more than one-half consisted of the staple manufacture of the country, woollens." Thus, in the interval between the first and second periods, the exports had increased 175 per cent.; between the second and third periods, they made a further advance upon the former increase of 95 per cent.; and in

\* Vide 'Oriental Herald,' vol. 21, p. 573.

the interval between the third and last (the shortest) period, there was a further increase upon the last of almost 200 per cent. ! The imports increased nearly in a geometrical ratio in each interval. Where Mr. Whitmore obtained his figures, which represent the Company's exports as gradually diminishing in amount since 1790, we cannot imagine, unless from the mendacious report put forth by the Liverpool East India Association, which has misled many others. We quote our authority ; and if that be correct, as we sincerely believe it is, we have only to charge Mr. Whitmore with committing a very important and fundamental error, but we are entitled to retort his argument, and tell him that, according to his principle, the country has been a loser by the free trade, which has not increased the exports to India from this country, notwithstanding our boasted improvements, in the same ratio as they augmented antecedently to the opening of the trade.'

We do not remember to have met so apt an illustration of the truth, that 'all seems yellow in a jaundiced eye,' as is contained in this futile endeavour to confute what is unanswerably true. The object of Mr. Whitmore was, to show that, since the relaxation of the charter, the trade to India had increased in a much greater ratio than it had done for many years before. Whether the trade of the Company had, antecedent to that time, been stationary or progressive, was a point respecting which an impression might be stated ; but, in truth, of little consequence, when the prodigious increase indicated by the returns from 1814 to 1819, formed part of the estimate. Mr. Whitmore, however, did assert, that previously to 1813, the Company's trade to India had gradually decreased ; and the writer in '*The Asiatic Journal*,' carefully avoiding the real merits of the case, eagerly joins issue on this introductory allegation. 'To us it appears extremely immaterial whether the figures, said to be taken from Mr. Milburn's work on Oriental commerce, be accurately or inaccurately cited. We are very far from affirming that the latter is the case, though we candidly acknowledge, that, after a very diligent search, we have been unable to find them. To say the truth, our suspicions were excited by the assurance of the writer's 'sincere belief' in their correctness,'—a sort of voucher for authenticity which stimulates incredulity, and makes one wish for those marginal references to official documents, which are the best evidence of statistical statements. To these we have had recourse, and we find, in the first volume of the *East India Papers*, published in 1812, by order of the House of Commons, an account of exports to India on account of the Company, from 1757 to 1792, which we confess our incompetence to reconcile with the figures attributed to Mr. Milburn. This account is dated '*East India House, 12th May, 1812*,' and signed '*Charles Cartwright*,' but not having room to insert it at length, we abridge it on a principle which, we trust, is not liable to the imputation of 'culling items, and instituting comparisons, between periods which do not show the state of the facts.'

Years.	Bullion.	Merchandize.	Total.
1757	£246,750	£252,974	£493,724
1767	.....	441,663	441,663
1777	10,828	362,988	373,816
1787	54,872	305,787	360,659
1792	10,943	351,042	361,985
	1,593,822	13,202,601	14,796,423

Now, if this account be 'correct,' (as we sincerely believe it to be) the East India Company have little cause to boast of the increase of their exports previous to 1792-3. In truth, they have always made a merit of an annual sacrifice for the encouragement of British trade and manufactures, and have repeatedly contended, that their exclusive admission to the markets of India and China was more injurious than beneficial.\* To be sure, the arguments employed by the advocates of the Company, adapt themselves to the altered condition of things with wonderful flexibility. Previous to 1813, when it was thought prudent to discourage the prospects of the free traders, document on document was produced, to prove the commercial losses of the Company; now that experience has realized the anticipations of the private merchants, their chartered competitors disavow their former assertions.

We do not know, any more than 'The Asiatic Journal,' where Mr. Whitmore obtained his figures representing the Company's exports as diminishing in amount from 1793 to 1813, nor have we taken much trouble to inquire. We have, however, no doubt of their substantial accuracy; and the following statement of exports from the port of London to British India, in the nine years ending in 1811, sufficiently justifies Mr. Whitmore's assertion, that the Company's trade was in a state of languor and depression:—

Years.	Merchandize.	Bullion.	Total.
1802-3	£1,927,404	£725,729	£2,653,133
1803-4	1,512,577	1,550,788	3,093,365
1804-5	1,428,241	1,023,626	2,451,867
1805-6	1,359,851	1,801,496	3,161,347
1806-7	1,990,940	1,504,659	3,495,599
1807-8	2,005,888	167,781	2,173,669
1808-9	1,674,974	372,037	2,047,011
1809-10	1,700,196	19,666	1,719,862
1810-11	* 1,873,876	36,488	1,910,364
Total.	15,503,947	7,202,270	22,706,217

\* Evidence of Mr. Grant, before the Committee of the Lords, in 1821-22.

Leaving these statements to speak for themselves, we come to an ingenious hypothesis, which, as the Americans say, would be very 'important if true,' but, not being true, is of no importance whatsoever. We are told, that if the amount of the Company's trade, the exports of cotton manufactures, and of twist and yarn, be deducted from the total consignments to the East Indies and China, in the year ending 5th January, 1829, the free traders would only have exported 2,063,653*l.* worth of British and foreign goods, which is less than the amount of goods exported from England by the Company in any year between 1802 and 1810! Very possibly. 'As to porter,' said the Irishman in the Orators, 'if it was n't for the hops and the malt, I'd as lieve drink Thames water.' This principle of deduction will explain anything: if we subtract the exports of the East India Company, and 'The Asiatic Journal' subtract the exports of the private traders, there will then be no exports at all! The facts, however, are directly the reverse. In the first place, the exports of merchandize by the East India Company did not, in any one year from 1802 to 1828, amount to so large a sum as 2,063,653*l.* 2*dly.* In addition to that amount of hardware and woollen goods, the free traders alone, by the confession of 'The Asiatic Journal,' have exported, during the last year, twist and yarn to the value of 393,135*l.*, and cotton manufactures to the amount of 1,656,755*l.*, thus proving, to demonstration, the falsehood of the accounts by which the advocates of the Company, in 1813, attempted to impose on Parliament and the country.

The writer in 'The Asiatic Journal' is also much dissatisfied with Mr. Whitmore's account of the Company's trade to China, and his endeavour to refute it is equally unsuccessful:—

'The honourable Member sets out with stating, that the export trade of the Company to China has gradually declined since 1801. Here again we regret that he has not afforded us some clue to the authorities for his figures. The official accounts \* laid before Parliament this Session and the last (we believe, upon the motion of Mr. Whitmore himself), contain the following statement of the East India Company's exports from England to China:—

Year ending 5th January, 1824	. . .	£708,017
1825	. . .	612,139
1826	. . .	744,858
1827	. . .	852,030
1828	. . .	493,315
1829	. . .	863,494

'That this statement, in which the last year is the largest of the series, shows a progressive decline, we may, without much boldness, deny; but Mr. Whitmore, as usual, suppresses a fact very

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\* 'Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 10th and 17th June, 1828, and 28th April, 1829.'

material for the proper understanding of the matter at issue. He has not even alluded to the Company's exports from India to China, which not only greatly enhance the aggregate amount of their exports, but explain an apparent falling off in any particular year. Thus the reader will doubtless be struck with the small amount of the exports in the year ending 5th January, 1828 : in that very year, the Company shipped from India to China 158,000 bales of cotton, which must have been worth alone upwards of a million sterling !'

This passage commences with an expression of regret that the authorities, which attest the fact of a decrease in the Company's China trade since 1801, were not cited by Mr. Whitmore. We confess we are inclined to think that the writer knew very well where they might be found, seeing the research he has employed in collecting the items of a period, which seemed to him more easily convertible to his fraudulent purpose. If he will take the trouble to consult the evidence of Mr. Charles Grant, before the Lords' Committee in 1820-21,\* he may there find an account of the total annual value of British produce and manufactures exported to China from 1793 to 1819, from which it appears, that in the years 1802, 1803, 1804, respectively, the imports at Canton were 3,421,787, 3,259,808, and 4,249,691 tales; that in 1819, they had decreased to 1,851,369 tales; and, taking the tale at 6s. 8d., the figures of 'The Asiatic Journal' present no augmentation since that time. But, secondly, supposing the returns of exports from 1824 to 1829 admissible, as they stand above, they surely would prove nothing more than that the trade, during that time, had been stationary. The asserted shipments of *cotton wool* from Surat, or the Hooghly, in 1828, is totally irrelevant to a question in which the amount of British manufactures exported is the subject of consideration. We, however, should be little inclined to insist upon the fractions in this account, which might appear to indicate a progressive decline, had not our contemporary set us the example. The comparison is unfairly made : the items are craftily culled, to deceive and delude those readers whose indolence might be satisfied by a glance at the first and last years of the series; add the amount of exports in the three years preceding 1821, and the juggle is exposed. The value † of exports in the years 1821, 1822, 1823, respectively, were 747,036*l.*, 864,160*l.*, 669,489*l.*, exhibiting, in 1822, a greater amount than in 1829, 'the largest,' says the writer, 'on record.'

The next charge against Mr. Whitmore is, that he quoted Milburn in confirmation of his opinion that there was no country with which trade could be so easily carried on as with China. 'We have looked diligently,' says the writer, 'through Milburn's valuable work without being able to discover any such passage, or any passage at all like this declaration, which would indeed be a

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\* 'Oriental Herald,' vol. xx. p. 386.

† Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, in 1824.

curiosity, seeing that the author has in several places expatiated on the peculiar difficulties which beset trade in China. We happen to know from the late Mr. Milburn's own oral observations, that he could not have entertained the opinion ascribed to him." Be that as it may, if the writer will refer to pp. 454 and 455, of 'Milburn's Oriental Commerce,'\* he may there find the passages in question. After stating that the external commerce of Canton is very considerable, and remarking on that carried on by the Company, the Country Traders, the French, Dutch, Portuguese, Swedes, Spaniards, and Americans, Mr. Milburn says, 'The commerce of Canton, immense as it is, is carried on with an astonishing regularity, and in no part of the world can business be transacted with so much ease and dispatch to the foreign merchant.' In another place he says, 'The commanders of all European ships are allowed, as a great favour, to wear a flag in their boats, which prevents them being stopped at the hoppo or custom houses, of which there are several between Whampoa and Canton; but all other boats, whether belonging to ships, or the Chinese, must have a chop, which is renewed in every custom house in their way up to Canton.' Again: 'The principal street in the suburbs of Canton, is denominated China street; it contains nothing but shops, in which are to be met with the productions of every part of the globe, and the merchants are in general extremely civil and attentive.' We are not at all anxious to set up these statements of Mr. Milburn against those of Sir George Staunton and other gentlemen, whose testimony is above suspicion, and whose opportunities of forming a correct opinion have been more extensive. That the jealousy and distrust of a semi-barbarous government, alarmed by the excesses of drunken, ill-disciplined seamen, have occasionally thrown impediments in the way of commerce with the English, cannot be denied; but neither Sir George Staunton, nor any one else, we believe, has ever contended that the Chinese people are opposed to amicable and advantageous intercourse with other nations. The toleration of the Portuguese at Macao; the prosperity of the trade of the United States, and the extent of the Indian Country trade, all discredit the pretended inhospitality of the Chinese to strangers who visit their ports. In the evidence taken before the House of Lords in 1820, 21, it is expressly stated by Mr. Goodard and Mr. Crawford, that among the Chinese population scattered over the Eastern Archipelago, foreign manufactures are in eager demand, and it is well known that the Junks annually import large quantities into China, from Singapore and Batavia. The most conclusive fact, however, is the traffic in British manufactures, carried on through the deserts of Tartary at Kiakta, than which the annals of trade attest no more conclusive illustration of the efforts which mercan-

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\* Published by Kingsbury, Parbury and Allen, in 1825.



tile enterprise will make to break through the fetters of commercial monopoly.

Having thus disposed of the first article of the charge against Mr. Whitmore, we proceed to the second—the alleged misrepresentation of the comparative prices of teas in England, and foreign states.\* On the presentation of a petition from Liverpool on the 12th May, by Mr. Huskisson, Mr. Astell, the Deputy Chairman of the Company, pledged himself to prove that teas were not only not dearer in England, but infinitely cheaper and better than on the Continent. The House seemed startled by this specimen of official intrepidity, until Mr. Huskisson very coolly suggested a test by which the relative accuracy of the conflicting statements might be easily ascertained. 'If the Hon. Gentleman (said he) thinks that teas can be got much cheaper and better in this country than on the Continent, will he have the goodness to do what he and the East India Company alone can do—to grant some of my constituents licence to bring teas from the Continent? If he will give that license, I can assure the hon. member, that those very foolish persons, on whose behalf I presented the petition, will most cheerfully bring a very considerable portion of teas from the Continent, and would be ready to run the risk of having teas of cheaper price and superior quality sold by the East India Company.' This reply was perfectly satisfactory to every one but Mr. Astell, and there the matter rested for that evening. On the next, Mr. Whitmore's motion came on, when expressing his astonishment at the statement of the Deputy Chairman of the Company the night before, he said—'Such an assertion I believe to be totally incorrect, and if we once enter into an investigation of the subject, I am sure we should never hear any more such. On the important part of this question, relative to the price of tea, I hope I may be permitted to read some statements. The quantity of tea put up to sale last year was 31,280,000lbs., which was sold for 4,250,000*l.* Now if the same amount of tea had been put up to sale at Hamburg, it would be sold for only 1,440,000*l.*, at the current price of tea in that market. This, exclusive of duty, makes a difference in the price of that amount of tea in England, as compared with the Continent, of 2,874,000*l.* But it is alleged that our tea is of a superior quality. I doubt the fact very much; for judging by all the sources of information that are open to me, the quality of tea is quite as good on the Continent, and in America, as in England. But if I make a large allowance on this account, if I suppose there is a difference in the quality of the tea, and make a deduction for it, still it is clear there is a tax on the people of England of upwards of 2,000,000*l.* annually, in order to carry on a trade which has not augmented at the rate of 400 per cent. as the partially opened trade

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\* 'Oriental Herald,' vol. xxi. p. 576.

to India has done, but which has diminished forty or fifty per cent. in the course of a few years. It is utterly impossible that such a system can continue. It is so monstrous—so utterly at variance with all the principles of free trade, and with all the principles of common sense, that it cannot last for any length of time.

Such was the statement of Mr. Whitmore in the House of Commons, and to it Mr. Astell made no reply. 'The Asiatic Journal,' sensible that those proprietors of stock who take an interest in the character of the Company, would expect a refutation on the 1st of June, boldly undertook a task, to which the Deputy Chairman by his silence confessed himself incompetent. "We are told (said the writer), that we pay so high for tea in comparison with the Continent of Europe and America, that we must be defrauded by the Company." Mr. Whitmore tells us, that about *three millions sterling* is taken out of the pockets of the people, in the single article of tea, to support the Monopoly of the East India Company. This part of the question affords scope for many mis-statements. In the petition from the merchants, bankers, manufacturers, and other inhabitants of Glasgow, it is asserted, that 'the consequence of the Company's exclusive privileges, has been to enable the said Company, for many years, to dispose of tea at double the prices at which a similar quality can be had at any of the continental ports of Europe, or of the United States of America.' This audacious mis-statement shows that petitioners to parliament assume to themselves a perfect impunity of allegation.

We are not prepared to deny that there have been occasionally exaggerated statements respecting the comparative prices of tea in the markets of England and foreign states. Whether the amount of tax wrung by the Monopoly from the country be two millions or three millions per annum, appears to us to have very little effect upon the merits of the argument. Two millions is enough in all conscience. Mr. Whitmore's moderation confined him to that sum, and we believe the truth to be, that it has fluctuated between two and three millions, according to the vicissitudes of the prices abroad, and the prudence of the Company at home. Since the publication of the Report of the Liverpool Association, the writer of which, the advocates of the Company can neither forget nor forgive, the prices at the East India sales have been discreetly subjected to gradual reduction. We should not be much surprised if they decline still more before the expiration of the Charter. Whether they rise or fall is a mere question, at the India House, of policy and expediency. They would lower them at once if Mr. Astell thought it might suit an argument to be brought forward this time next year; and in truth, cheapness or dearness in Leadenhall-Street is not in the least degree influenced by the relative state of the supply and demand, or by any of the ordinary principles of traffic.

The writer in 'The Asiatic Journal,' by picking among the averages and the qualities of a New York Price Current, has contrived to make the quotations of tea in that city for April last, approximate to those of the sales at the India House. It is very possible that a single American price current may give colour to his mis-statements, for in America the prices are regulated by the supply and demand. But why go to America to refute allegations respecting Europe? The question raised in the House of Commons between Messrs. Huskisson and Whitmore, and Mr. Astell, related to Europe; and it is illogical and uncandid of the writer in 'The Asiatic Journal,' to 'cull' one sheet from a file of American price currents, and then justify, by reference to its quotations, his assertion that the two first gentlemen had garbled the facts. Had he been disposed to place this matter in its proper light, he would have referred his readers to the accounts recently received from his Majesty's consuls abroad, the existence of which he could scarcely have been ignorant of, and which support Mr. Whitmore to the full extent of his statement. These advices are perfectly conclusive, and need no commentary.

## PRICES OF TEA IN LONDON, JUNE 26.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Bohea . . . . .	1	6	to	1	10
Congou . . . . .	2	1	to	3	6
Souchong . . . . .	2	4	to	3	9
Campor . . . . .	1	11	to	2	2
Twankay . . . . .	2	2	to	3	6
Pekoe . . . . .	3	6	to	5	5
Hyson Skin . . . . .	2	1	to	3	6
Hyson . . . . .	3	8	to	5	5
Young Hyson . . . . .	3	10	to	1	0
Gunpowder . . . . .	5	0	to	6	0

KINDS	HAMBURGH.		LUBICK		BREMEN	
	Prices		Prices		Prices	
	British Money Pence sterling per Pound		British Money Pence sterling per Pound		British Money Pence sterling per Pound.	
	Wholesale.		Retail.		Wholesale.	Retail.
Bohea ....	5	to 7 1-8	—		9½ to 10	13½
Congou ...	8	1-4 to 10 5-16	11 to 22		11½ to 15	19½ to 20
Campor ...	8	1-2 to 12 1-8	18 to 25		11½ to 15	—
Souchong..	5	1-8 to 15 7-16	13 to 36		11 to 15	—
Hyson Skin	6	5-16 to 12 13-16	16 to 29		11½ to 16½	16½ to 23½
Twankay..	7	9-16 to 15 3-8	20 to 25		—	—
Yng. Hyson	9	1-8 to 16 3-4	22 to 36		13½ to 23½	—
Hyson ....	22	1-16 to 32 3-8	36 to 63		33 to 35	40 to 43½
Gunpowder	28	7-16 to 33 11-16	43 to 72		36 to 40	46½ to 53½
Pecco ....	34	11-16 to 55 1-8	58 to 126		33 to 100	53½ to 120

The duty on importation at Hamburg, is one and one-sixth per cent. sterling; ditto, on exportation, one-tenth per cent. sterling.

\* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 1829.

The duty on importation at Lubeck is one half per cent. *ad valorem* : ditto, on exportation, three-quarters per cent. to Russia, one-half per cent. to all other places.

The duty on importation at Bremen is one half per cent. on invoice value, including freight and insurance ; ditto, on exportation, one-third per cent. on the given value.

HENRY CANNING, Consul-General.\*

\* *Hamburg, Jan. 16, 1829.*

We now come to the last charge against Mr. Whitmore, *viz.*, that he confined himself to the commercial question, without adverting to the political considerations with which it is involved—a charge well enough calculated to confuse the ignorant or ill-informed, than which, however, none more unfounded or preposterous could by perverse ingenuity be devised. It is advanced with all that affectation of sententious gravity, in which men labouring under the ‘*inopia rerum*,’ and habituated to deception, are accustomed to dress up their innane inventions.

‘We shall only remark further of Mr. Whitmore’s speech, that he has treated the question entirely as one of a commercial character, not looking to the East India Company as a peculiar engine for the government of a mighty territory. It is not fair thus to disjoin their two characters and functions ; for whatsoever opinion may be entertained of the commercial policy of the Company, as rulers of India, they stand in the fairest light. Mr. Whitmore thought proper not to weaken his invective by any compliment to the existing government of India, but there was scarcely another opponent of the Company, on that occasion, who displayed so much stoicism. Mr. Baring prognosticated that when the question should fairly come before that House and the country, full justice would be done to their liberal and enlightened system of administration, which would, he observed, bear a comparison with that of any other Government ; and Sir Charles Forbes remarked, that it was a matter of congratulation to the Natives of India, that they were under the Company’s government, rather than the King’s.’

‘Not fair to disjoin their two characters and functions !’ No greater indulgence can be shewn them. It is in the folds and creases of their ambiguous nature, that their worst qualities may be detected. Whether there be a fallacy in the theory, that commercial bodies cannot govern nations, we shall not take on ourselves to pronounce. It is a question on which our experience furnishes us with nothing decisive. Burke has said, that he had known merchants with the abilities of great statesmen, and statesmen with the capacity of pedlars. There have been men in the Direction, and are now in the service of the Company, by whose hands the

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\* See also a letter from Alexander Ferner, Esq. Consul at Rotterdam, to John Backhouse, Esq.

rod of empire would not be swayed ingloriously. With the exception of occasional instances of personal wickedness, which stand in bold, salient relief, and at which all men have shuddered, no greater injustice could be perpetrated, than to charge on individual members of the Company, the enormities of its corporate excesses. The worst that can be said of the Proprietors of East India stock, is, that they are criminally indifferent to the condition of the country from which their incomes are derived; reckless, through habit and example, of the intolerable wretchedness of their prostrate subjects; heedless of the high charge committed by Providence to their keeping, so long as punctual payments are distilled from blood, which is 'withheld from the veins, and whipt out of the backs of the most miserable of men.' For the Directors, it is a poor plea to say that they administer a bad system well. *That* merit they have, if merit it be; but it has been a system of shifts and expedients, of palliations and embarrassments, of impotent injunction and daring disobedience, in which all the low, sordid, disgraceful subterfuges of insolvent principals and needy agents have weakened, discredited, and debased the exalted functions of supreme dominion. No gain too paltry, no craft too vile, to excite the cupidity of sovereign envy and competition. Cities, once more 'opulent than Tyre or Sidon,' have become the receptacles of wild beasts—the monuments of royal munificence are dilapidated or thrown down—the children of mighty princes enslaved to upstart tradesmen—the peasant waylaid by monopoly in the fields—the industrious weaver driven from the loom—and Nature recoils at the destiny of the Molungee, the prey of tigers in the salterns of Bengal. Evils of this flagrant and atrocious character exist, and have existed for years. They are not the work of the present generation, the consciences of living men are not harrowed by the recollection of their cause, but there they are, in hideous, horrible deformity, trophies of the unchecked cruelty, of distant delegated tyranny, of the pitiless lust of avarice, and the inexorable obduracy of rapacity. It is the duty of the Directors, harassed by pecuniary distress at home, to avow their incompetence to introduce order, where all is chaos and confusion; to repair the calamities of fifty years of unbridled oppression; it is their duty to warn Parliament and the country of the alienation, and disaffection which, though now brooding in sullen pride on recollections of ancient grandeur, are cherished by a haughty race of high-born nobles, and may before the breaking of a few monsoons, involve Asia in war, and Europe in consternation. This duty they will not perform, and for their neglect we arraign them as enemies to their country and their king.

But is it true, as now insinuated, that the discontent of which we aver the prevalence and intensity, is, in the minds in which it rankles, gratuitous or unaccountable? Has power, originally seized with violence, been employed with clemency?

Are the rulers of Hindoostan just? Is the Company honoured? Are the people happy? Happy! all slurred with the suspicion of native origin are, to a man, proscribed. No lustration can efface the stain—no sacrament absolve the sin! Oh for the tongues of those illustrious ornaments of the last century, who by the manly, fearless exercise of their transcendent talents, well-nigh sealed a charter of happiness for India—of Sheridan, by whose genius all who could warm in the vindication of innocence, or weep at a tale of distress, were excited and subdued—of Burke, by whose capacious mind ‘all the ends of the earth were compassed,’ who expounded the duties of kings to subjects, forced the claims of subjects on their kings, and exposed the habitual, systematic, disregard in India, of the faith, by which the moral elements of the world are bound—of Fox, whose indefatigable energy sought no resting-place, knew no repose, while wrongs were unredressed or rights denied, who, strong in the denunciation of abstract injustice, was more than mortal in his patronage of persecuted weakness; who, disdaining the distinctions of sect and creed, clime and colour, birth and station, embraced, with equal ardour and enthusiasm, the cause of freedom on the banks of Thames, of Niger, or of Ganges. The magic of their eloquence would have scattered the mists of distance and obscurity which hide India from our view. They would have introduced us to the drudge of the English Durbar, to learn from the fall of illustrious dynasties, and the mendicant destitution of the magnates and blood-royal of an emptied and embowelled land—the vanity of all earthly pride, the deplorable vicissitudes of human greatness, the awful insecurity of trust betrayed! They would have shown us the representatives of potent princes, the descendants of the Stuarts, the Tudors, and Plantagenets of India, bending with bated breath and whispering humbleness, craving protection, grateful for the smile of foreign satraps, whom their fathers would have esteemed too much honoured by being ranked with the dogs of their flocks. They would have told us to mark the unsubdued spirit, the dignified resignation of venerable age, the reluctant salem of the daring and the young. These are the grandsons of Rajahs and Nawabs beggared by our extortions, or hugged by our kindness to death—the clamants of hereditary Jaghires and Zumeendarries in the North—the Percys and the Gordons of Bengal—or the lawless captains of predatory hordes—the fierce chieftains of the tribes of Mewar and Malwah—the unconquered Polygars of the South, all cursing the credulity of their progenitors, impatient of subjection, burning for revenge, all longing, with the Prince of Hyderabad, for the time when every true believer shall grasp a handful of earth, to overwhelm and bury the infidels.

But is not this the just vengeance of humanity long tortured by the ancestors of these conquered lords? Though our yoke be burthensome to the proud, is it galling to the humble?

Have we no security in the terror of our arms, or the grateful acknowledgments of the people? The troops that line the hall of audience, and the vestibule of the palace, are they not faithful and attached?—Witness the mutiny at Ava, the tragedy at Barrackpore. —Enter the courts of judicature, are not the ministers of the temple pure? Are the poor the victims of the law's delay? Has wealth a monopoly of justice?—On the bench are beardless boys ignorant of the language, without habits or sympathy with the Natives. Below, from the Amlah to the meanest minister of village vexation, all is bribery and peculation, and fraud and plunder. But the plains of India, on which nature's bounty is so profusely poured, do not they wave with luxuriant harvests? Has not cultivation been improved by English skill and ingenuity? Does not the independent aspect of a bold peasantry compensate for the pale, wan, sunken cheek of the famished artizan, who begs a mouthful of rice amid the ruins of desolated cities? Here, again, necessity, distress, and embarrassment are at war with the duty of the rulers. An engine of taxation, of unparalleled severity and extortion, supplies the insatiate cravings of their treasury; fleeced by the Curnums and the Tehsildars, by usurious Tucawee on compulsory advances, by the arbitrary violence of extents, nothing is left to the ryot but a bare sufficiency for the re-production of revenue. Crowds of the miserable population are seen to sally into the fields at night, to devour the green blades of corn or rice, as they shoot above the surface—to implore the privilege of working in chains upon the roads—to pick the undigested grains of food from the dung of elephants and of camels!\*

'In the early stages of the process by which this dreadful state of things was caused, every man of rank and landed fortune having been fast extinguished, the last cultivator who grows to the soil, after having his back scored by the farmer, was again flayed by the whip of his assignee, and thus by a ravenous, because a short-lived succession of claimants, lashed from oppressor to oppressor, † whilst a single drop of blood was left as the means of extorting a single grain of corn. Men of respectable condition, men equal to our substantial English yeomen, were daily tied up and scourged, to answer the multiplied demands of various contending and contradictory titles, all issuing from one and the same source. Tyrannous exactions brought on servile concealment, and that again called forth tyrannous coercion. They moved in a circle mutually producing and produced, till at length nothing of humanity was left in the Government, no trace of integrity, spirit, or manliness in the people, who dragged out a precarious and degraded existence, under this system of outrage upon human nature.' ‡

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\* 'Reflections on the State of India,' p. 132.

† Rickards on India, p. 598.

‡ Speech on the Nabob of Arcot's Debts, p. 500.

Gracious God! Are such enormities just subjects of eulogy, or do they cry for vengeance? If this be good government, how shall we designate misrule? It is written in the eternal constitution of man, enrolled in the decrees of the Almighty Providence, by whom kings rule, and princes hold their power, that nations will rebel against oppression. The history of ancient and modern times of Europe, Asia, and the Americas, all illustrate this sacred truth. 'The lasting fruit of just laws is cheerful obedience.' In India, if the consideration be honestly paid, we are sure of the reward, but if it be much longer delayed, calamities are assuredly in the womb of time, the like of which 'no eye hath seen, no heart conceived, and which no tongue can adequately tell.' It is the duty of the imperial Parliament, to provide against the gathering storm; it is the duty of the people to urge on the attention of the Legislature, the alarming imminence of the danger; it is their interest too. No change can take place in the Government of India, in which the honour of the British Crown, and the security of this constitution are not in some degree involved. Our connexion with Asia, may yet prove a great blessing; it may continue a dreadful curse,—it may redound to our glory and prosperity,—it may be the means of our ruin and disgrace.

## J A M A I C A.

*By Dr. M'Kewan, of Morant Bay.*

ISLE of the West!—thou witching spell!  
 What power shall throw thy chains on me?  
 What share have I in mount, or dell,  
 In camp, or court, with aught like thee?  
 Thou witching spell! thy golden dreams  
 Pass all unwished before mine eyes;  
 Thy deep blue hills, thy gushing streams,  
 But wake my thoughts, but wake my sighs.

And, if I gaze upon thy hills,  
 'Tis but to dream of hills more dear —  
 If e'er I haunt thy thousand rills,  
 'Tis but to weep for streams as clear!  
 Thy skies are brighter far than those  
 Which drag me hence with pleasing pain:  
 And yet, the thoughts they wake unclose  
 But dead affections once again.



What boots thy gold when bought so dear ?

Thy wond'rous scenes of flood and fall ?

When pale disease is gliding near,

Isle of the West ! what boot they all ?

Thy maddening sun now sears the brow

That once my dear lov'd hearth-fire warmed —

• Thy wild wood cries are echoing now,

Those ears once woman's music charmed.

Oh ! I have lost for *thee*, sad Isle !

The sweetest dream that e'er youth dreamed :

I have lost for thee the purest smile,

That e'er o'er widowed heart hath beamed !

And *now* with breaking hopes and heart,

I gaze along thy western wave ;

Where ends thy glorious sun his part,

And seeks, like me, his distant grave !

But not like me,—*he* lives again

Another day of life and light ;

While dreams, and joys, and hopes,—how vain !

Are hasting with my youth to-night.

So perish all the dreams of youth ;

High visions of the good and brave !

All glorious schemes of spotless truth,

Now quench'd beyond that western wave !

And, what awaits me now, sad Isle !

The boon thou giv'st to all thy sons ;

An early grave ;—and lo ! the while,

To thee some brother insect runs !

One greener spot, within some pale

Which circles all that once was gay ,

Will rise to tell the little tale

Of *him*, the dead of yesterday.

## VOYAGE ON THE NILE, FROM CAIRO TO THE CATARACTS.

## No. VI.

(From that portion of Mr. Buckingham's Unpublished Manuscripts, from which the materials of his Lectures on Egypt are drawn.)

*Caravan of Slaves from the Interior of Africa—Ancient Egyptian Tombs and Temples—Worship of the Serpent and the Bull.*

Siout, November 9.

DISSEMBARKING from our boat at sun-rise, we procured asses and rode towards the town of Siout. The Turkish cavalry were already assembling for their military exercise of the jerid, and as we occasionally met some of the horsemen on the road, they did not fail to evince all that contempt for us, with which the plainness and poverty of a Frank dress was calculated to inspire them, when contrasted with their own gay and flowing habiliments; their splendid arms and the rich caparisons of their prancing steeds.

On entering the town, which is built at about a mile from the western bank of the Nile, and is there secured from the overflow of the inundation, we perceived the close approach of the Lybian chain of mountains to its skirts. This produces a picturesque effect, while the perforation of the cliffs with ancient tombs and caverns makes that effect impressive. The lofty summit of the rocky mass was now buried in the humid clouds of the morning, and seemed to wear a frown upon its brow, as sullen as the darkness of its excavated chambers.

Learning that the young Ibrahim Pacha was absent on a visit to Kench, we waited on his physician, Signor Maruchi, of Turin, who received us in the kindest and most polite manner, and from whose gentlemanly affability I already began to hope for much pleasure during the short stay we proposed to make here. Our morning was very fully occupied in receiving the visits of the Christian inhabitants, exchanging the common offices of civility, and answering the thousand questions which were pressed upon us, relative to the political state of affairs in Europe; when after a noon-meal, horses were saddled, on which we rode out to observe the town.

As the capital of Upper Egypt, and the residence of its governor, the second son of the Viceroy, it is the principal military and commercial station of the Said; so that although in its streets, bazars, and dwellings, it is not superior to Melouai, nor in its appearance from without at all equal to Manfalout, yet in wealth and population it exceeds them both. We traversed it in every direction, without finding any one object worthy of particular attention, and were about to return to the house; when learning that a large caravan had lately arrived from Darfour, and was now encamped in the desert on the borders of the town, we prevailed on Signor

Maruchi and his Coptic friends to accompany us in extending our ride to this depôt.

The road towards it was beautifully diversified with full foliaged trees, yielding the most agreeable shade by their overhanging branches, and forming regular avenues in some places as if purposely planted to enclose agreeable promenades, and the distance being short, we reached there sufficiently early to make the tour of the camp at leisure. Within a circumference of about three miles, whose interior was interspersed with enclosures of small reeds for the drivers of the caravan, were included such a mixture of camels, sheep, visitors, purchasers, and negroes, merchants and slaves, of every age and sex, from the new-born infant to bending decrepitude, that we knew not where to examine first, or which way to turn our attention.

Near the spot where we dismounted, the second captain of this sable troop was smoking beneath a ragged tent, the only one to be seen in the encampment, as such distinctions were reserved for the great. He was himself a negro of advanced age, and was armed with two slightly curved knives, one of them braced to each of his arms above his elbow, and without scabbards, while his dress was perfectly Egyptian, his only covering being a long and ample shirt as worn by the Arabs here, and of a quality little finer than top-gallant canvas. We seated ourselves beneath the tent with him, and as the natives of the country seldom make the shortest excursion without their pipe and tobacco purse, that of the negro was soon filled from our own stock, by which the threshold of familiarity was reciprocally passed; so powerful is even the influence of the most trifling civilities, and by this alone we cheaply purchased the favour of his communications.

It appeared, from his narration, that throughout the kingdom of Darfour and all its surrounding country of which he possessed any knowledge, war was the principal pursuit of the males, the females being occupied in the cares of agriculture, and tending their flocks. The object of all their wars appeared to be gain alone, since it was generally commenced by the strongest party, who remunerate themselves for the charges of their equipments by the capture of prisoners, these being in all cases the property of the captors. Whole villages and towns were thus frequently taken for the sake of the inhabitants they contained, so that the commerce in human beings was so superior in extent to all other kinds of traffic, that every article of purchase or sale bore a rate of value of which the price of slaves was made the standard. In short, prisoners of war were so much the staple article of trade, that they had become the sterling money of account, by reference to which all commercial as well as tributary payments were regulated. He added, that elephants' teeth, tamarinds, and gums, entered into their investments for Egypt, but these all in inconsiderable quantities, and that of gold-dust, none came through this route.

The present caravan had assembled at the town of Cobbé, the capital of Darfour, in the month of June last, when the officers, according to the usual custom, became responsible for its safe conduct, in consideration of a stated tribute from man and beast. The merchants had embarked with their own trading commodities and every necessary of provision for their journey on their own camels; the slave dealers furnished every requisite also for the sustenance of their living wares; and all those accompanying the caravan, who were not slaves or prisoners, were private speculators in some way or other of trade. After a variety of delays, from causes of various kinds, they commenced their march with upwards of ten thousand people, beside the beasts of burden, and journeying three months in the desert, had reached here with less than half that number, and those completely worn out.

From some negligence or error, which no one would acknowledge to be his own, they had lost the path in the early part of their route, when provisions at length began to fall short, and of the unfortunate slaves, who walk all the way on foot, many died of hunger, thirst, and fatigue, while others who survived the rigours of these combined circumstances, were flogged to death for the crime of being weary!—women were left in labour on the roads, remote from every shadow of assistance; mutinies arose: camels died; and the most robust among them began to sink beneath such a complicated load of difficulties; so that their numbers diminished daily, and they considered it as almost a miracle that the fragment which had reached here had not perished in the desert also.

From these unhappy circumstances, and their immense losses, every article brought by the caravan was unusually dear, so that slaves of the ordinary value of fifty dollars were now refused for two or three hundred, which considerably exceeded the prices at Cairo, as the best slaves seldom exceed from a hundred and fifty to two hundred dollars in value. The leader added that the caravan would remain here, until all their commodities were disposed of, purchasing their returns in the meantime, which consist of coarse woollen and cotton cloths; ordinary arms and ammunition, and gilded trinkets for the women of the negro court. This, however, he thought would occupy some months yet, but when completed, they would then set out for Darfour, to exchange these articles for slaves and the productions of the country, with which they would return to Egypt again.

In reply to the questions which we put to him relative to the Islands of 'Oasis,' or Isles of the Desert, he replied that six or eight days' journey from hence, there were several small spots of verdure, known by the general name of 'El Wah,' and that these were inhabited by Arabs, who fed their flocks there and traded in dates, but that he recollected nothing of any ruined buildings, caverns, tombs, or any vestiges of ruins throughout the whole of

them, adding that in the road thither no water was to be found, and that the Bedouins of the country were great robbers, for both of which reasons the caravans generally halted to obtain refreshments at these spots, to repose their beasts, acquire information of the state of tranquillity or of danger that prevailed on the roads, and make their arrangements accordingly.

This sable captain of the host, had acquired such a proficiency in the Arabic language, by repeated visits to Siont, that we were enabled to converse with him very readily, through a Coptic merchant of our party, who spoke Italian, and his curious description of scenes which often fell beneath his observation, very amply repaid our attention. He offered also to escort us through his camp, and as it is frequently the safest, as well as the most honourable to be with the general, we willingly accepted his proposal.

The males of the caravan, except the youngest boys, were already all disposed of, as well as the pregnant females who are bought up with avidity, for nurses to the children of families at Cairo. Among those who now remained, therefore, few exceeded twenty years of age, the boys being completely naked, and the girls in the same state of nature, while the women who had passed the age of puberty wore a simple ceinture of ragged cotton cloth around their loins. All of them wore the woolly hair, disposed in an infinite number of small traces, with pieces of lead attached to the bottom of each separate one, to straiten and lengthen it at the same time. From large bowls of rancid fat, they plastered all this so thickly with grease, that the sun soon occasioned it to melt and run in streams down their jetty limbs, giving to them the lustre of polished ebony. They laughed loudly, hid their faces, ran from us, and came back again to gaze on us, being evidently much more impressed with wonder and astonishment at our singular dress and figure, than we were at theirs. Independently of their colour, they were in general extremely ugly. Among the various ways in which the females were employed, some were bruising corn between small stones, others assisting in the preparation of provisions; but by far the greater number of them were occupied in hunting each other's bodies for a prey, which, when caught, they cracked between their teeth; others were seen tracing each other's hair, with which they seemed to take the greatest possible pains, and after these operations, receiving on their ebony skin the odorous essence of animal fat, adjusting their beaded neck-laces, bracelets, and ancle-ornaments, of which many of them wore several strings, and basking in the sun.

The descriptions of several of the early African nations, which Herodotus has given us, were many of them fresh in my memory, and I could not help imagining a coincidence of some particulars, with the manners of those who were now before us, especially in what he says of the *Adyrmachidæ*. 'The nations of Africa are

many and various: few of them had ever submitted to Darius, and most of them held him in contempt. Beginning from Egypt the Africans are to be enumerated in the following order:—The first are the Adyrmachidæ, whose manners are in every respect Egyptian, their dress African; on each leg their wives wear a ring of brass; they suffer their hair to grow; if they catch any fleas upon their bodies, they first bite and then throw them away. They are the only people of Africa who do this.—It is also peculiar to them to present their daughters to the king just before their marriage.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Adyrmachidæ occupy the country between Egypt and the port of Pleumos.—Melpomene, 148. Speaking of the Nassamones, he says, 'Each person is allowed to have several wives with whom they live in the manner of the Massagatæ, first fixing a staff in the earth before the tent. When the Nassamones marry, the bride admits every one of the guests to her favors, each of whom makes her a present brought with him for that purpose.'—Melpomene, 172. And again, 'The Gindanes are next to the Macæ. Of the wives of this people, it is said that they wear round their ancles as many bandages as they have had lovers. The more of these each possesses, the more she is esteemed, as having been beloved by a greater number of the other sex.'—Melpomene, 176.

Some of these coincidences, notwithstanding that those particulars are related of the nations along the northern coast, were evident to our own observation; and the more closely we questioned our informer as to the reason why these bandages, or rings of beads and metal were worn round the ancles, the more it seemed probable that the motive was not unlike that of the wives of Gindane. With regard to the king possessing any right of claiming the daughters of his subjects before their marriage, it seemed that the will of the sovereign was in this respect all that was necessary to obtain whomsoever he might select; but though the custom of the Nasamones still existed of their having several wives, with whom they lived as openly as the Massagatæ, to whom they are compared, yet the fashion which then prevailed of the bride entertaining the wedding-guests, seems to be now no longer known; the tincture given to their manners by the introduction of Mohammedanism, having, no doubt, made them less liberal in the distribution of those marks of welcome, than their idolatrous ancestors.

It was nearly sun-set when we left the camp, and our return was rendered delightful by the cool air of the twilight. After an early supper à l'Orientale, the incidents of our afternoon ramble furnished us with interesting matter for a long evening's conversation, and we retired to beds which had been prepared for us in Signore Maruchi's house.

Lycopolis, Nov. 10.

A resident merchant of the place, who from frequent visits to the

tombs of Lycopolis, in the neighbouring mountain, had acquired a perfect knowledge of all its winding labyrinths, having offered to become our guide thither, we furnished the servants with provisions for the day, and taking them with us, commenced our excursion with the opening of the dawn.

Passing over an elevated causeway, bordered with a range of fine trees, and crossing the ruins of a Saracenic bridge, destroyed by the Mamlouks on some occasion of revolt here, we reached the foot of the mountain in half an hour after leaving the town, and were at the first tomb by sun-rise. Denon's plan of it is infinitely more correct than the drawing, in which the outline form of the entrance is the only resemblance preserved. Hewn out of the solid rock, without the least appearance of masonry, the sides of the outer porch are covered with hieroglyphics, in columns separated from each other by perpendicular lines, some of which are still very perfect, and others almost obliterated. The arched roof appears to have been originally studded with white stars on an azure ground, and judging from the groups of them which are now visible, must have been extremely beautiful in its first perfection. The entrance from the outer porch into the tomb itself, is through a door-way of narrow dimensions across, and of a disproportionate height, every part of which is full of sculptured figures also, but presents no appearance of its ever having been closed. The first chamber, which is considerably larger than the outer porch, has its walls covered with hieroglyphics too, and its stuccoed roof decorated with longitudinal chains of flowers, and other similar devices, many of which resemble the patterns at present in use in England for the borders of paper-hangings in rooms—the whole being here painted in light and dark shades of a beautifully clear blue. The inner chambers, the lateral wings, and even the sanctuaries themselves wherein the dead were deposited, are every where enriched with a profusion of ornaments, but nothing like a Sarcophagus, or the vestiges of bodies, were to be seen.

The skill, the labour, the time, and the expence which the execution of such a monument must have required, all strike one with astonishment, when we enter into the detail of calculation. The tomb of our Seventh Henry, at Westminster, is regarded as an extravagance in England, yet even all the wealth which that avaricious monarch lavished on it, would have been inadequate in his own realm, to have procured him such a splendid sepulchre as this must originally have been. Such comparisons powerfully awaken one's curiosity to know the minutest circumstances relating to a people whose ordinary tombs eclipse in splendour and in greatness the richest mausoleums of our richest kings. The idea was for a moment only humiliating, but when contrasting the superior wisdom of improving the happiness of the living, to the practice of heaping up magnificence and funereal pomp for the unconscious

dead, there was rather a feeling of congratulation, inspired by the idea of our living in an age in which the taste for funereal honours, as it regards expenditure alone, is declining in the estimation of those whose hopes of glory after death are founded on the virtues which adorn their lives, and whose noblest monument is an unsullied name.

Amid a crowd of reflections, as rapid in their succession as the objects which inspired them were multiplied, we continued to feast our eyes as long as it was possible, on all the grand as well as minute beauties which everywhere surrounded us within this tomb, but the number of others which we proposed to visit, occasioned our stay here to be much shorter than I could have wished. We could recognise nothing in it, however, like the description given to Mr. Norden, by one of his companions, either in the situation, form, or embellishments, of these chambers of the dead, for they were extremely accessible on foot, in less than an hour, and contained neither hexagonal pillars, nor gold still dazzling on every side.

From hence, after passing a considerable number of smaller excavations, we ascended still higher on the mountain, until we reached the caves of Sabah Binath, or the Seven Virgins, so called from a tradition that seven virgin sisters were here interred, which probably originated from the circumstance of their being actually that number of tombs, or chambers, in the same range, being nearly uniform in size and manner of entrance, and all communicating with each other. On each side of the doorways are colossal figures sculptured in the rock, supporting themselves on a staff, as if to designate them to be guardians of this sacred and inviolable retreat of death. Within the entrances, the walls of the chambers are filled with sculptured figures of various kinds, many of which are painted green, and on one of them we observed a double column of warriors marching in battle array, wearing close helmets, and bearing in their right hands long spears, while their left arms were covered with massy shields of a convex form, and in shape, not unlike those worn by our early Norman conquerors; corresponding accurately with the description given by Herodotus, of the Egyptian armour, when enumerating the various nations and people who composed the mighty host with which Xerxes invaded Greece. 'The Egyptians,' says he, 'wore helmets made of net work, like the nations of Asia Minor: their shields were of a convex form, having large bosses; their spears were calculated for sea-service, and they had large battle-axes, besides large swords.'—*Polymnia*, 89. The sculpture was too much defaced by time to discover precisely whether the helmets were of net-work or not; besides which, their being of metal, most probably of brass, would occasion their texture to be so close as to bear a resemblance to solid work: the spears and shields, however, accurately corresponded in every particular; and we thought we could recognise the blade of the sword hanging below the lower part of



the shield, extending nearly to the ground, as if worn in a belt round the waist, and its hilt hidden by the body of the shield itself, while, as it could not have been eligible to bear more than one weapon in the hand at a time, particularly in the order of marching, the battle-axe might have been either dispensed with in the representation, or supposed to be worn on the opposite side to the sword and shield, and consequently hidden by the body, as the left side of the columns were presented to the view only, and the right feet uniformly extended in the act of marching.

Within all these chambers, instead of sarcophagi for the reception of the dead, wide and deep graves were discoverable, some of them descending more than twenty-five feet below the surface, and all of them now empty, having been most probably opened by Arabs, to procure mummies for travellers or antiquarian agents, as the excavated rubbish remained still on the spot, and fragments of human bodies, bones and embalmed bandages, were scattered all around.

Ascending still higher on the brow of this lofty hill, immense caverns are seen hewn out of the solid rock, with columns of the same left in different places to support the overhanging roof from falling in. Their want of uniformity in size and form, and the total absence of all sculpture, as seen in the tombs below, would lead one to infer that they were either unfinished, if intended for sepulchres, or that they were among the number of those caverns dedicated to studious retreat. In aid of the presumption of their not having been merely quarries, a coating of plaster, and painted designs, seen in some of them, prove their having received the attentions of those who inhabited them, with a view to their embellishment, while, at the same time, the inferiority of these ornaments to the more finished productions of the chisel, seen below, seem equally to prove that they were not tombs. In their present state, they possess a striking and melancholy grandeur, and from the general perforation of the mountain in all directions, huge masses of it have been separated from the rest, mingling rocks and caves together by their fall, in such a wild confusion, as to seem like the effect of some violent convulsion, with which the earth has trembled to her centre.

‘When we reflect,’ says De Pauw, ‘on the prodigious excavations made continually by the Egyptians in their mountains, and the singular predilection of the priests for those caverns, where they passed the greater part of their lives, it is no longer doubtful, that in former times, they had lived like Froglydotes. Thence are derived, likewise, all the characteristics of their edifices: some seem to be factitious rocks, where the walls exceed twenty-four feet in thickness; and pillars of more than thirty feet in circumference, are not at all uncommon. If any thing can be compared to what these extraordinary people erected on the surface of the earth, it must be their subterraneous labours.’—*Philosophical Dissertation. Sect. 6.*

It must be confessed, that if these awful solitudes were indeed the silent retreats of men who fled from life and frivolous society, to seek that tranquillity of mind so favourable to study, within these cavernous abodes, which the mansions of cities denied them, their choice of place at least was admirable. The sublime aspect of Nature, in her mountain majesty; the never changing hue of these barren rocks; the absolute privation of every element necessary for sensual enjoyment on the spot, and the absence too of every social joy, must have suited minds disgusted with what are called the vain pursuits of the world; while if a latent spark of piety remained within the bosoms of men desirous of searching out the hidden mysteries of creation, the lovely picture of the vale below, would be of itself sufficient to expand it into a flame of warm and pure devotion.

‘On considering this mode of studying under ground,’ continues the writer already quoted, ‘it appears no longer astonishing that the priests contracted the habit of throwing a mysterious veil over all their real or imaginary knowledge. Thus, in many circumstances, it is as difficult to determine the extent of their erudition as that of their ignorance; and therefore such opposite judgments have been formed concerning their philosophy, which some confine to a very small scale, while others consider it as almost boundless: but it is truly interesting to observe, that the custom of retiring into cells, practised by the priests, gave rise to the mysteries of antiquity. Without this, none perhaps would ever have been invented: and wheresoever those of Egypt were received, the mode of celebrating them in caverns was likewise adopted, until the institution became at length essentially changed.’—*Ibid*, sect. 6.

The sun was fast advancing to the meridian, when, after we had refreshed beneath the hanging roof of one of these giant chambers, we climbed to the very summit of the mountain. Even here, also, there were tombs, hewn, sculptured, and adorned with painting, although it was difficult to conceive how the bodies of the dead could be transported over so steep an ascent. Yet this was not only the case, but these sepulchral mansions appeared also to have been frequently visited, since their excavation, by the surviving friends of those whose bodies had been there deposited, in conformity to the known practice of the ancient Egyptians. It was this indeed which offered the only explanation of the presence of those innumerable fragments of vases and earthen vessels which we trod on at every step, both within and without the chambers. No city is likely to have occupied so steep and rugged a site; and not a vestige of brick, or other building materials, were mingled with this broken pottery, so that they were doubtless remains of vessels in which offerings had been made to the dead, and sacrifices performed to their departed shades; their extreme durability of substance rendering their scattered fragments co-eternal with the graves they had consecrated.

On examining the nature of the stone of which this Lybian mountain is formed, we found its composition to differ in some respects from that of the Arabian chain, having no shells, less sand, and large masses of flint sometimes buried in a chalky soil. The whole of the strata are as irregular in their arrangement, as the matter of which they are formed is various in its kinds ; and there is frequently in the same layer a mixture both of hard and of friable stone. Indeed it possesses none of the characteristics of an original bed of rock, but seems like a compound of heterogeneous substances mingled promiscuously together, by some convulsive throes of nature.

We could not quit the elevated station which we had thus attained, without sitting for a moment to enjoy the extent and variety of the prospect which it offered. The whole breadth of the Egyptian valley was before us ; and the clearness of the atmosphere rendered all visible from the Lybian boundary on which we stood, to the Arabian one which intercepted the eastern horizon. The winding course of the Nile presented a stream covered with broken islands and floating barks, and banks studded with groves and hamlets, while, to the very mountain's base, the richest carpets of cultivation contributed to heighten the effect of this fairy picture.

In descending the northern front of the mountain by a different route from that by which we had made our way to the summit, the Turkish cemetery of the modern Siout, opening upon us in all its whitewashed pride and gaiety, appeared contemptibly ridiculous ; nor were the brown mud dwellings of the living in the town itself at all more prepossessing. Not a vestige was left, however, of the great Lycopolis, except the habitations of its dead, to tell us what was its grandeur or extent, when they were numbered among its powerful and numerous population. Yet, amid the mighty wreck of human greatness, Nature seemed to have preserved unchanged the order of her own productions ; for here were still an abundance of those jackalls among the recesses of the mountains, which, from their resemblance to the wolf, were supposed to have given their name to the city. Eusebius, however, asserts that wolves themselves were honoured in Egypt, from their resemblance to the dog ; and some relate that the Ethiopians, having made an expedition against Egypt, were put to flight by a vast number of wolves, which occasioned the place where the incident happened to be called Lycopolis. Naturalists of those ages might have easily confounded those animals, as the moderns do not incline to rank the wolf among the quadrupeds of this country.

When we had reached the base of the great 'Gebel el Koffrè,' or Mountain of Idolatry, as it is called in Arabic, we found a cavern, still deeper, more intricate in its windings, and more obscure than any of the rest, when, having lighted our torches, we prepared to enter into its farthest recesses. Our servants having wandered in

some other direction, we had only now with us a young Darfour slave, about ten years of age, who carried the wine which we had taken with us for our refreshment on the way. The poor little girl, having been bought out of the last caravan, and knowing as yet nothing of civilized manners, when she was desired to follow us with her burthen and a lighted candle, fell on the earth, wept most bitterly, and implored of us, for the love of God, to spare her life. Her lamentations were so loud and piteous, that it was long before we could obtain from her any sort of answer, but when confidence was at length inspired, she said that, having been often told in her own country that slaves were bought by white men to be fattened and killed, the idea had struck her that the deep red Cyprus wine which she carried for us was the blood of some negroes already massacred, by which she conceived that we were about to sacrifice her also in this mysterious cave. It was in vain that we endeavoured to assure her of her apprehensions being unfounded; nothing could remove them but our suffering her to remain on the spot where she had fallen, without forcing her to proceed any farther, with which we very willingly complied, and spared the little creature the pain of entering with us.

The interior of this extensive excavation offered nothing worthy of remark, except its obscurity, and the irregularity of its form. Several jackalls, that had made it their den, were roused by the glare of our flambeaux, and in leaping out from their retreat, threw down two of our company, whose alarm for the moment was little inferior to that of the young slave. On our return to the mouth of the cave, we found her still stretched upon the earth with her face toward the ground, confessing that even here where we had left her, the frightful darkness, the hollow sound of our voices from within, and the bones and fragments of bodies strewed around by those beasts of prey, had so terrified her imagination that she had neither the courage to advance, or to return until we came to her relief. When we led her again to the light of the sun, nothing could surpass the expression of her gratitude, falling on her face, embracing our feet, and kissing the very earth on which we trod.

It was so late when we reached the town that supper immediately succeeded, and the fatigues of the day prepared us for early retirement, proposing to make a morning party at the bath.

Siout, Nov. 11.

We were all assembled full four hours before sunrise, and as the bath had been prepared by express command from Signor Maruchi, we found every thing in order for our reception, with beds and servants equal to the number of our party, and a security of freedom from interruption.

Refreshments of coffee, sherbet, perfume, and pipes, the occupation of dressing, and the listening to Oriental tales, related with indescribable humour and expression by a professed story-teller hired

for the purpose, detained us on our couches until ten o'clock, when we repaired to the house to take an early dinner, and preparations for our departure filled up the remainder of the morning.

Nothing could exceed the polite and kind attentions of this Italian gentleman and his lady, during our short stay with them. Our desires were anticipated by them before they could be expressed, and we had, indeed, more difficulty in quitting their hospitable mansion, than is often felt at the separation of relatives and intimates of long acquaintance.

It was just past noon when we embarked, our boat having been provisioned for the remainder of the voyage, during our detention here, and all other causes of delay removed. We reached no farther, however, than the village of Kataah at sun-set, the wind having been light throughout the afternoon, and entirely declining with the fall of day, when we moored to the bank in the profoundest calm.

Antaeopolis, November 12.

In the morning and evening walks which I had taken for exercise whenever we could quit the boat without occasioning her detention, the want of a dog and gun had been so often regretted, that I had procured both of Dr. Maruchi while at Siout, and we commenced our morning ramble with them along the banks of the river. Those who have not been in countries where sporting is never practised, and where game of every kind, from the unmolested freedom in which they live, are easily accessible, can form no idea of their abundance. After an excursion of little more than an hour, in which we had exhausted all our ammunition, we returned literally laden with provisions enough for all the crew, among which were two hares, four wild geese, nine wild ducks, and turtles, wood pigeons, and larks sufficient to load two of the boatmen who had accompanied us. In short, as fast as our pieces could be charged and levelled, shots presented themselves both on the river and its banks, and my servant being provided with an Albanian musket, our discharges were kept up without intermission, and could not be otherwise than made with success. The whole of the birds, from the abundance and excellent quality of their food, are much fatter and thought to be superior in taste, to those of the same species in England, particularly the water fowl, who riot so luxuriously on the rich dainties which they find in the mud of the Nile. When we returned to the boat, however, we found that although we possessed all the requisite provender for an excellent dinner, those indispensable requisites, a good kitchen and a good cook were wanting; so that our fare, though profuse, was as simple in its mode of preparation as the savoury venison of the Patriarch, or the delicious chimes of the Greek and Trojan heroes.

The lofty 'mountain of idolatry' began to hide its summit in the clouds, while the remainder of the Lybian range to the southward of it, retiring gradually from the river, left a wider plain of

cultivation on its western banks. The Arabian chain of hills being again renewed, approached the stream in the same proportion as the opposite one receded, and being still higher than the Mokalten which it had succeeded, gave bolder capes and sterner views than before. These were the only changes of scenery which occurred in our course until we reached the village of Gau Kebeer towards evening, where being detained by calm, we crossed the stream to the eastern bank, and moored there before the ruined portico of Antæopolis.

Nothing can be imagined more beautiful than the situation of this ancient city, ranging itself along the shore of a romantic bay, formed by a sudden curve of the Nile, whose sacred stream washed its very foundation in its course. The superb temple occupied the western extremity of the whole, standing on the very point or angle of this curve, thus having both its southern and western sides to face the river, while its portico received in front the rays of the declining sun, forming altogether a grand oblong square of two hundred feet in length by one hundred in breadth, and fifty in elevation. The northern angle of the edifice having been undermined by the powerful current of the Nile, has been swept away by its irresistible rapidity in rounding the elbow of the projecting bank on which it stood; two of the southern columns have also fallen down, and the whole of the body of the temple is destroyed. Some portion of its dilapidated walls are indeed yet remaining, all of them, however, disjointed and half buried in the soil; while fragments of the roof, of an enormous size, are lying in the spot where they must originally have fallen in, and are so mingled with date trees, briars, and wild grass, as to render the foundations difficult to be traced, and to give to the ruins an air of wildness highly picturesque.

The portico of this grand edifice was originally formed of eighteen columns, arranged in three rows of six each, fifteen of which are still standing, and the other three are fallen on the spot. Their elevation now above the soil is about forty feet, their bases being hidden in its yielding earth, and their diameters below the centre of the shaft are eight feet, being every where placed at equal distances from each other, except in the central avenue, which exceeds the others in breadth by about one half. The depth and elevation of the portico were thus the same, and each of them equal to half the extent of its front. Between the central columns of the first range, extending half way up their height, the remains of a door way were visible in the attachment of some of its fragments to the sides of the pillars, and between each of the other columns in the same range were smaller engagements of masonry, reaching up to about one third of the elevation of the shafts. This offered itself as so plain an explanation of the masonry by which the columns of the portico at Hermopolis were engaged at a similar distance from their bases, that I felt persuaded of its being intended to answer the

same purpose as was visible here, namely, to close the front of the temple from intrusion, leaving only a central entrance, to which it is more than probable gates of brass might have been originally attached, by the aid of which the sacred edifice might be thus securely closed during the performance of worship within.

The shafts of the columns are richly ornamented with large hieroglyphic figures in separate compartments, bordered with small double lines, between which are again included series of smaller figures, as if explanatory of the principal design. The whole of these are cut in relief below the level of the surface, and notwithstanding the stiffness of the drapery in the large figures, some of the features are soft and expressive. The principal figures thus represented, seem to be persons in the act of offering religious gifts, and advancing toward each other for that purpose, in attitudes naturally defined. Among the smaller figures are the animals of the climate, symbols of the Deity, in the various elements of nature, and frequently repeated representations of the Bull and the Serpent. Then follows on the shaft a terminating ring which encircles the pillar at the top, and is formed of serpents erect, bearing globes of an egg-like form upon their head, the whole surmounted by a capital composed of the branches and leaves of the palm, resembling the one given in Denon's 29th plate, figure 1, which he characterises as being, perhaps, the most elegant of all the known capitals, and adds, that even in Europe, where it would not possess the same local interest as in Egypt, it might be selected as a beautiful decoration for some festive hall, an appropriation that it well deserves. The small portion of the frieze yet remaining shows a double row of hieroglyphics, surmounted by a sculptured moulding or torus, and the cornice exhibits double groups of figures, enclosed in oval or egg-like borders, and separated from each other by double flutings of perpendicular lines. On each side of the grand entrance appears a sort of pilaster, on which is sculptured a rod entwined by a serpent, like the wand of Esculapius, and in every direction are objects full of beautiful and expressive allusions. Painting has also aided her sister art by the embellishment which she has given to her labours; for here the fine green of the palm-leaved capital is still visible, and red and azure remain on many parts of the cornice, torus, and sculptured frieze.

The bull and the serpent were so frequently repeated throughout the ruins of this edifice, that there seemed but little reason to doubt its having been peculiarly dedicated to the worship of these symbolic deities, under the form of Apis, and the sacred Serpents of Isis, relative to which so many opposite conjectures have been hazarded by the learned, as to render their real nature and the intention of the Egyptians in the homage which they paid to them, as mysteriously obscure as even their own priests themselves could have wished. This, however, is certain, that they both held a dis-

tinguished rank among the sacred animals; that peculiar honours were rendered to them in the temples expressly dedicated to their worship, and that their oracles were esteemed above all others.

‘It is probable,’ says Mr. Beloe, ‘that Apis was not always considered as a deity: perhaps they regarded him as a symbol of Osiris, and it was from this that they were induced among the Egyptians to pay him veneration. Others assert confidently that he was the son of Osiris, and some have said that Osiris having been killed by Typhon, Isis enclosed his limbs in a heifer made of wood. Apis was sacred to the moon, as was the bull Mnevis to the sun. Others supposed that both were sacred to Osiris, who is the same with the sun. When he died, there was a universal mourning in Egypt. They sought for another, and having found him the mourning ended. The priests conducted him to Nilopolis, where they kept him forty days. They afterwards removed him in a magnificent vessel to Memphis, where he had an apartment ornamented with gold. During the forty days above mentioned, the women only were permitted to see him. They stood around him, and lifting up their garments, discovered to him what modesty forbids us to name.

‘The homage paid to him was not confined to Egypt; many illustrious conquerors and princes of foreign nations, such as Alexander, Titus, and Adrian, bowed themselves before him. Larcher says that he was considered as sacred to the moon; but Porphyry expressly says, that he was considered as sacred to both sun and moon. The following passage is from Plutarch. ‘The priests affirm that the moon sheds a generative light, with which, should a cow wanting the bull be struck, she conceives Apis, who bears the sign of that planet.’ Strabo says, that he was brought out from his apartment to gratify the curiosity of strangers, and might always be seen through a window. Pliny relates with great solemnity, that he refused food from the hand of Germanicus, who died soon after; and one ancient historian asserts, that during the seven days when the birth of Apis was celebrated, crocodiles forgot their natural ferocity and became tame.\*

‘In a place situated at the northern extremity of the lake Marcotis,’ says M. De Pauw, ‘a sacred bull was fed, and although many other towns of Egypt practised the same devotion, yet the names of Hermonthis, Heliopolis, and Memphis, only are recorded. The reputation of the bull Apis eclipsed that of all the others, as soon as the court of the kings was transferred to Thebes; but in other respects the Egyptians had as great veneration for the environs of Memphis, as for those of Abydos. The learned cannot agree on the term fixed for the life of Apis. Plutarch pretends that he was drowned at the age of twenty-five years; and this

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\* Notes on Herodotus.



according to him agreed with the number of characters contained in the Egyptian alphabet; but Mr. Butter who succeeded in finding out the Egyptian letters by studying the fillets of the mummies, asserts that they do not exceed twenty-two. It is probable that Apis was destroyed as soon as his appetite and vigour flagged under the pressure of age; because in that state he could not give favourable auguries—the only service required of him by the people.

‘Pharaoh Bocchoris conceived the idea of removing the sacred bull called Mnevis, from the town of Heliopolis, and by that means he lost entirely the esteem of the people, among whom such animals had been worshipped for a greater length of time than the Roman empire existed. Apis did not disappear altogether at Memphis until the reign of Theodosius; and, according to Mr. Jablonski, the first had been consecrated 1170 years before our present era. Thus a regular succession had taken place during a period of at least 1550 years, but possibly much longer, because Mr. Jablonski has been guided by the sentiment of Eusebius, and in such matters that of Manethon seems preferable.\*

Among the most singular opinions ever hazarded regarding this Egyptian deity, is that, however, of Mr. Huet, Bishop of Avranches, who endeavoured to prove that Apis was the symbol of the Patriarch Joseph. But it has been generally allowed that Osiris was revered in the homage paid to Apis. Osiris introduced agriculture, in which the utility of the bull is obvious; and this appears to be the most rational explanation that can be given of this part of the Egyptian superstition.

In associating the representation of the serpent with that of the bull, it would seem that both these animals received equal honours from the altars of this ruined temple, since the serpent ranks also with the earliest and most renowned of the sacred animals of this singular people. From a passage of Eustathius, one might infer, however, that at some very remote period, these deities were not associated in the same worship, as he says that Apis cleared the Peloponnesse of serpents, and named it from himself, Apia; after which he was deified, and thence called Serapis, in manifest allusion to the great idol of the Egyptians. So that, from this period, their union appears to have commenced.

That we may see how much of allusion to historical facts was bound up in the symbols of antiquity, and how truth may often lie hidden in the mysteries of fable, we may remember that Egeus, of Athens, according to Androtian, was of the serpent breed, and that the first king of the country was said to have been a dragon. ‘Others,’ says Mr. Bryant, ‘make Cecrops the first who reigned; he is said to have been of a two-fold nature, being formed with the

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\* Pantheon. Egyptian, lib. 4. cap. 2. Philosophical Dissertations, sect. 7.

body of a man blended with that of a serpent. Diodorus says, that this was a circumstance deemed by the Athenians inexplicable, yet he labours to explain it, by representing Cecrops as half a man and half a brute.—vol. i. 484.

Montfaucon inclines to think that the serpent was a symbol of the sun, to which the Egyptians gave a place in their sacred tables. 'Nor did they content themselves,' says he, 'with placing the serpent with their gods, but often represented the gods themselves with the body and tail of a serpent.'

The universality of the religious honours shown to this animal among the ancients, and the continuation of it, in dispersed fragments, among the moderns, particularly in Western Africa, Abyssinia, and Egypt, is worthy of remark, and has not escaped the observation of M. de Pauw, who says, 'The information of the ancients concerning the interior of Africa, was certainly more extensive than ours; but, on the other hand, the coasts are much better known to us, and all the nations there, without exception, revere serpents. The inhabitants of the kingdom of Judhae worship one species, which seems to have no noxious qualities, and it is even said to destroy some black-coloured adders, of a smaller size, said to be venomous; but other negroes have converted real vipers into fetiches, although their bite almost invariably occasions death. In general, the adoration paid to serpents is founded on the fear naturally entertained by mankind for those reptiles; such as are dangerous, it is supposed, should be conciliated; and the others seem to merit a peculiar distinction, as if a genius, friendly to humanity, had taken care to disarm them; and this class has principally been used for prognostication. The omens were considered favourable when the Isiac serpents tasted the offering, and dragged themselves slowly round the altar. But it must be observed, that some of those reptiles attach themselves, like dogs, to their masters, and learn different tricks, which are never afterwards forgotten: thus we may, with some certainty, suppose that the serpents of Isis were taught to obey the voice or gesture of the ministers.

The worship rendered to serpents was not confined to particular towns of Thebais and Delta; for Elias assures us, that they were kept in all the temples of Egypt.\* This seems the more probable, because it was one of the most ancient, or perhaps the first, superstition of the inhabitants of Africa, where the largest adders were carefully collected for the temples of Serapis: some of those brought by the Ethiopians to Alexandria, were twenty-five or twenty-six feet in length, but they are found of more than twice that size in Senegal. Sect. 7.

In short, the symbolical worship of the serpent was, in the first ages, so very extensive, that it was introduced into all the mysteries,

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\* De Nat. Animal. lib. 10, cap. 31.

wherever celebrated, being transported from Egypt into Greece. 'It is remarkable,' adds Mr. Bryant, 'that wherever the Ammonians founded any places of worship, there was generally some story of a serpent; and similar legends existed both at Colchis, at Thebes, and at Delphi, whose oracles were so revered among the Greeks.'

Full of the indescribable sensations, which recollections like these were calculated to inspire, at such a moment, and on such a scene of reflection as the present, we were about to quit the ruins of the venerable piles, when, towards the eastern extremity, among a number of immense blocks, fallen probably from the roof and walls of the temple itself, but now so worn at their edges, as to resemble unhewn rocks, we observed a square mass of polished white stone, terminating in a pyramidal point, like the Alexandrian obelisk, and lying now partly covered by other blocks, and partly buried in the earth, and wild grass grown up around it.

Led by curiosity to examine it more closely, we found it hollowed out in front, and very richly sculptured, though injured in some places by the fall. Its size might be taken at about ten feet square for the extreme, and I know not how to describe its form more simply, than by comparing it to the case of a table-clock, ending upwards pyramidically. The space hollowed out in it partakes of the figure of the mass itself, being nearly square, and leaving a solid thickness of about a foot of stone, to form the back and sides of this curious monolithic cabinet. Its interior was filled with miniature hieroglyphics, of superior execution, and its front was adorned with figures of the same kind, the whole surmounted by two winged globes, cut in full relief, on horizontal compartments, extending along the whole of its breadth, after the manner of a frieze and cornice. Indeed, it was altogether so finished a production, and so much more pains had been evidently bestowed upon it, than upon the sculptured decorations of the temples themselves, that I felt persuaded it must have been designed for some superior purpose, more particularly as it could not possibly have formed any part of the building itself, the polished perfection of all its sides proving it to have been originally detached from the edifice. It was, perhaps, one of those monolithic temples, in which the sacred animals were known to be usually enclosed, and from which their oracles were often delivered; and, independent of its form, the superior style of its execution was of itself a sufficient proof of its having been honoured with some extraordinarily sacred charges.

In the mountains, about two or three miles distant, are immense excavations, and numerous tombs, which seem to prove that the Temple of Anatæopolis was not destitute of worshippers, proportioned to its original splendour. As the calm continued after sunset, I took my frugal supper beneath its venerable and ruined portico, remaining there until the rising of the midnight moon. In the salutary communion which man sometimes feels disposed to

hold with himself, solitude and silence are not without their beneficial influence. The decay of empire—the degradation of art—the instability even of rational religions and established creeds, out-lived by the very temples they reared, and the tombs they hallowed—were all calculated to teach humility and charity, to elevate the mind, and to purify the heart. Yet, favourable as silence and solitude may be to meditation, I would have given my all for the society of a feeling friend, whose congeniality of sentiment would have stamped a value on the reflections which the scene suggested, and whose sympathy would have cheered the gloom that every thing around me created.

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## CHILDE HAROLD'S LAST PILGRIMAGE.

(The following beautiful poem is from a volume just published by the Rev. Lasle Bowles  
it is inscribed to Thomas Moore, Esq.

“ So ends Childe Harold his last pilgrimage !  
Upon the shores of Greece he stood, and cried  
‘ Liberty !’ and those shores from age to age  
Renown’d, and Sparta’s woods and rocks, replied  
‘ Liberty !’ But a spectre, at his side,  
Stood mocking ;—and its dart uplifting high,  
Smote him ;—he sank to earth in life’s fair pride :  
Sparta ! thy rocks then heard another cry.  
And old Ilissus sighed—‘ Dic, generous exile, die !’

“ I will not ask sad Pity to deplore  
His wayward errors, who thus early died :  
Still less, Childe Harold, now thou art no more,  
Will I say aught of genius misapplied ;  
Of the past shadows of thy spleen or pride :  
But I will bid th’ Arcadian cypress wave,  
Pluck the green laurel from Peneus’ side,  
And pray thy spirit may such quiet have,  
That not one thought unkind be murmur’d o’er thy grave.

“ So Harold ends, in Greece, his pilgrimage !  
There fitly ending,—in that land renown’d,  
Whose mighty genius lives in glory’s page,—  
He, on the Muses’ consecrated ground,

Sinking to rest, while his young brows<sup>\*</sup> are bound  
 With their unfading wreath! To bands of mirth  
 No more in Tempe<sup>\*</sup> let the pipe resound!

Harold, I follow, to thy place of birth,  
 The slow hearse—and thy last sad pilgrimage on earth.

“ Slow moves the plumed hearse, the mourning train,—  
 I mark the sad procession with a sigh,  
 Silently passing to that village fane,  
 Where, Harold, thy fore-fathers mouldering lie;—  
 There sleeps that mother,† who with tearful eye  
 Pondering the fortunes of thy early road  
 Hung o’er the slumbers of thine infancy;  
 Her son, releas’d from mortal labour’s load,  
 Now comes to rest, with her, in the same still abode.

“ Bursting Death’s silence—could that mother speak—  
 (Speak when the earth was heaped upon his head)—  
 In thrilling, but with hollow accent weak,  
 She thus might give the welcome of the dead;—  
 ‘ Here rest, my son, with me;—that dream is fled;—  
 The motley mask and the great stir is o’er;  
 Welcome to me, and to this silent bed,  
 Where deep forgetfulness succeeds the roar  
 Of life, and fretting passions waste the heart no more.

“ ‘ Here rest, in the oblivious grave repose,  
 After the toil of earth’s tumultuous way:  
 No interruption this deep silence knows;  
 Here, no vain phantoms lure the heart astray:  
 The earth-worm feeds on its unconscious prey;  
 Rest here in peace—in peace till earth and sea  
 Give up their dead! At that last awful day,  
 Saviour, Almighty Judge, look down on me,  
 And oh! my son, my son, have mercy upon thee!’ ”

\* The beautiful pastoral vale of Tempe in Arcadia, celebrated by all the poets of Greece.

† She died in Scotland. I have presumed she might have been buried at Newstead, as that he was born there.

FURTHER EXAMINATIONS OF MR. RICKARDS' LAST WORK ON  
INDIA.

*Ryotwar Settlement.*

IN our previous notices of the third part of Mr. Rickards's work on India, we have laid before our readers a short account of the system of Mohammedan finance which prevailed before our acquisition of territorial revenues, and of the modifications which it has undergone under our administration, in the provinces subject to the Bengal Presidency. It appears that, notwithstanding an earnest desire on the part of the Directors to respect the rights, and conform to the usages of the people; notwithstanding the strenuous exertions of the great and good Cornwallis, to supply the exigencies of the Company's treasury, with as little inconvenience as possible to their subjects, that the Zemindarry system, introduced under his auspices, has failed in all the objects contemplated in its establishment; that in those districts of which the capabilities had been accurately ascertained, the people have been reduced to beggary; in others, Natives have attained prodigious wealth and consequence, by the cultivation of lands, represented, in carelessness or ignorance, to be wastes; that multitudes still complain of the disregard of vested claims, and the invasion of inalienable rights; and that Government is disabled from introducing a consistent system of reform, by having inconsiderately pledged itself to the performance of the present arrangement. This last, indeed, is an obstruction in the way of improvement which the Directors will find it difficult to remove. The existence of an upstart aristocracy, not enjoying the confidence of their rulers, alienated by religious prejudice, and the tradition of ancient injustice, from the cause and the principles of our government, and despising the mean exterior of mere official authority, were of itself sufficient to excite uneasiness and alarm. The ostentatious pomp, the luxury and munificence of a Native gentleman, not amenable to the jurisdiction of the Cutchery, too proud and powerful to bow to the European collector or judge, is well calculated to revive recollections of better times in the minds of the impoverished peasantry. For this reason alone it would be desirable that the sense of subjection to a foreign rule should be more frequently impressed upon him, and that his estates should be made contributory to the necessities of the government, and the relief of his less fortunate neighbours. But to their assessment, the good faith of the permanent settlement is opposed; and, while the free lands, and those originally marked as waste, support a less miserable tenantry, and exhibit more regularity of husbandry, we are compelled to exact our revenue from the poorest and most wretched of the people. So long as thirty years ago, the superiority of the free lands over those subject to assessment, was marked and

conspicuous. Sir Henry Colebrooke, in his 'Treatise on the Husbandry of Bengal,' tells us, 'that the free lands of Bengal Proper, granted from the waste of the village, are sufficiently numerous to have offered to observation the comparison of their prosperous condition, contrasted to the lands paying revenue. The free tracts are gardens, the others comparatively a waste. And this observation, which cannot escape any person traversing Bengal, may lead to the conclusion that the land-rents are too heavy, and discourage industry.' The testimony of Mr. Rickards, as to the waste and unassessed land of the present day, is to the same effect. 'Many of the Zemindars (says he) are admitted to be wealthy. This may be accounted for, in some degree at least, by the easy rate at which their estates were originally purchased, by a successful cultivation of wastes, or by the discovery and subsequent derivation of rent from Towfeer lands, altogether unknown to the public records at the time of fixing the permanent assessment.'

The evils thus resulting from the ignorance of the condition of the country, in which the permanent Zemindarry settlement was introduced, have been the cause of much caution on the part of the Company, in their administration of those provinces, in which their discretion has not been fettered by engagements in perpetuity.

Thus, in the ceded and conquered provinces, comprising, Oude, ceded in 1801, by the Nawaub Vizier, the Doonab, and Cuttack, conquered from Scindia and the Rajah of Berar and Bundelcund, ceded after the Mahratta war (1805), by the Paishwa, in commutation of subsidy, the Court of Directors have uniformly discountenanced and prohibited a permanent arrangement. In answer to the Supreme Government, which, in 1810,\* strongly urged the policy and expediency of the measure, the Court expressly ordered that no leases should be granted for a longer period than five years.† These orders are founded on an avowal of imperfect knowledge, as to the actual state and capability of these countries, and of the rights and interests of the several classes of persons connected with the soil; and likewise on the mistakes committed in the settlement of the lower provinces (Bengal), and of the inconveniences felt from it, although these countries had been so long under our management; and therefore urge the danger of precipitancy in proceeding on such uncertain grounds, to the adoption of a measure which was to be irrevocable.

#### *Fort St. George Revenue Settlements.*

The Possessions of the East India Company, subject to the Presidency of Madras, are,

1. The Jaghire or Chingleput, granted to us in 1750, and farther confirmed in 1763, by the Nabob of Arcot.

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\* Bengal Revenue Selections, vol. i. p. 72.

† Fifth Report, p. 53. Rickards, 398.

2. The Northern Circars granted to us by the Mogul, in 1765, and afterwards confirmed by the Nizam of the Deccan.

3. Baramahl, Dindigul, and Malabar, ceded by Tippoo Sultan, in March, 1792.

4. Pondicherry, taken from the French, in 1793, and Pulicat and Sudras, from the Dutch, in 1795.

5. Canara, Soonda, Coimbetoor, Circar lands, and Pollams of Balaghaut, and the Island of Seringapatam, obtained by partition treaty with the Nizam and Paishwa, in 1799. Tanjore, ceded to the Company by the Rajah, in the same year.

6. Ceded districts with some additions to Malabar, and the Carnatic, in 1800.

7. Remainder of the Carnatic, consisting of Pulnaud, Nellore, Ongole, Arcot, Pollams, of Chitoor, and districts of Satevaid, Tinnevely, and Madura.

It is not necessary to enter into a minute examination of the peculiar nature of the revenue settlements in all these districts. Suffice it to say, that what are called the ancient possessions, viz. the Jaghire, and the Northern Circars, and of the modern possessions, Baramahl, Western Pollams, Southern Pollams, Chitoor Pollams, Ramnaud, and Dindigul, are administered under a system resembling, in all its prominent features, the Zemindarry settlement of Bengal. This system was gradually extending itself over the provinces subject to Madras, when in 1804, the Court of Directors despatched restrictive orders to that Presidency, against proceeding with irreversible assessments on the lands, before the fullest information had been acquired of their real resources; and in subsequent despatches, ordered all lands, already subject to the permanent tenure which should be brought to sale, to be bought in on account of Government. The permanent settlement of the lands, held by the Zemindarry tenure, being thus arrested at Madras, the remainder were placed under a settlement, called the Ryotwar, or Kulwar settlement. In 1808, this was supplanted by what is called the Mouzawar settlement, but finally restored in 1817.

#### *Ryotwar, or Kulwar Settlement.*

A Ryotwar, or Kulwar settlement, is a settlement made by Government, immediately with the Ryots individually, under which the Government receives its dues in the form of a money rent, fixed on the land in cultivation. It was first adopted in 1792, by Colonel Reed, when collector of Baramahl, and afterwards gradually extended to other districts of Madras. It is supposed to have attained its highest perfection in the ceded Districts, under its great advocate and patron, Sir Thomas Munroe, and Mr. Rickards confines his description of it to that collectorship.

‘The Ryotwar settlement, in its complete state, like the Tumar



Jumma, professes to be a survey, or measurement by surveyors, and also a valuation by assessors, of every acre of land, productive or unproductive, cultivated or waste, within the limits of the collectorship, excepting only mountains and barren rocks.

‘The instructions to surveyors and assessors are among the most notable parts of this record; they descend to minutiae, some of which are almost ludicrous; whilst to execute them requires a kind of micrographical genius, with which one man in a million is hardly gifted. But such is the magic of a Ryotwar survey, that every person employed in it is supposed to know every thing, without even the trouble of learning.

‘It would be tiresome to enumerate all the absurd details of these instructions. \* I shall notice a few of the heads, to give an idea of the principles of the system, and of the duties required to be performed.

‘The cultivated lands were ordered to be classed into dry, wet, and garden lands; each was then to be measured field by field, and marked 1, 2, 3, &c. Each field to consist of as much land as could be cultivated by one plough, and the boundaries thereof to be fixed and marked by the surveyors. No deduction was to be allowed for land in a field, shaded by productive trees; but for land shaded by unproductive trees, a deduction was admitted.

‘Forts, suburbs, open villages, court-yards of houses, with the number and species of trees in each, banks of tanks, rivers, nullahs, ravines, hillocks, roads, barren land, wells, salt mounds, and topes or groves, with the number and species of trees in each, were all required to be particularised.

‘In Palmira topes or groves, the trees were ordered to be classed into male and female, young, productive, and old or past bearing.

‘The same was to be done in garden lands generally, taking care to notice the number of plants of young trees, and to specify whether they are cocoa-nut, soopari, tamarind, jamoon, lime, orange, &c.; and likewise to enter all plantations of betel, sugar-cane, tobacco, red pepper, &c.

‘In the prosecution of this work, the surveyors were required to measure and survey daily:—

#### *Of Dry Lands.*

	Goontas † or Chains.
If cultivated . . . . .	5000
If Sayeh Bunjer, or uncultivated land, divided into fields . . . . .	6500
If Anade Bunjer, or undivided waste or common . . . . .	25000

\* The reader will find these instructions at full length in the Appendix to the Fifth Report, p. 787.

† Forty Goontas are equal to one English Acre.

*Of Wet Land.*

If cultivated . . . . .	1500
If uncultivated . . . . .	2500

'Unauthorised Enaums,\* extra collections, land, and articles of village taxes, suppressed in the accounts, were also to be inquired into and reported, with rewards annexed to every instance of fraud of this description that should be detected.

'The assessors were ordered to follow the footsteps of the surveyors, and to class the lands surveyed according to rates to be settled in each village, with the aid of the potail, cumum, and ryots; specifying also the colour of the soil, of which it is stated the country contained six different kinds of black earth, and three of red. Of the classes it is observed, that they may be as numerous as the different kinds of land are; but, in one village, the assessor was instructed not to make more than ten classes of dry; six of garden; and eight of wet. He was also ordered to proceed in classing the lands, according to the following tables—or, "according to their rates;" but the precise meaning of the latter term, not being clearly defined, I can only give the tables in the principal collector's own words and figures.

*Dry, at half canterai fanam † difference for each rate.*

Rate.‡	Acres.	Canterai pagodas. Rate per acre.
1 . . . . .	100 . . . . .	1 0 0
2 . . . . .	50 . . . . .	0 9 8
3 . . . . .	40 . . . . .	0 9 0
4 . . . . .	— . . . . .	0 8 8
5 . . . . .	— . . . . .	0 8 0
6 . . . . .	— . . . . .	0 7 8
7 . . . . .	— . . . . .	0 7 0
8 . . . . .	— . . . . .	0 6 8
9 . . . . .	— . . . . .	0 9 6
10 . . . . .	— . . . . .	0 5 8

*Bagayet (garden lands,) at five canterai fanams each.*

Rate.	Acres.	Per Acre, C. pag.
1 . . . . .	10 . . . . .	10 0 0
2 . . . . .	15 . . . . .	9 5 0
3 . . . . .	— . . . . .	9 0 0
4 . . . . .	40 . . . . .	8 5 0
5 . . . . .	50 . . . . .	8 0 0
6 . . . . .	— . . . . .	7 5 0

\* Enaum—present, gift, gratuity, favour. Enaums are grants of land free of rent, or assignments of the government's share of the produce of a portion of land, for the support of religious establishments and priests, and for charitable purposes; also to revenue officers and the public servants of a village.—Fifth Report, Glossary.

† The following tables are stated in canterai pagodas, fanams, and annas. 1 canterai pagoda = 10 fanams, and 1 fanam = 16 annas.

‡ For 'rate,' in this column, the Rev. Board have substituted the word 'classes.'—*Mad. Rev. Sel.* Vol. i. p. 920.

*Wet, at five canterai fanams difference between each class.*

Rate.	Acres.	Per Acre, C. pag.
1 . . . . .	10 . . . . .	6 0 0
2 . . . . .	— . . . . .	5 5 0
3 . . . . .	— . . . . .	5 0 0
4 . . . . .	— . . . . .	4 5 0
5 . . . . .	40 . . . . .	4 0 0
6 . . . . .	40 . . . . .	3 5 0
7 . . . . .	— . . . . .	3 0 0
8 . . . . .	20 . . . . .	2 5 0

‘ Whether these tables are intended to exhibit the exact rates of assessment proposed to be laid on the land is doubtful, the instructions in this respect being obscure. They, at all events, mark the principle intended to be adopted in a Ryotwar survey, and are open to the objections made against the similar assessment, and money rates, of the Tumar Jumma.

‘ As in the Tumar Jumma, so in the Ryotwar survey, much was thus left to the discretion of the assessor in classing and rating lands ; much, in fact, that could not fail, in a country like India, to operate as a bonus to fraud and oppression. Moreover, if a field near a village, and another at some distance, requiring more labour to bring the produce to market, were of the same quality, he had to decide the difference of advantage, and to rate the fields accordingly in different classes. In like manner, two adjoining fields, one held by a poor, another by a substantial, ryot, were, on this account alone, to be entered in different classes.

‘ With these and other details, of minor importance, the survey was begun in June, 1802, by four Gomastahs (clerks or agents) of the collector’s Cutchery,\* the only persons at that time in the ceded districts who understood land-measuring. By the end of the year, fifty others had contrived to learn the art ; and by the end of the following year, one hundred more.

‘ The surveyors were divided into parties of ten each, furnished with a chain thirty-three feet long, and directed to keep their accounts in acres and goontas ; one square chain being equal to one goonta, and forty goontas one acre. To each party of ten, a head surveyor was appointed.

‘ The head-surveyors examined the measurements of the under-surveyors ; for which purpose they had to re-measure, monthly, one-tenth part of every surveyor’s work ; and on discovery of inaccuracy, whether from design, haste, or negligence, removal from office immediately ensued. The vacancies thus occasioned, and by sickness, were very numerous. Yet the places, it appears, were instantly and easily filled, although there were only four men in

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\* ‘ Cutchery, public office, where all business respecting the revenue is transacted.’

the country who understood the business at the commencement of the survey.

‘Each set of surveyors are followed by two assessors, to value the lands thus measured. On reaching a village, the assessors, with the aid of the *potail* and *curnum*,\* divided the measured lands into classes, according to quality. Formerly, it appears the lands were divided into first, second, and third sorts, corresponding, therefore, with the classification adopted in the *Tumār Jumma*; but in this survey there seems to have been a much greater variety. If the *potail* and *curnum*, on the one hand, and the assessors on the other, disagreed as to the classification, the *ryots* of neighbouring villages were called in to decide to which of the classes the disputed lands should be placed.

‘Notwithstanding this notable expedient for settling differences, the proceedings of the assessors were found to be, in some instances, grossly negligent—in others corrupt. They trusted, it is true, for information to the *potails*, *curnums*, and *ryots* of villages, but, in the result, were, it seems, grossly deceived. To check abuses, therefore, five other honest men, called head-assessors, with four deputies to each, were nominated to review the work of the under-assessors. The only sources of information to which these head-assessors had access, were still the *potails* and *curnums* of villages, and the *ryots* of adjoining villages, when they could be persuaded to come forward to impeach their neighbours. With this aid, the head-assessors made, as a matter of course, various alterations in the classification and assessments of the under-assessors, by raising some lands to higher classes, and lowering others.

‘Still entire dependence, it seems, could not be placed on the judgment and impartiality of the head-assessors. A spice of corruption had crept in to vitiate even their supervision; so that another review became necessary in the collector’s own *cutchery*. On this occasion, all the *potails*, *curnums*, and principal *ryots* of all the villages of the collectorship, were assembled to discuss and decide, or, at all events, to aid in the discussion and decision on disputed points.

‘In Europe, it may be found rather difficult to arrange the details of complicated transactions, in large assemblies of the people; but in an Eastern collector’s *cutchery*, and in presence of a large concourse of persons, all the minutiae of the classification and assessment of a country as large as Scotland, and more numerous people, would, it was supposed, be easily adjusted!

‘First, a gross sum, as the total revenue of the district, was decided upon.

‘Next, it was divided in certain portions over each village.

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\* ‘*Potail*, head man of a village. *Curnum*, village accountant, the same as *Putwary* in Bengal.’

‘And finally, the rent of every field, occupied by every individual ryot, was fixed and registered.

‘If disputes arose, or remissions were demanded, in any one village, the usual recourse was had to the ryots of a neighbouring village, who were called in to settle this, as well as all other differences.

‘Pending this examination in the collector’s cutchery, it was discovered that the potails and curnums had still contrived to deceive the assessors, by getting their own lands underrated, and the lands of poorer ryots overrated; and after a most laborious investigation of classifications and assessments, and consulting with neighbouring ryots, all errors were supposed to be effectually corrected, that “no fraudulent assessment of any consequence could possibly be concealed.”

‘No sooner, however, are we consoled with this assurance, than in the very next paragraph we find, that, on further examination of the survey at the end of the year, fresh errors had been detected, and remissions granted, to the extent of from one half to one and a half per cent. on the whole assessment. “The equivalent (it is added) might easily have been made up from lands which have been underrated, for the assessment was as often below as above the proper point, but it was thought better in this case to make no alteration,” &c.

‘It is further to be remarked of this last adjustment in the cutchery, that in spite of all the preceding machinery for classifying, measuring, and re-measuring, assessing, and re-assessing the lands; in spite, too, of a three-fold investigation of the assessor’s accounts, it was found, even at the last, that dependance was not to be placed on their accuracy. For the final adjustment of the revenue, therefore, recourse was had to a comparison of the assessors’ accounts with the amount of former collections under Native princes, as well as under the Company’s government, and to the opinions of intelligent Natives; on due consideration of all which, such a sum was at length adopted, as it was thought would be the fair assessment of the district in its present state.

‘The amount at length fixed, was from five to fifteen per cent. below the estimates of the assessors; because, (it is added), “it is the nature of assessment, proceeding from single fields to whole districts, to make the aggregate sum greater than what can be easily realized.” Why an assessment on a single field, if accurately made, should necessarily be inaccurate, or excessive, when extended to 10, 100, or 1000, fields, is not very clear to ordinary comprehensions. Such, however, is the record.

‘The survey was last of all confirmed by another pretended inspection of the lands at the time of harvest, to see that the value of the crops corresponded with the valuation of the

lands, on which occasion pottahs, signed by the collector, were given to each individual ryot; in which the quality, extent, and rent of his land, were specifically stated. The principal collector closes his report with an enumeration of the inhabitants, and of the cattle, buffaloes, sheep, and goats in the province, all taken from the same accurate accounts of surveyors, &c., as before noticed; to which are added the number of acres of every description of land, down to the very worst, or purrampoke, which the collector explains to mean lands utterly unproductive, that is, "tracts of rocky and stony ground where no plough can ever go," and therefore highly proper, no doubt, to be inserted in a survey, the main object of which is the ascertainment of productive resources! We are, however, left to conjecture what may have been the precise utility, compared with the labour and expense of foisting purrampoke into such a survey, as well as to find out the peculiar excellence of that doctrine which would number the cattle, sheep, and goats, of the poorest of the poor, among suitable objects of taxation.

'The survey took five years to be accomplished, and cost the Company about 90,000 pagodas, or, at the then value of the pagoda, 36,000*l.* When finally settled, the assessment fixed on the property of each ryot, was considered permanent, that is, until something should occur to change it, or until the time should arrive, in the collector's own judgment, for a "moderate" increase.

'Remissions of revenue were inadmissible, except in cases of great and notorious calamity. Ordinary deficiencies of crop were not attended to, although these must have occurred, in every year, in some part of the province; and have fallen heavy on those whose portion of an average crop was only a bare subsistence.

'In the survey of the ceded districts, it was computed that the assessment, or net jumma, was equal to forty-five per cent. of the gross produce of the lands; leaving, therefore, an equal share, as may be supposed, for the ryots, and the remainder for the village expenses.

'The land-tax being thus the highest possible leviable amount, increase of revenue could only under this system be anticipated, (for increase, commonly called improvement of revenue, is never for a moment lost sight of in India,) from additional lands brought into cultivation; which would then of course be subject to the same assessment. This, indeed, is carefully provided for, in the instructions to the assessors; who are directed not to class fallow, or waste lands, at so low a rate, lest it should encourage graceless ryots to throw up their highly taxed cultivated lands, and take to the low taxed wastes to the injury of the revenue.

'In this concise review of a Ryotwar survey, and of the duties required to be performed by surveyors and assessors, if there be not

enough to convince the reader of the impracticability of so complicated a scheme, let him consult the instructions themselves, with all the further minutiae they contain; he will there find enough, as well as from what immediately follows, to satisfy him that this celebrated survey, like its predecessor, the Tumar Jumma, is only fitted, after all the labour and cost of its accomplishment, to rest in peaceful neglect in the books and registers of those who framed it.'

Of the Ryotwar settlement, a summary description is stated to have been given by a member of the Government of Madras, in 1823; and has been copied into a late work by Mr. Tucker, *now* a Director of the East India Company, who formerly filled situations in Bengal, that gave him an opportunity of practically forming opinions, which the subjoined extract is merely brought forward to corroborate. The extract as given by Mr. Tucker, is as follows.

'To convey to the mind of an English reader, even a slight impression of the nature, operation, and results of the Ryotwar system of revenue, connected with the judicial arrangements of 1816, must be a matter of some difficulty. Let him, in the first place, imagine the whole landed interest of Great Britain, and even the capital farmers, at once swept away from the face of the earth; let him imagine a cess or rent, fixed on every field in the kingdom, seldom under, generally above, its means of payment; let him imagine the land so assessed, lotted out to the villagers, according to the number of their cattle and ploughs, to the extent of forty or fifty acres each. Let him imagine the revenue rated as above, leviable through the agency of 100,000 revenue officers, collected or remitted at their discretion, according to their idea of the occupant's means of paying, whether from the produce of his land, or his separate property. And in order to encourage every man to act as a spy on his neighbour, and report his means of paying, that he may eventually save himself from extra demand; let him imagine all the cultivators of a village, liable at all times to a separate demand, in order to make up for the failure of one or more individuals of their parish. Let him imagine collectors to every county, acting under the orders of a Board, on the avowed principle of destroying all competition for labour, by a general equalization of assessment; seizing and sending back runaways to each other. And lastly, let him imagine at the same time, every subordinate officer employed in the collection of the land revenue, to be a police officer, vested with the power to fine, confine, put in the stocks, and flog any inhabitant within his range, without oath of the accuser, or sworn recorded evidence in the case. If the reader can bring his mind to contemplate such a course, he may then form some judgment of the civil administration, in progress of re-introduction into the territories under the Presidency of Madras, containing 125,000 square miles, and a population of twelve millions.'

Although this picture may be thought highly coloured, it is not

exaggerated. It describes the system, with its powers, such as it really is, and, however well administered it may be in the hands of some extraordinary collector, still, it being so peculiarly open to boundless abuse, is a sufficient warrant of the evils it will always engender, under ordinary management. In a very able minute by the Revenue Board at Madras, the Ryotwar system is condemned in no less forcible terms; whilst the reports even of its advocates, cannot divest it of the character of inquisitorial interference, of great intricacy, of forcing ryots to cultivate particular lands, 'and the arbitrary seizure of the persons of those who abscond, whether from misfortune or oppression; of a land-tax which avowedly absorbs the whole net produce, without any remissions for ordinary failures and calamities; and of the responsibility of the good, for defaulting ryots; than all of which nothing can be more fatal to the progress of human prosperity.'

It is worthy of remark, that Sir Thomas Munro derived his knowledge of Ryotwar surveying and assessment from Colonel Reed, under whom he served as an assistant, when Colonel Reed was appointed, in 1792, to be collector of the Baramahl district. Colonel Reed, having adopted it in Baramahl, may be considered the father of the system. After several years' experience of its practical operation, he writes of it as follows, in a letter to his assistants, dated April, 1797:—'After having laid the whole (a voluminous detail of accounts) before the Revenue Board, I shall confess, that the affairs of such an extensive country cannot be managed in such detail for any length of time. I shall expose the impolicy and folly of Government condescending to supplant, by a parsimonious system, the farmer and the merchant.' In a subsequent letter, upon the same subject, 12th of April, 1798, Colonel Reed observes, 'The process is no doubt curious, and a proof of what may be done by the extraordinary means in the power of India collectors; but the difficulty of performing it, likewise proves the machine employed in conducting the business of revenue, to be too complicated and unwieldy for the purpose. It always has been so, and is, of consequence, always getting out of order, unless when directed by uncommon vigilance and attention. We have thought we could mend it, and, in some respects, succeeded, but in having refined upon the old system, we have added more wheels, rendered it more complicated, and, of course, more unfit for carrying on the various branches of revenue economy. The radical defect in it appears to be our over-rated assessment, which augments the public, and reduces the private, property in the soil to such a degree, as to involve the necessity of ousting all between the Government and the cultivators, and to make their concerns the object of its attention—that is the principal source of objection, as it impedes agriculture, and obstructs the ordinary course of justice. The nature of our assessment requires the adapting it to different descriptions of inhabitants,



to particular kinds of culture, and to certain times of the year. The qualifying it generally, as I propose, may appear to be easy, but it is obvious, on reflection, that the doing it properly would often require our presence where we cannot be, and a knowledge of facts which we can never attain. Potails and other farmers can determine the actual value of the land with tolerable exactness, but they never will do that for us, or report the occupancy of it. Our next dependence is on our own Muttasiddies (accountants), but, self-interested, they will generally either favour the ryots and cheat government, or, pretending zeal for the service, impose on both. I have brought these matters forward again to your consideration, in case you should have any thing new to offer as the means of a permanent settlement, and more liberal policy than the present.\*

This is a remarkable judgment passed on the Ryotwar system, by a public officer of high respectability and talent, who having originally fathered the system, might naturally be supposed to have his partialities awakened in its favour, had he seen in it wherewithal to approve; but with a degree of candour and pure regard for the public welfare, seldom manifested on such occasions, unreservedly develops its peculiar failings, after five or six years' personal experience of its effects.

Of Ryotwar settlements, indeed, it should always be kept in mind, that in the hands of its ablest advocate and patron, Sir Thomas Munro, and according to his own account of its formation, the result can only be deemed a complete failure. To minds not biassed by partiality to names or to systems, it is almost ludicrous to read the account given of measuring and re-measuring, of assessing, re-assessing, and classifying lands; of watching and expecting crops; of the time, labour, and enormous expense of a Ryotwar survey; and to find after all the whole so little worthy of trust, that the revenue was ultimately settled by estimate, or to use Sir Thomas Munro's own words, according to what was thought to be a fair assessment, in reference to former years' collections.

'But if revenue, or jummas, are ultimately to be fixed by estimate, or the power of "thought," it may reasonably be asked, why waste years of time? why expend hundreds of thousands of pagodas,† in useless preparatory steps? "Thought," aided by former years' collections, and the "opinions of intelligent natives," might surely estimate the jumma of a district, just as well before, as after, the farce of a tedious, costly, and useless survey. There are, however, those who still contend that, on Sir Thomas Munro's method, the actual resources of a country are, and always may be, precisely ascertained. My answer to this assertion, is to be found in the

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\* Madras Revenue Selections, vol. i, p. 603.

† The survey of the ceded districts alone cost between eighty and ninety thousand pagodas.

analysis of the system already given, as well as of its worthy progenitor, the Tumar Jumma. Let us at all events not forget that when the new Ryotwar settlement was ordered to be adopted into the Madras territories generally, and Sir Thomas Munro, himself, appointed to superintend its introduction, surveys were again attempted, but ultimately abandoned, on proof of their utter impracticability. On this occasion, Sir Thomas Munro, in his zeal to establish a favorite system, discovered that the want of a regular survey was no longer an obstruction, as the village or Curnum's accounts would furnish the necessary information—accounts which, in his report of the 30th of September, 1802, he had declared, on his own experience and knowledge of them, to be “always false.”\* We have also the fiat of that able and experienced body, the Revenue Board at Madras, who pronounce “Ryotwar surveys and settlements to be altogether arbitrary; to have, in fact, no existence beyond the accounts of the collector's cutchery;” and whilst professing to fix an equal and moderate tax on each field, to be in practice and operation, an enormous oppression on the country.†

‘It may, in short, be said of Ryotwar settlements generally, that the principle and essence of the system are, to exact from impoverished ryots the utmost revenue they can possibly pay; to follow up occasional improvements, with either immediate or periodical participations, on the part of Government; and thus to preclude the possibility of a gradation of ranks growing up between the rulers of a country and its labouring cultivators and artizans, which, in other countries, has been found so essential to the well-being and permanent prosperity of the social body.

‘As society in India is now constituted, and must continue to be, under the system proposed, it is obvious that the success of a Ryotwar settlement must altogether depend on European superintendence and vigilance; and it is equally obvious that this superintendence and vigilance must be in the inverse ratio of the extent of a collector's district. An European collector, of 20,000 to 30,000 square miles of country, cannot be expected to superintend it, in all its extent, with the same efficiency which might, and probably would, be bestowed on a district only one-fourth as large, and thus to secure the confidence and satisfaction of its inhabitants. But it may be said, this has been done in the ceded districts, under Sir Thomas Munro,—Admitted. The people of India have, for so many ages, been accustomed to the greatest severities and extortions under former rulers, that an European collector, of easy access, conciliating manners, mild and forbearing temper, with a vigorous mind and steady habits of business, patiently attentive to the representations and complaints of the Natives, and equally just to all according to the extent of his powers, may be quite certain of uni-

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\* Vide Rickards, p. 476.

† Ibid, p. 478.

versal popularity in whatever part of India he may chance to be placed. Such a man was Sir Thomas Munro; in whose hands (I speak from personal knowledge of his character) measures of extreme difficulty and complication would succeed, which, with ninety-nine other persons out of an hundred, would be found impracticable. Sir Thomas Munro had, moreover, a number of assistant collectors under him, whose personal superintendence over limited extents of country, was of great service in promoting the success of his plan. He also brought the qualities above-mentioned to the restoration of a country which, previous to our possession, had been reduced by Mussulman severities to an almost inconceivable state of wretchedness and distraction; and when property had been so completely subverted, and its owners dispersed, that scarcely an individual, I believe, if we except Polygars, and professed thieves, came forward to assert an independent claim.

'To give effect, therefore, universally, to Ryotwar settlements, we must have,

'First,—Principal collectors, like Sir Thomas Munro, everywhere.

'Secondly,—A sufficient number of subordinate collectors, to admit of the country being divided into small circles, for the personal superintendence of each. This would acquire a vast addition to the junior branches of the civil service; whose chances of promotion to the higher stations, consequently of return to their native land, would be thereby greatly diminished.

'Thirdly,—Large native establishments would likewise be necessary, whose habits, as society is now constituted, it might be as difficult as ever to restrain.

But if these objections could be surmounted, others still remain.

'First,—It is difficult to conceive how a Ryotwar settlement, on Sir Thomas Munro's principles, could be introduced into districts occupied by village zemindars, maliks, meerassadars, &c., now admitted to be "actual proprietors of the soil," without flagrant violation of these ancient rights.

'Secondly,—The table entered in pages 306-7, as the foundation of the Tumar Jumma, is calculated to prove the impossibility of equally adjusting an assessment which is to be rated at so much per beegah. Considering the great varieties of soil, of seasons, of productive powers, of the means of irrigation, fluctuations in price, distance of markets, and changes in the culture of different articles, every assessment founded on a general survey and valuation of lands, particularly in India, must be unequal in the first instance; and the longer it continues, the greater will be its inequality. In India, for example, a ryot cannot adopt the European system of a rotation of crops. His lands might yield him, in one year, a valuable produce, which from change of seasons, fluctuation in the

state of demand, or change in the article of culture, might not yield half as much in the next. A tax, therefore, at so much per field, or per beegah, must be ruinously oppressive when no remissions are allowed; or, if allowed, the remissions would require a vexatious annual scrutiny, which it would be impossible, where millions perhaps were claimants, for the officers of Government satisfactorily to accomplish.

‘ Lastly,—The tendency of the system to perpetuate the present stationary condition of the people, is, of itself, decisive of its true character; fatal to the progress of improvement, and fully justifying the judgment passed on it by the Court of Directors in 1809,\* that “ it is more suited to an early and simple state of society, than to the condition of India in modern times, and its true interest, under a fostering and enlightened government; and that, however well calculated to discover the resources of a country, it is not to be preferred for constant practice.’

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TO HEBE.

ARISE, arise, my Hebe rise,  
 Cast earth upon each care and pain :  
 Give me a bowl, and with thine eyes,  
 Expel misfortune's gloomy reign.

What though these prudes malign our fame,  
 In fame like their's we seek not bliss :  
 Drink deep, my girl, and drink a shame,  
 To ev'ry wretch who rails at this.

They scoff me, if by sighs I show,  
 The flames, my lips shall ne'er reveal .  
 Because their breasts from high to low,  
 Are worthless of the pains I feel.

These hallow'd pains then let me keep,  
 From such a source their fountain flows :  
 And yet awhile my sorrows sleep,  
 To think from whence my sorrows rose.

For, ah ! what cypress can compare,  
 Its stature with a form like thine ?  
 Its graceful branches waving fair,  
 Strive for the palm it must resign.

Hafiz, have patience, still you say,  
 Lovely but dilatory maid :  
 My breast has learnt but to obey,  
 Its toils may yet be over paid.

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\* Madras Revenue Selections, vol. i. p. 598.

## A DAUGHTER'S LAMENT.

*(From the Edinburgh Literary Gazette.)*

"Soul of the just! companion of the dead!  
Where is thy home, and whither art thou fled?"

CAMPBELL.

I SEE a freshness on the earth, a glory in the sky,  
I hear the music of the woods, and the summer breeze pass by;  
But now I feel I cannot taste the joy which nature gave,  
For the voice that loved me, and I loved, is silent in the grave.

I thought that when the summer came, with its floods of life and light,  
That my Father's cheek would flush again, and his faded eye grow bright:  
And I waited, with a longing heart, for its sweet and sunny days,  
To nerve his weary shattered frame, and his languid spirit raise.

Alas! I knew not that the time, I most had wished to see,  
Would bring, with all its "sounds and sights," a voice of grief to me;  
That the splendours of the Summer Sun would earth and sky illumine,  
But my Father's heart has ceased to beat, in the cold and silent tomb!

And I turn me to his lonely couch, where his days and nights were spent;  
And I think that still his eye should be in kindness on me bent;  
And oft I start as if I heard the voice I fain would hear,  
Or tremble lest my lightest step might wound that lov'd one's ear.

But it may not be!—for I have seen his dim and closing eye,  
And I have heard in speechless grief his last—his dying sigh;—  
And I have bent upon the bier, and kissed the lifeless clay,  
And almost wished to be like him from this "vale of tears" away!

And the hour was passed in which 'twas mine, a last sad look to take,  
While my burning eye was tearless still, though my heart was like to break  
And now they've laid him "earth to earth," with the turf above his breast;  
And his couch is now that narrow bed, where the weary are at rest!

But oh! to think that still he lives, immortal in the sky—  
In that bright land where every tear is wiped from every eye;—  
To think that there he lives, and reigns, in robes of light arrayed,  
'Midst joys that ne'er will pass away, and a crown that cannot fade!

Oh! this is to my soul a spell that soothes my bleeding heart,  
And whispers we shall meet again—and meet no more to part:—  
That tells me not to weep, as though no hope illumed my way,  
For He, whose lightest word is sure, is the Orphan's promised stay!

## CONSIDERATIONS ON THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S MONOPOLY.

THE first duty of a Government,—the sole end and object for which it exists, is the promotion of the happiness of its people : and this sacred duty is not less imperative towards the inhabitants of its distant colonies, than toward those at home. It is true, that mere distance, as well as many other circumstances incidental to their dependent situation, will render it difficult, if not impossible, to exercise an equally efficient superintendence over these distant regions : but this difficulty ought to make a government more vigilant, and more earnestly bent to neglect no means of contributing to the welfare of these its comparatively helpless subjects. Have we applied this principle to the government of British India ? When we reflect on what Englishmen have effected in almost every country under their dominion or their influence ;—when we consider our own unequalled progress in science, arts, arms,—in everything comprised in the term ‘ European Civilization ;’—when we look to North America, and there behold the most splendid instance of rapid advancement in national prosperity that perhaps the world ever saw, all of it derived from English Institutions, carried into practice by the descendants of Englishmen, we may justly congratulate ourselves on belonging to the most energetic race of men upon the face of the earth ; and we might be tempted to conclude, that the same happy consequences would result from the beneficent enterprise of Britons, wheresoever they might plant the national standard.

If, full of these sanguine anticipations, we turn our eyes to British India, how will our hopes be answered ? We have had a great Chartered Company trading to that Country for two hundred and thirty years. During that time, our territorial acquisitions have been almost continually increasing, until we at present hold an immense extent of fertile territory, with a population estimated at above a hundred millions. What have we imparted to them ? The arts, the institutions, the condition of the people remain, with a few trifling exceptions, in the same state of inferiority, compared with the European standard, in which we found them. We have done so little to improve the country, or to change the aspect of society, that, except in the immediate vicinity of the Presidencies, there is scarcely a road or a bridge in the whole Peninsula ; and it is very nearly as true at this day, as when it was said forty-five years ago by Mr. Burke,—that, if we were now to be expelled, there would, in the course of a few years, be scarcely a vestige remaining by which it might be known that the country had been possessed during so long a period by a European Power.\* To

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\* From a Correspondent of the Bristol Mercury.

† ‘ It is painful to me to think how few relics, if the English were now

*what*, is a result like this—so different, so opposite to the usual effects of English enterprise, to be attributed? To the East India Company's exclusive privileges:—in one word, to MONOPOLY! The Honourable Company, in their absurd jealousy of their own power and privileges, have not only carefully excluded the competition of other Europeans from the external and internal commerce of India; but they have so fettered both these branches of trade with their monopolies and mischievous restrictions, as to have kept the productive, and consequently the consuming powers of the country for many years in a stationary, if not a declining condition. They have thus chosen to forego an immense amount of trade, lest others should share it with them. They would not enter into the field of open commerce themselves, and those that would, they hindered. The religious and social systems of our Eastern fellow-subjects, place considerable impediments in the way of their intercourse with us; and this circumstance, instead of being regarded as an inducement for affording the utmost possible facilities of communication, has been perversely urged as a reason for *our* imitating that unsocial policy, and thus depriving ourselves of the means of removing their prejudices, and of promoting an improvement in their character and condition, not less beneficial to them than advantageous to ourselves.

British India contains about fifteen millions of Mahomedans. The bigoted contempt and abhorrence which the professors of this faith entertain towards Christians, is too well known to need to be insisted on. Their civilization however, (deplorably low as it is, when compared with the standard of Europe) is yet very much superior to that of the Hindoos, whom they also greatly surpass in energy of character. The difference of the two races, in these respects, is strongly exemplified by the fact, that this extensive Country was over-run, conquered, and kept in subjection *by a comparatively insignificant number of Mahomedans*; and that during the seven hundred years that the dominion lasted, the Hindoos have scarcely ever rebelled, or successfully resisted. The latter, however, are a civilized race. Their civilization may be of the lowest, and least beneficial type; but so far as the word means the reclaiming of men from the wild independence of savage life, and subjecting them to the conventional restraints of artificial society, they are civilized. The religious System of the Hindoos, the horrors and abominations of which will be recalled to the recollection of all who have ever heard of Juggernaut, is burthened with an incredible number of frivolous, absurd, and even disgusting observances, which intrude into almost every action of life. Imaginary offences against a capricious code, like this, *must* be

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expelled from India, would be left behind of their religion, their power, or then civil and military magnificence.'—*Bishop Heber*, vol. iii. p. 91. (8vo edition).

almost continual; and, as such offences can be expiated only under the direction of their corrupt Priesthood, the necessary consequence is, the most utter and slavish prostration of the understanding. A system thus mischievously overloaded with ceremonies, never fails to become a substitute, instead of a support, to morality; and when such a state of things has subsisted (as among the Hindoos) for thousands of years, the most deplorably degraded condition of the national understanding and morals is the inevitable result. The well known institution of *caste*, which divides the population into the four great classes of priests, soldiers, merchants, and husbandmen, with their almost endless divisions and subdivisions, not only weakens their mutual sympathy, and power of co-operation, but implants instead, the most irrational and insuperable antipathies. A people thus superlatively superstitious, immoral, and disunited, must needs be in the lowest state of civil and political weakness; and, accordingly, from the earliest notices of this race, the despotism of their rulers has been the most unbounded; the submissiveness of the people, the most abject: and the nation more easily conquered and kept in subjection, than perhaps any other within the records of history.

Independently of the commercial, financial, and political advantages, which would necessarily accompany the improvement of their condition, one would think that no nation, calling itself either civilized or Christian, would have endured that any obstacle should be thrown in the way of the benevolent endeavours of individuals, to raise so large a number of their fellow-subjects, from such a dreadful depth of moral and religious degradation. How stands the fact? The Company, notwithstanding its own daring and wanton disregard of the most powerful and deeply rooted of all the superstitions of the Hindoos, (that respecting the sacredness of the life of a Bramin,) affected to feel so much alarm, lest the imprudence of the Missionaries should offend the prejudices of the Natives, that they not only forced the Baptist Missionaries to quit their territories, but applied to the Governor of the Danish Settlement at Serampore, in which they had taken refuge, to give them up; and it is to the virtuous firmness of that gentleman, in declaring that he would surrender them only to force, that their continuance in India is to be ascribed.

India is in many parts an extremely fertile country, and, in many, is densely peopled; but it is very deficient in capital. There are many wealthy individuals even among the Natives; but their number is small, compared with the population, the bulk of which is in the lowest state of poverty known to exist in any country bearing a claim to the title of civilized. Englishmen are not allowed to settle, and exert their means and skill in the improvement of the agriculture and manufactures of the country; and there are many circumstances tending to produce so general a feeling of insecurity, as to prevent the investment of any con-



siderable amount of Native capital in extensive or durable undertakings. Most of these circumstances lie at the door of the Honourable Company. One of them (and it is only *one* out of a long and frightful catalogue) is this :—the Company claim to be the universal landlords of the territories under their dominion, and exercise, what must appear, according to European notions, the monstrous extortion of squeezing out of their wretched subjects the whole annual rental of the land, as one branch of their revenue. In Bengal, Bahar, and Oressa, this land-revenue was fixed by Lord Cornwallis at *nine-tenths* of the actual rent, the remaining tenth being left to the Zemindar (or nominal landlord) as his recompense for the trouble of collecting, for superintendence, and some other services. The security afforded by even this settlement, has proved on the whole so far beneficial that the provinces, to which it applies, are less badly cultivated and less unprosperous than the other parts of the Company's territories. But the Company look with such jealous and greedy eyes on the comparative prosperity which their inordinate taxation has permitted to these provinces, that pretexes have been found, in many instances, for disputing the settlement; and accordingly, both zemindars, and ryots, or cultivators, have been reduced, in great numbers, to distress and utter ruin. If a similar arrangement were extended to their other provinces, the annual produce would, without doubt, be greatly increased. But this would not satisfy the cupidity of the Company; the object of any such settlement being to fix the total amount of the land-revenue, they would necessarily be precluded, by the terms of such an arrangement, from claiming the increase. On this account, although they have repeatedly and solemnly promised to grant a settlement to their other provinces, they have never been able to prevail upon themselves to do so;\* and, in *these* provinces, they have a number of Europeans, and a swarm of Native agents, constantly employed in annually estimating the produce of the different districts, and taxing them accordingly. Under a system like this, where every improvement would subject the miserable cultivator to an exaction, little or nothing short of the whole annual value of that improvement, it is obviously impossible that any considerable progress can be made; yet the Honourable Company choose to keep their fertile provinces in a comparatively unproductive state, and their subjects in hopeless poverty and depression, as well as to break their own solemnly pledged word, rather than suffer any advancement in prosperity, the *whole* annual value of which should not find its way into their coffers. It should be observed, too, that their duties on the transit of goods are very heavy; and that the refusal of the settlement, by preventing the increase of produce, prevents also the increase of the revenue from transit dues.

With all this cruel and enormous taxation, their revenue falls far

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\* It has totally and irremediably failed.—ED.

short of their expenditure ; and hence the alarmingly rapid increase of the Company's debt, from seven millions in the year 1793, to forty-two millions in 1826. Such is Monopoly ! It is impossible to go into any detail respecting the various oppressions and grinding monopolies, exercised under the sanction of the Company's authority, on the people of this devoted country ; I will therefore only *name* the monopolies of silk, of opium, and, above all, of salt ; the irregularities, frauds, and oppressions, in the collection of the different branches of the revenues ; and the extreme difficulty of obtaining redress, from the state of the administration of justice, which, chiefly from the irreconcilable unfitness of English law, especially of the system of procedure to the circumstances of the Hindoos, is frequently a source of oppression and misery, equal to all the foregoing causes united.

When all these things are considered, no one who reflects for a moment will be surprised that all improvement is nearly at a stand ; and that the processes of agriculture, and of the preparation of the produce of the soil for market, are in the same rude state in which they existed hundreds of years ago. He will be rather disposed to wonder at the power of endurance, at the vitality, which enable human society, under such circumstances, to exist at all. A full account of the sufferings of the people of British India, arising from the sources which we have barely indicated, would literally require volumes. But lest we should be suspected of having spoken of them in terms stronger than the facts of the case require or warrant, we must beg leave to refer the reader to Mr. Mill's '*History of British India*.' In the composition of this work, the author has availed himself of the '*Records of the Councils in India* ; of their correspondence with one another, with their servants, and with the constituted authorities in England ; all which have been brought forth by the fortunate publicity of parliamentary proceedings ; so that his statements have the strongest possible claims to confidence. Considering the fearless impartiality with which he has executed this most masterly work, it is an extraordinary circumstance, that he holds an important situation in the India House. We cannot forbear to recommend this book to the attentive perusal of every one, who wishes either to make himself acquainted with the subject under discussion, or who feels an interest in the promotion of good government, as one of the most important of the means toward the improvement and well-being of the human race.

As one of the first steps toward raising the condition of the people of India, it is necessary to wrest from the Company, the power of exercising such hideous oppression. But to excite their emulation and their industry ; to raise them from the state of torpor into which they have been plunged, by centuries of moral and political debasement : nothing seems to offer itself, as so

practicable and effectual an expedient, as to afford them the benefit of the capital, the skill, the enterprize, and the example of Englishmen. To the employment of this means, however, there exists at present, an effectual obstacle. By the terms of the Company's charter, no British-born subject is allowed to live within the territories of the Company, without their licence; and any private individual, not in the Company's service, after having been at the trouble and expense of procuring their license, and of the voyage to India, is liable at any moment, without cause assigned, to have that license revoked at the pleasure of the Company's officers in India, and to be sent off to England, as ignominiously as if he were a felon. However groundless may be this act of oppression, however great the injury to his affairs, there is no authority to whom he can appeal,—no earthly means of redress whatever. As if to make this terrible power, if possible, still more revolting to Englishmen, *foreigners* are exempt from its operation; for a foreigner, or a Native, if arrested in India, could be punished only after legal trial and conviction for any alleged offence.

If any doubt was ever *honestly* entertained, about the effects to be expected from the unrestricted settlement of Englishmen in British India, as cultivators, land-owners, merchants, manufacturers, &c., it has been most effectually dispelled by the result of the experiment in the growth and preparation of Indigo. About forty-five years ago, the export trade of this article from India did not exist. What was at that time produced by the Natives, was of so bad a quality, as to be unsaleable in Europe. The Company happily not interfering to prevent it, some Europeans embarked in the speculation; and there are now about three hundred indigo manufactories belonging to Europeans. These establishments export the article, to the value of nearly two millions sterling annually; they furnish almost all the indigo used in Europe; having, by their superiority in quality and ultimate cheapness, driven that produced in America, out of the European market. The consequences to the internal condition of India, are not less satisfactory. For it is shown, by the evidence of the most respectable authorities among the resident merchants of India, that the indigo districts are the best cultivated, the most peaceful, and the most prosperous, in the whole country; and that the extensive establishment of indigo-cultivation in a district is the usual forerunner of that state of affairs, so uncommon in British India, when the services of the troops are no longer required, either to keep the peace, or to *collect the revenue*. The result of this experiment is equally encouraging in a political, as in a commercial, point of view. For it has conclusively proved the groundlessness and absurdity of the alarms which the Company affected to feel lest Englishmen, if allowed to settle in India, as in any other British dependency, should drive the Natives by insult and oppression to revolt; or, by the assistance of an invading enemy, to effect our expulsion.

But if these advantages be likely to flow from unrestricted settlement in India, it should seem unaccountable that the Hon. Company itself should not be desirous of encouraging it! This seeming inconsistency will be explained by a sketch of its constitution. It consists of five or six thousands of shareholders, of all ages and of both sexes. Its affairs are managed by twenty-four Directors, among whom there are said to be only three mercantile men. —These Directors have at their disposal an immense amount of patronage. Besides, as they can divide *only*  $10\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum, as they pay these dividends, in effect, by borrowing, and as the magnitude of their debt is made the plea for the renewal of their Charter, (on which their patronage depends) they have a direct and powerful motive for the continuance of this ruinous system. They have, however, one last resource in this argument,—that the result of the improvement of British India, would be the establishment of its independence. Supposing it to be as true as I shall presently show it to be false, that it were possible to retain British India in subjection longer under the present system, than under that which I am advocating, the *just, humane, and generous* proposal couched under this argument,—that we should keep 100 millions of the human race in their present state of degradation and misery, in order that a fluctuating body of twenty-four Directors might continue to enjoy the fruits of their monopoly, (for it amounts to nothing else,) is an insult to English ears. How groundless, however, this danger is, at least for a long series of years to come, will appear from the following considerations.

The inhabitants of British India consist of a number of divers nations, differing in language, religion, habits, manners, as widely as the most dissimilar nations of Europe. These circumstances place an almost insuperable obstacle in the way of any general or very extensive combination against the British power. There are some indications, however, that the maintenance of the present system would be a work of increasing difficulty, and that a change in the constitution of Indian society, is in progress, which will be capable of being in no other way so beneficially influenced as by the free intercourse with Englishmen. The Hindoo population has always appeared, notwithstanding its prodigious numbers, to be deprived of the power of effectual combination, by its horribly anti-social system of *caste*; and to be, therefore, quite contemptible as a hostile power. But, whatever be the cause, that system, after having exercised its unmitigated despotism for thousands of years, has of late suffered a very considerable abatement of its rigidity. This circumstance has been pointed out by different observers; but by none more distinctly than by the late excellent Bishop Heber. He frequently alludes, in his delightful work, to the proofs which were continually presenting themselves to his observation, how much less formidable an obstacle *caste* was than formerly, or than

he had expected to find it, to the reception of Christianity, to improvement generally, or to intercourse with Europeans. Whoever will examine his Journal and Correspondence, with a view to this point, will find that his observations and reflections on the country itself, had *gradually* changed the prepossessions with which he entered India, in favour of the existing arrangements, into a settled conviction that an effectual change of system is not only highly desirable, but indispensably necessary.

Considering that this commencement of improvement has already been the effect of the very partial removal of the former restrictive policy; and that those restrictions *must* be still further relaxed, and in all probability altogether removed, at the approaching expiration of the Company's Charter, we need entertain no apprehensions that the steps, thus happily made, can possibly be retraced; they *must* proceed: and, seeing what has been their origin, and their course, it is obvious that they can in no other way be so safely or so effectually promoted, as by permitting and encouraging the intercourse of respectable Europeans with the Natives. From the distance, and consequent expense of conveyance to that country, it cannot be resorted to by Englishmen in any considerable numbers, except by such as are of respectable station. The wages of labour in India are too low to offer encouragement to European labourers; and Englishmen of respectable station can hardly settle there in any considerable number, without *gradually* introducing the spirit, and in some degree the forms, of English institutions. And what could be more gratifying or more honourable to the national character, than the introduction of that spirit, and of those institutions, into those vast and fertile regions?—than the education of a countless multitude of different nations, in *our arts, our civilization, our beneficent religion*?—Familiar with our language, and acknowledging with gratitude their obligations to it and to us, for a degree of moral and intellectual advancement, which no degree of cultivation of their indigenous system could ever have enabled them to attain;—such a people, connected with us by commercial and political ties, would contribute to our financial prosperity in the only way in which one country can ever be made justly, or even effectually, to contribute to the revenue of another. Let us not deceive ourselves with expectations of a surplus revenue to be derived from the internal taxation of India, or of any other country. Revenue can never be obtained from such a source, but by the most abominable injustice; nor can it be permanently thus extorted in any considerable amount, without impoverishing the dominant state itself. The only legitimate end of government, is the promotion of human happiness; and (as a principal means to that end) the efficient protection of person and property. But if the governing power take more than is required for its necessary expenses, *property is not completely and efficiently protected.*—No govern-

ment can have a right to take from any country more than sufficient to defray the expense of governing it; and it therefore follows that no country can justly draw a surplus revenue from another. No just government will ever attempt thus to plunder a weaker country; and no country strong enough to resist, will ever submit to be thus plundered.

But, further, it cannot be done with impunity, even to the dominant state itself; for it is an act of oppression so odious, that it cannot be enforced but by so arbitrary a system, as greatly to impair the prosperity of the subject country; and, by diminishing its power of production and its means of consumption, to injure the dominant state, by the diminution of its commerce, more than it can be benefitted by the produce of such oppression. Our expectations of revenue from India, therefore, must be confined to that to be derived from her external commerce, and from the increase in our internal consumption, to be caused by the extension of our trade with that country. And *here* is a field for our exertions more extensive than any which has yet been opened to our manufacturing skill and industry, great as they already are.

But, it will be asked, when the abject, dissimilar, and disunited nations of India shall have laid aside their mutual antipathies and animosities, and, through a long course of prosperity and good government, shall have become a wealthy, powerful, patriotic, and united people, will not the government of that country declare itself independent? We surely need not attribute to the British government of that day, a folly so egregious as the attempt to enforce any species of direct taxation, on between one and two hundred millions of unrepresented people, at the distance of half the globe, and animated by the spirit of the British constitution. In proportion as the people of a country so extensive, fertile, and populous, as India, advance toward the independent spirit of Englishmen, they must be approaching to a condition in which their continuance in subjection to a government at so great a distance would be neither suitable nor advantageous to either country. But for a very long period, the English settlers and their descendants will rely upon their mother country for support; and will therefore form the strongest connecting link between the two portions of the Empire. And long before their interests shall have become so united and identified with those of the Native races as to have changed these relations, so large and so important a part of the business of government in that country, will have been habitually transacted by local institutions and agents, that an amicable separation might be almost a matter of mere form, scarcely involving the displacement of a single functionary. Under such a state of things, the effective power on the soil of India must be so utterly disproportionate, as to prevent the idea of coercion from entering the imagi-

nation of any reasonable being ; and we may therefore anticipate, at the distance of ages, the Euthanasia of the political connexion, in a peaceful separation, which shall leave *both* countries in the full concession of mutual and unrestricted commerce ;—the principal, if not the only, source of the advantages of which the connexion can ever be productive to *either*.

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FROM HAFIZ.

WITH pleasure I talk of my pain,  
 To the world I my secret confide :  
 For the slave of love's powerful chain,  
 Is released from all trouble beside.

But, alas ! who shall give me the pow'r ;  
 E'en the half of my woes to declare ?  
 I'm the bird of a sanctified bow'r,  
 Say how did I fall in the snare ?

I once was an angel of light,  
 Yes, Eden has been my abode  
 Nor should I, had Eve stept aright,  
 Have e'er trod this disastrous road.

You ask me, how can I forget,  
 Fair Tooba's heart-ravishing trec,  
 And the Hoories with eye-balls of jet ;  
 I forget them, my charmer—for thee !

'Tis true—on the page of my heart,  
 Thy name I can only explore :  
 For Love, when he taught me this art,  
 Though with chastisement, taught me no more.

As yet no diviner has told,  
 What complexion my fortune has got,  
 Be it thine then, my fair, to unfold,  
 What stars have determin'd my lot.

Thee, Love, since I first understood,  
 New pains were my portion each hour :  
 My heart has run currents of blood,  
 Since first I experienc'd thy power.

My cheeks are with weeping defil'd,  
 Give thy tresses to wipe it away ;  
 Or Hafiz's roundelay wild,  
 In silence for ever 'twill lay.

## VOYAGE FROM BOMBAY TO MADRAS AND CALCUTTA.

## No. I.

*Severndroog—Angria—Goa—Mangalore—Tellicherry—Calicut.*

MARCH 19th.—Our preparations for sea being all complete, we embarked in the afternoon, with several passengers, for the Malabar Coast. It was about five p. m. when we made sail from our anchorage, and the pilot leaving us at six, we were clear of the harbour by sun-set. The breeze was fresh from the N. W., and the water smooth. The ship was in high order, and the crew steady, so that we had before us the prospect of an agreeable voyage. We enjoyed the pleasure and advantage of the moon, nearly at the full, and having brought the island of Kenery to bear east, at eight o'clock we bore up, and steered a course of S. S. E. along the coast, under all sail.

20th.—At day-light, we were abreast of the river of Bancoot, and could plainly distinguish Fort Victoria, on the hill which rises from the southern bank of this river, and near the point of its outlet into the sea. This fort is at present in possession of the British, and garrisoned by officers and sepoys from the Bombay army, by whom it was taken from the celebrated pirate, Angria, in the year 1755. It was then a strong hold for his forces, while the river admitted his piratical vessels, which were a source of constant and serious interruption to the British commerce along this coast; but it is now a valuable military post, as continuing the chain of forts along the coast, and a convenient place of cheap and abundant supply to shipping sailing from India to Europe.

About four leagues to the S. S. E. of the entrance to Bancoot river, and Fort Victoria, we came abreast of the small low island of Severndroog. This island is so close to the main land, as to be distinguished from it with difficulty, except by those who may have seen it before. This was another of the stations of the pirate Angria, and the fortifications on it were mostly hewn out of the solid rock, or where not excavated, built of large blocks of ten and twelve feet square. On this island, there are said to have been at one time, fifty pieces of cannon mounted, and in three other forts opposite to it on the continent, the works of which were also strongly constructed, were eighty other pieces of cannon, all belonging to Angria. In the year 1755, the island was attacked by a British squadron, under Commodore James, and on the walls being battered down, the buildings fired, and a powder magazine blowing up, the garrison attempted to escape over to Fort Goa, the principal one of the three on the opposite shore. They were intercepted, however, and made prisoners. The fort itself was next attacked,



and soon surrendered, though the governor of it passed over to the island of Severndroog, under the hope of being able to maintain a further stand there, not knowing, perhaps, the extent to which the fortifications were destroyed. A second attack was directed against this retreat of the fugitive, and the British sailors cutting a passage through one of the gates with their battle-axes, the complete conquest of it was speedily effected. The two remaining forts on the continent surrendered at the same time, and thus four of the fortresses of this chief, that were all held to be impregnable, were carried by a valorous little band in a single day, and this stroke was a prelude to the total annihilation of this piratical power, which was effected in the succeeding year.

At noon, we observed in lat.  $17^{\circ} 38' N.$ , and long.  $73^{\circ} 5' E.$ , in seventeen fathoms water. We were then nearly abreast of the river and fort of Angenweel. The river is said to admit the entrance of pretty large coasting vessels, and the fort is considered a sufficient protection for the place. Our offing from the coast was now, however, from two to three leagues, so that the minute features of it were not distinctly seen.

The sea-breeze set in freshly soon after noon, and we passed Cape Boria, a remarkably high, bluff head-land, perfectly barren, and having a small pagoda on its summit. At four p.m. we were off Zyghin, where the country appears to be beautifully wooded, and where we thought we could perceive a fine public road lined with trees, extending for several miles along the level table land, of a moderately high range, extending out to the north-westward.

At sun-set we were off Rettrah-Gheriah, or False Gheriah, called so, probably, from some deceptive appearances of resemblance to the real Gheriah, which is a place of note to the southward. The neck of land on which this place stands, is fortified all over, and there is an harbour, and a landing place on the other side of it. A large Banyan tree is spoken of as a sea-mark near to this place, as early as in the old charts of 1700, published by John Thornton, and is said still to exist, but as the night closed upon us soon after passing Rettrah-Gheriah, we did not perceive it.

21st.—We had passed in the night by Radjapour Fort, with a white pagoda on the summit of a hill near it, both of them visible by the bright moonlight and clear sky, which we enjoyed, as we kept within twelve to fifteen fathoms water, and consequently, not far from the shore.

At day-light, we were abreast of Gheriah, and the land breezes blowing fresh from the eastward, came off to us charged with the most agreeable odours, though there was nothing of woodiness or extraordinary verdure in the appearance of the country, that would have led us to expect this. The character of the land, as far as we

had hitherto remarked it from Bombay thus far, is high, and often broken into detached mountains, though there is seen here at Gheriah, a plain, extending for several miles from their basés to the edge of the coast, which appears every where fertile and productive.

At noon, having passed by Dewghur harbour, and Atchera river in the way, we observed in lat.  $16^{\circ} 3' N.$ , and were, by chronometer, in long.  $73^{\circ} 31' E.$ , with the island and fort of Melundy, or Malwan, bearing E. by N. five or six miles.

Both Gheriah and Malwan were, for a long period, the ports of pirates, who were powerful enough to commit very serious depredations on all the maritime trade of the coast. Gheriah was the chief seat of Angria, a noted marauder, whose power was acknowledged over an extent of nearly 300 miles along the coast, from near Bombay to Onora southward, and over all the breadth of the plain country from the sea coast to the feet of the Ghaut mountains, eastward. The existence of this piratical power was the original cause of the formation of the East India Company's marine at Bombay, for the protection of their own trade along the coast; and in the year 1717, an attempt was made on Gheriah, by this marine, with a body of troops on board, but it proved unsuccessful. The Dutch were also defeated in an attempt which they made on the same place in 1735, when they sent a strong force from Batavia against it. In the following year, the vessels of Angria took a large Indiaman, richly laden, called the *Derby*, as well as the *Restoration*, a ship of 20 guns, and 200 men, which had been fitted out purposely to cruise against them. From the French, they took the *Jupiter*, of 40 guns, and from the Dutch, they took several large ships also. The English commodore Lisle, in the *Vigilant*, of 64 guns, in company with the *Ruby* of 50 guns, and several smaller ships of war, were attacked by these pirates, who though they made no captures, got off safely from the contest themselves. In 1754, the fleet of Angria attacked a Dutch squadron, consisting of three ships, one of 50 guns, one of 36, and one of 18, and succeeded in burning the two larger ones, and capturing the smaller. In 1756, Admiral Watson, with two sail of the line, several frigates, and all the ships of the East India Company's marine, with 2,000 troops on board, in conjunction with another fleet and army, furnished by the Mahrattas for that purpose, attacked the fortress of Gheriah, and fortunately succeeded in reducing it. There were found in the fort, upwards of 200 pieces of cannon and mortars, besides an abundance of military stores of all kinds, and more than 100,000*l.* in money, which was divided equally among the captors, without reserve for the nation, or the East India Company, at whose expense the expedition had been fitted out. The whole of Angria's fleet was at the same time destroyed, as well as two large 40 gun ships building on the stocks; and since that time, though it has been a port of the Mahrattas,

it has not been as before, a nest of pirates, against all nations and flags.

Malwan was also for a long period the resort of a piratical race, distinct from those under Angria, at Gheriah, and called from the name of their island, Malwani. As the Rajah of this place was a despotic chief, like all the other sovereigns of this country, the vessels were fitted out entirely at his expense, and the prizes brought in by them were solely his own, out of which he bestowed as his caprice might direct, rewards and donations on the captors of them. The appearance of this island from the sea, is agreeable, and the walls of the fortifications may be seen a long way off. The island is low, and opposite to it on the continent, are other fortifications, which may sometimes be seen over it. This place is now in possession of the East India Company, who have a resident and a garrison there, and the British flag was displayed as we passed it.

As the ground is said to be foul along this part of the coast, within the depth of ten fathoms, we kept along in the line of fifteen, steering S.S.E., in the direction of the coast. At 2 P. M., having gone about eleven miles, we had the two longest of the Vingorla rocks in one, bearing N.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. These are rather islands than rocks, though barren and uninhabited, and lie off the fort of Newtee, which belongs to the English, but is a place of no importance. The passage between the Vingorla islands and the main land, is thought to be safe only for small vessels, as the channel has many rocks in it, the positions of which are not well known, though the passage is nearly two miles in breadth, and has in most places, from six to eight fathoms water. The Vingorla rocks are sometimes called the Burnt Islands, probably from their parched and barren appearance. There are in all upwards of twenty in number, that are visible above the water, and though some of them are low, there are others that are upwards of fifty feet above the water's edge. They appear to occupy a space of about five miles in length, and they are generally distant from two to five miles from the continent. Those of the southernmost group appear to be connected by a reef, but many of the other seem to have clear passages between them.

As we had a favourable breeze, we passed by Rarce, Chiracole, and Chapra, three forts on the coast, in the afternoon, seeing them all, and distinguishing the flag-staffs, but observing no colours displayed on them. The two last of these garrisons are in the possession of the Portuguese, who do not usually display their colours here, except to answer those of their own vessels.

At sun-set, we approached the entrance to Goa, which at this hour of the day, looked particularly interesting. The white monastery of Nostra Senhora de la Cabo, which is seated on the summit of a steep promontory overlooking the waves of the sea, was just receiving the last rays of light that lingered in the west, and from its elevated site, seemed still to enjoy the sunshine, while the sha-

dows of evening were giving their darker hue to every other object. Our bearings were then,—the Monastery S.E. by E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., the Flag-staff of Algoada E. by S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S., and the outermost of the St. George's Islands S.S.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. about four leagues. We all regretted our not having occasion to touch at Goa, a place of such note in the Portuguese annals of this country, and one, according to report, of so much architectural splendour, in ruined and deserted churches, monasteries, nunneries, inquisitions, colleges, and palaces of state. We read its history on passing it, with more of interest than is commonly felt when one is very remote from the scene treated of, and we indulged a hope that the more tolerant and liberal policy of the British, in their government of India, would prevent their capitals from falling into the degraded state of this once splendid seat of Catholic bigotry and vice-regal power.

22d.—We had light airs from off the land during the night, and at day-break were abreast of Cape Ramers, a bluff head-land projecting from the line of the coast, so as to form a bay on each side. This cape, or the river Salsette, about two miles to the northward of it, is considered as the limit between the provinces of the Southern Concan, and Canara, the former of which ends, and the latter begins here.

At ten A. M., we were off Carwar, or as it is called by some, Suda-saghur, a fort at the entrance of a river, which is said to have two and a half and three fathoms over its bar, and to be capable, therefore, of receiving ships of three or four hundred tons burthen. It was once a place of great commercial consequence, and had a British factory for the collection of pepper, and coarse cotton cloths, manufactured in the country. As early as 1684, the trade here was interrupted by some English sailors having stolen a cow, and killed it, which, as the Natives were Hindoos, incensed them so much as to lead them to open hostilities, in which two children of rank were killed, and the irritation thereby increased.

Nearly opposite this place, are a number of small islets, which are called the Oyster Rocks. These are all above water, though destitute of vegetation, and there is said to be a safe passage as well as good anchorage between them and the main; the depths varying from three to six fathoms on a muddy bottom.

At noon, we observed in lat.  $14^{\circ} 46'$  N., and were by chronometer, in long.  $73^{\circ} 58'$  E., with the island of Anjediva bearing E.  $\frac{3}{4}$  N. distant nine or ten miles, and our soundings in twenty fathoms.

This island of Anjediva is about a mile in length, and is separated from the continent by a strait of about two miles across, which is safely navigable, having six or seven fathoms water in mid-channel, and no hidden dangers. It is in possession of the Portuguese, and though it appears to be barren and rocky toward the sea, it is said

to be fertile and agreeable on the eastern side, or towards the land. Anjediva was at first used by the Portuguese, as a convenient place to careen and refit their ships. It was subsequently used as a retreat by the British troops, under Sir Abraham Shipman, who were sent to take possession of Bombay, when that island was ceded to us on the marriage of the British King with the Infanta of Portugal, but who being refused admittance, by order of the Vice-Roy of Goa, landed here at Anjediva. From the unhealthiness of the climate, and the wants of proper supplies, the troops were reduced from 400 to 103 men, and their commander himself fell a victim, before the object of their expedition was fulfilled. At present, there is a small town and castle there, with a few gardens, and the island is now used as a place of transportation for felons from the Portuguese possessions on this side of India. To the eastward of it are two smaller islets near the shore, and another about four miles to the south-east, which lies about two miles off the land.

During the afternoon we had moderate breezes from the N. W., and at sun-set were up with Fortified Island, having Merjee river to the N. E., and Onore to the S. E. of us. The river of Merjee is accessible to vessels drawing sixteen feet water, and it is said to be the best place on all the coast, for wooding and water. There is still a fort there, though no English troops occupy it; but the port is frequented by coasting vessels, as a place of trade in rice, pepper, &c.

Fortified Island is about six miles in circumference, and is separated from the continent by a strait of a mile broad, navigable for large boats. It derives its name from the circumstance of its being fortified all around with a stone wall, the towers of which are visible from the sea; but this is an Indian work, and it is now no longer used.

Onore is not more than two miles to the southward of this island. The town is seated at the entrance of a salt-water river, at the bar of which there is only nine feet water, though within the depth increases to two and three fathoms. This river being navigable a considerable way inland, is used for the bringing down sandal wood and pepper from the surrounding country, these being the principal exports from hence. This town was once one of the most considerable on the coast of Canara for its trade, and the celebrated Mohammedan chief, Hyder Ali, had constructed docks there, and established a naval arsenal for building frigates and other ships of war. It was taken from him by General Matthews in 1783, and all the garrison put to the sword. It was restored, however, to his son, the famous Tippoo Sahib, by the treaty of Mangalore, and soon afterwards demolished by him. It has since been restored to the East India Company, who have now a custom-house, &c., established there.

23d. During the night we had light winds, and from midnight

till near dawn, a calm. The land breeze then sprung up, and at day-light we saw Pigeon Island, bearing S. by E.  $\frac{3}{4}$  E. three miles, and Hog Island E.S.E. We were desirous of going through these Islands, though the common passage is on the outside; but throughout the whole of the forenoon we had a light air from the southward, accompanied by a northerly current, which set us slowly but gradually up the coast again.

At noon, we observed in lat.  $14^{\circ} 9' N.$ , and were in long.  $74^{\circ} 22' E.$ , with Pigeon Island bearing S. by E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  E. four or five miles, and Hog Island, S.E. by E.  $\frac{3}{4}$  E. We here spoke the ship *Nep-tune* from Bengal, bound to Bombay, but received no communication of news from her, except that she had touched at Mangalore, and left all well there.

A breeze springing up from seaward, we crowded all sail, and stood on for the passage between the islands, which we entered soon after one o'clock, having sixteen fathoms nearly in mid-channel.

Pigeon Island, the outermost of these two, is about two or three miles in circumference, and nearly 100 feet in elevation above the level of the sea. Its form is oval and rounded, and its steep sides and summits are covered with trees and verdure, though it is not inhabited. On the east, and south-east, are two small islets, both visible above water, and the Island is safe to approach all round, having twenty fathoms within a mile of its western shore, and twelve close to its eastern one. The passage between it and Hog Island is four leagues across, and perfectly safe either for standing in, or for beating through.

Hog Island is of somewhat less circumference, though apparently about the same elevation as the former. It is however of a different shape, as it rises in a purely pyramidal form from a broad base to a sharp point. Its steep sides are also well wooded, but it has no inhabitants. It lies directly east from Pigeon Island, at the distance of four leagues, but it is separated from the continent by an innavigable strait of less than a mile across.

In the afternoon, as the haze over the land cleared up, we saw the lofty peak of Barsalone, a mountain about ten miles inland, which rises to the height of nearly 5000 feet, and is thought to be the highest part of all the Ghauts. Just here we spoke the ship *Volunteer*, from Bengal, bound to the Persian Gulf, and last from Mangalore, where she had watered, and which place she had left two days since.

24th.—We had light airs during the whole of the morning, so that our progress was very slow, and the weather was warmer than we had yet felt it.

At noon, we observed in lat.  $13^{\circ} 22' N.$ , and were in long.  $74^{\circ} 47' E.$ , being then nearly abreast of the cluster of islands called

St. Mary's Rocks, which lie generally at the distance of four or five miles from the shore, and have a passage between them and the main, with four or five fathoms water, but frequented by boats only. After passing these, we came immediately in sight of another group of islands, called the Permeina Rocks by some, from the old Portuguese name, and the Molky Rocks by others, from the native name of the nearest river to them. These islands differ but little from the former, except that they are nearly double the distance from the shore, and that the passage between them and the main is more frequently used by boats. There are said to be many sunken rocks about both these clusters, so that it is advised not to approach them nearer than fifteen or sixteen fathoms in the night, as within that depth the soundings are irregular, and the change of depth sudden.

Having now a fine sea breeze, we continued to carry all sail, and approaching the coast gradually, we hauled in for Mangalore Roads, where we soon perceived a ship and several boats lying; and taking these as our beacons after dark, we shoaled in by the lead to five fathoms, and anchored among them for the night.

25th.—At day-light, some of the passengers who had come with us from Bombay, left the ship with their family and servants, to remain on shore a day at Mangalore, and I very gladly acceded to their invitation to accompany them. We had anchored in five fathoms water, with the flag-staff bearing E. by N., and were then nearly four miles from the shore, so that as the land breeze blew fresh, it was more than an hour before we reached the bar of the river, on which the town of Mangalore stands. This river is accessible to vessels drawing less than twelve feet water, and affords excellent shelter within, as it is protected from the sea by a long and high ridge of land running nearly parallel with that arm of it on which the town stands. There are two branches of this river which form a junction near the point of its outlet to the sea. The largest goes in an easterly direction from the bar, and is said to be navigable for about sixteen miles. The smaller goes northerly, or almost parallel to the coast for about half that distance, and it is on the eastern bank of this that the town of Mangalore is seated, having the river in front, and a long ridge of sandy soil going parallel with it between the river and the sea. The approach to the Custom-house and common landing places, is rendered difficult and inconvenient by an extensive flat, which is partly dry at low water, and but barely admits of a large ship's boat floating over it at high tides. We were aground in our boat at a distance of three or four hundred yards from the beach, and were transported afterwards in flat-bottomed boats of the place, built expressly for this service.

We found palanquins in variety, which conveyed us to the house of the Deputy-Collector of Customs in Malabar and Canara, an

office subservient to the Collector at Calicut, and filled, as most of the stations in these districts are, by a gentleman of the civil service of Madras. We all met a warm reception, and as our entertainer was a person with whose name and good qualities I had long been acquainted, from knowing many of his friends, so I found a kind welcome, and felt myself perfectly at home.

In the course of the day, we were visited by several officers of the Indian army; one residing here as Commissary for the supplying of horses to the Madras cavalry; another recruiting for the new regiments to be added to the Bombay army; and a third staying here on account of health. In the evening we returned the visits of these gentlemen, and between five o'clock and sun-set, enjoyed an agreeable walk over the hills, which furnished us an opportunity of seeing the ruins of the old Mogul Fort, and a great part of the present town; as well as of enjoying some charming views of the country behind it, from some of the most favourable points of view. This excursion was improved and enlivened by the communications of our companions, on matters of local interest, most agreeably mingling information with pleasure.

During the reign of Hyder Ali, Mangalore was in some respects the capital of his dominions, and was always the greatest sea-port, and place of the most extensive trade among all his possessions on the coast. In the year 1768, the British forces occupied it, and all the vessels which it then contained were captured by them. Not long after this, however, it was again recovered by Hyder, who added progressively to its defensive strength. His ships too, which had been all taken at its first capture, were afterwards replaced by several ships of the line, besides frigates and sloops. Notwithstanding this increase of strength, the place was again taken by the British troops under General Matthews in 1781. It continued to be unmoled until 1793, when it was invested by Tippoo Sahib, the son of Hyder Ali, who appeared before it in person at the head 140,000 men. This besieging army was assisted by French officers of artillery and engineers, besides others of infantry; but the defence that was made by Colonel Campbell, who then commanded, was as gallant as the attack was determined. Such an extreme of famine was suffered in the garrison, that the most disgusting means were had recourse to for the allaying of hunger and thirst, and animals and reptiles not usually eaten were sold at prices beyond all credibility. The besieged made frequent sallies on their enemies, and often dislodged ten times their own number from the trenches; and as the siege was of long continuance, many lives were of course lost on both sides. The defence was effectual however, as indeed it deserved to have been, for the place was not given up until the close of the war, when it was surrendered on honourable terms, and was then found to be little more than a heap of ruins. On the



conquest of Mysore, this town again reverted to the possession of the English, by whom it has been peaceably possessed ever since.

The country surrounding Mangalore, is as fine as can be conceived; and besides its amazing fertility in many descriptions of Indian produce, it possesses all the picturesque beauties of hill and dale, mountain and plain, wood and water; with some of the most happy combinations of all these objects, which give to the beholder on one side, all the charms of a rural landscape, while on the other his view ranges over the unbounded ocean.

The town itself contains little worthy of observation, as the buildings are all of a mean kind, and differ in nothing from those of the same class in the northern parts of India. The ruins of the Fort, which still remain, form a conspicuous eminence, as compared with the general level, though it is completely demolished as a fortress, and in that sense may, with strict propriety, be called a mere heap of rubbish. It appears to have been nearly square in form, and was less than a mile in circumference. The ditch by which it was encompassed was both broad and deep, and was lined on both faces with brick-work, the same material as that with which the Fort itself was constructed. Some of this may still be seen in solid isolated masses, the brick and cement adhering with a firmness that bade defiance to artillery, and still continues unimpaired by the slower but more certain ravages of time. The bank of the southern ditch forms the road to the Collector's house.—The northern ditch is overlooked by the residence of the Colonel Commandant, and has been converted by that officer into a garden, the contrast of which, with the surrounding ruins, gives it a very romantic and interesting appearance. On the summit of the Fort, a flight of steps and a terrace has been built, on which the English residents here frequently enjoy an evening walk, and combine a fine sea view with the cooling freshness of the breeze. The houses of the English gentlemen are all seated above the Fort, or on higher ground, and tents and bungalows are pitched on still more elevated situations at a little distance from the towns, and on spots chosen for the purity of air, and extent of view which they command. The style of the buildings is like that used in such other parts of India as I have seen, in which the chief aim is to exclude the sun, and make every room as shady and as cool as possible. The interior arrangement is such too, that extreme cleanliness and great comfort is enjoyed—but to obtain this, architectural beauty is entirely disregarded, as an object of inferior consideration.

The population of Mangalore, confining it to the town and its immediate neighbourhood, is estimated to amount to about 20,000, though the district under that name contains more than 100,000. These are divided into Hindoos, Mohammedans and Christians.

The first of these are, upon the whole, the most numerous.

They are in general worshippers of Shiva, and differ in no striking particulars from those of the same sect elsewhere. They are mostly the cultivators of the soil, and the mechanics of the country, though there are many of them employed as writers, peons, and other inferior officers and servants under the government. They have a slight peculiarity of dress, and the usual sectarial mark on their foreheads to distinguish them; they are clean in their appearance, and respectful in their deportment; but their moral character for integrity, does not stand so high as one might expect.

The Mohammedans, who are the least numerous as a body, are also the least respectable of all the classes here. Some few of them are wealthy as merchants, but the greater part are indigent rather from their own debauchery and extravagance, than from the want of means to enrich themselves. They are said to be faithless in their engagements, and ready to take every undue advantage over those with whom they may have transactions; while at the same time they are so regardless of the future, as to lavish all their gains on the gratifications of the moment, in which new additions to their harem hold the principal share.

The Christians of Mangalore are held to be the most upright and intelligent class, and they are so numerous as to have great weight and influence in the community. These are of the same race of people as the Aborigines of the country, and their ancestors were Hindoo worshippers of Shiva, as the great mass of the population here at present still are. During the Portuguese Empire in India, while the Jesuits had their College and an Inquisition at Goa, such zealous exertions were made by these propagators of the Christian faith, that there were few parts of the western coast of India in which their influence was not felt and acknowledged by the conversion of heathens to their faith. Here at Mangalore the greatest number of proselytes seem to have been made, and the present race of Christians now here, are the pure lineal descendants of the originally converted Hindoos, without the least mixture of European blood. In almost all other parts of India, the Christian converts are made from the very lowest orders of the people, and are of such abandoned characters as generally to have lost all esteem and consideration among their own castes, and often to have been expelled from it before they think of embracing Christianity when they do it entirely from motives of temporal advantage, so that they form a body of the most immoral, dissolute, and unprincipled villains that can any where be found. Here, on the contrary, the Christians being the descendants of a stock which was originally one of the most respectable in the country, and being themselves brought up from their infancy, to the faith which they profess, they are mostly men of honourable principles and exemplary conduct, and consequently enjoy a high reputation even

among the Hindoos and Mohammedans, by whom they are surrounded.

Among these Christians are to be found landholders, merchants, and tradesmen; and from their superior intelligence and fidelity, they are employed in all offices of trust under the government, in preference to any others; and in all situations they acquit themselves well. In dress and general appearance they differ so little from the Hindoos, that but for the omission of the sectarial mark on their foreheads, a stranger would find it difficult to distinguish them. Their churches, which are numerous, are neat buildings in the Portuguese style, with the interior fitted up in as much of the gaudy pomp of Catholic decoration as their means will admit of. The officiating Priests are native Indians of their own race, who are sent while yet children, to Goa, and there educated for their office, and instructed in all that may relate to church discipline and ceremonial, as well as to matters of faith and practice. On their return from the college, they observe all the rules of life enjoined to the priesthood, and discharge the same functions as in Europe, performing the mass and administering the sacraments in Latin, and preaching to their audience in their own native tongue. As far as the short opportunity which I had of observing them would admit of my forming any opinion, they appeared to me to be as happy as they were respectable, and certainly offered an encouraging example of what a favourable change might be effected in the morality of the people in India, by educating the young, rather than converting the old, to the doctrines and precepts of the Christian religion.

The trade of Mangalore has declined since the days of Hyder Ali, in whose time it was the chief sea-port on the coast. It has still further fallen off within the last year or two from the interruption which the Joassamee Pirates in the Persian Gulf give to the free passage of vessels in that sea, as well as from the descents which they some times make on this coast itself. The imports from the northward consist of Foua, a substance like madder root, used for dyeing red, brought from Muscat; coarse cotton cloths and ghee, from Surat and Cutch, and salt from Bombay and Goa. From Madras, also, manufactured cloths are sent; and from Bengal, sugar; while both from the latter country and from China, vessels occasionally land a small quantity of raw silk, which is consumed by manufactures in the interior. The exports are rice, pepper, small spars, sandal wood, betel-nut, turmeric and cassia, which are all the produce of the surrounding country, and are supplied to such vessels, both Arab and English, as may touch here for them, as there are no vessels properly belonging to the port itself.

The climate of this part of the coast is thought to be so superior to that of most parts of India, that invalids resort to it from each of

the three Presidencies. Its immediate vicinity to the sea, gives it all the benefit of the cool and fresh breezes from that quarter, and the land behind it being well cultivated, dry, and hilly, no ill effects are experienced when the wind blows from thence. Supplies of animal food, vegetables and fruit, are generally to be commanded, and on the whole it may be considered as one of the most agreeable countries for a residence in India, to those who can quit the gayer circles of the Presidencies without regret.

26th.—We re-embarked after breakfast, with an addition to our passengers of some officers who had been staying here some time to recover their health, and who had now taken a passage with us to Madras. In our way off, we called on board the new ship *Diana*, on her way from Cochin, where she had been recently launched to Bombay, having on board an old Indian general of seventy, with a young and handsome wife of twenty; a Dutch Baron and his lady going to Siout, and an officer of the Madras Engineers taking a sea voyage for the benefit of his health. We were detained here most agreeably for an hour or two, so that it was long past noon before we quitted them to go on board our own vessel.

At 3 P. M. being all embarked, we weighed and made sail, with a fine breeze from the N. W. We observed little of the coast in passing, except an isolated piece of table land, which is called Barn-hill in the charts. At 5 P. M. we had Mount Formosa, another remarkable hill, bearing N. E., our soundings in sixteen fathoms, and distance off shore five or six miles. At sun-set we saw Mount Dilly, bearing S. E. by E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  E. at least ten leagues off; and at ten P. M. having gone  $29\frac{1}{2}$  miles by the log, we were abreast of it, having it to bear East at the distance of three or four miles, and our soundings in fifteen fathoms. As we had to touch at Tellicherry, we shortened sail, and at midnight having run our distance by the log, within a mile or two, which we allowed for drift, we hove to under the top-sails, to await day-light for entering the port.

27th.—When the dawn opened, it displayed to us the town of Tellicherry right a-head, with a number of small vessels anchored in the roads. As the land breeze blew strongly off, we had some difficulty in gaining the anchorage, but we effected it by a tack off and on shore, and came to about P. M. in four fathoms, a building like a church bearing N. N. E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  E. off shore from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to two miles.

Having occasion to go on shore to expedite the shipping of 1000 bags of pepper, to be taken in the ship from hence to Madras, we profited by the occasion to visit some of the English gentlemen here, and had an opportunity of seeing several parts of the town, from some of the most commanding points of view.

In approaching it from the sea, Tellicherry has a much more interesting appearance than Mangalore. There is no river here, nor any intervening bank of land to hide the houses, but many of them

stand on the very beach, which is washed by the sea. The cliffs upon the edge of the shore are formed of pudding-stone, from which masses in the form of bricks are cut out while fresh and soft, and acquire, by exposure to the air, a hardness equal to that of the most solid material. Basaltic rock is also seen, and a black range of this runs along parallel to the shore, at a mile distant from it, extending for more than a mile in length, where its tops are visible above the sea, and probably more, if the reefs below water at each end are included. Between the range of rocks and the shore, small vessels are frequently laid up for shelter during the S. W. monsoon; but large ships always anchor well without them at a distance of two or three miles at least. The face of the country is gently undulating, and the soil being a light red mould, the earth is productive, and every part of it fertile and well wooded. I saw the pepper vine, as it is called here, for the first time, forming a creeper round large trees, and most of the population of Tellicherry were in some way or other engaged in the cultivation of the plant, or the gathering, drying, and preparation of its fruit. Some natural or artificial elevations that were chosen by the earliest fortifiers of this place, for small forts, are now occupied by small bungalows, to which the European residents resort for the pleasure of cooler nights, and a fresher and a purer air than can be enjoyed below. At the same time that these positions are applied to a most useful and agreeable purpose—the mixture of castellated ruins, broken turrets, and falling bastions, with the fresh buildings of the present day, erected on their summits, give a romantic appearance to the whole.

- As the principal station for the collection of pepper on the Malabar coast, Tellicherry has always been a port of great consequence, in a commercial point of view. It was invested in 1781 by the forces of Hyder Ali, who established a fortified camp in the neighbourhood, to cover the works which he threw up for the attack on the place. In the beginning of the following year, Major
- Abingdon brought a strong reinforcement from Bombay, for the relief of the town, and his operations were conducted with so much secrecy and skill, that he came upon the enemy by night, when they were not in the least prepared for such a visit, and he not only carried all their forts and outworks, but entered their camp, and routed them in all directions. The number of the killed was considerable, and about 1500 were taken prisoners. The whole of the military stores, including a large train of artillery, and a numerous body of elephants used in the war, fell into the conqueror's possession, and the victory was altogether so complete, that the whole district around Tellicherry was relieved by it from the presence of their enemies.

There is still a large fort of Christian architecture existing here, and standing near the centre of the houses toward the beach. It has an elevated site, and commands the anchorage of the small

vessels in the harbour, but it is now nearly dismantled, and has neither a flag-staff to display the colours of the nation on, nor any troops to garrison it. Within the walls of this fort are several good dwellings, used at present by the resident servants of the Company; but it might, if required, be still used as a military work of defence.

The great military station for this part of the coast is at Cananore, a strong fortress about seven or eight miles to the northward of this place. This was first visited by the Portuguese as early as the year 1501, were they kindly received, but obtaining permission to build a fort, they soon drove out the inhabitants. In 1660 the Dutch in their turn expelled the Portuguese, and ten years afterwards they had spent 50,000*l.* in strengthening the fortifications. It was sold by them to a native prince, for 100,000 rupees; was afterwards taken by Tippoo Sahib: and in 1790 Major-General Abercrombie took possession of it with a British force, since which period it has uninterruptedly remained in our possession. There are frequently two or three regiments stationed here, from whence they are drafted, as occasion may require, to supply the wants of the subordinate stations. The East India Company possess scarcely any territory beyond the fort, the country there being under a female sovereign, called the Beebee of Cananore. This Beebee has several vessels under her own flag, which trade along the coast, and frequently touch at Tellicherry; but though nominally independent, all her revenues, duties, and every other part of their political and commercial economy, is regulated by the approbation of the Company.

There are, properly speaking, two towns at Tellicherry; the one near the sea, which is inhabited chiefly by Portuguese and by such of the native Indians as are in the employ of the government; and a large, but meaner town, a little farther inland, among the trees, inhabited solely by natives, who are occupied for themselves, and in their own business. The population is composed of Hindoos, Mohammedans and Christians. The former are the most numerous, and are as respectable as those at Tellicherry. The Mohammedans are of a worse description, and the Christians who are here, mostly the degenerate descendants of Portuguese, are also inferior in moral character to those Indian Catholics described at the former place.

The trade is at present almost solely confined to the exportation of pepper, and the importation of such articles as are suited to the immediate consumption of the place. Most of the pepper grown in Malabar and Canara, is collected here as at a central station, and both the Company's ships and private traders call here, after leaving Bombay, to fill up with that article for England. A small quantity of rice, sandal wood, betel-nut, and most of the common productions of the country may be found here also, but not in such quantities as to be of much importance.

The road of Tellicherry admits of a nearer approach to ships, than many of the anchorages along the coast, and from the projection of

Mount Dilly to the northward with the small island called Green or Grove island, when ships are near the shore there is smoother water also, while the depth is convenient and the holding ground good.

Soon after noon, the Company's principal civil servant here sent his curricle for us, to come out and dine with him, but his residence being at a distance of several miles in the country, we were compelled to decline the invitation. It is remarked as a peculiar feature of Tellicherry, that the dwelling houses of the English families are farther apart than at any station along the coast. Two of them were named, which were six miles distant from each other, and therefore visits could not be conveniently made, except in carriages.

We paid a visit to a young gentleman of the Madras service, in our palanquins, and took an early dinner with the judge, previous to our embarkation. It was intended that we should have taken an evening ride to Mahé, which is only five miles to the southward of this, and has a beautiful country and fine roads between it and Tellicherry; but desirous as I was of seeing a French settlement and French people in this part of the world, the ship being reported by signal as ready for sea, prevented my doing so.

At 4 P. M. we embarked, and found that the whole quantity of 1000 bags of pepper, had been loaded and stowed by the ship's company without other assistance, in about four hours; an unusually short space of time for such a task. Some of it had been wetted by the spray of the sea in bringing it off from the shore, but we were told that instead of the sea-water injuring pepper, as it does most other articles, it was rather beneficial than otherwise, and this was confirmed to us by all who were most conversant with the subject.

At sun-set, we weighed and made sail with a fine breeze from the N. W. It being very dark after the twilight had closed, we saw nothing of the coast, though we kept along in eight fathoms, or within a league of it, nor did we perceive any thing of Sacrifice Rock, which lies about S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. from Tellicherry, distant five leagues, although we passed between it and the main, just in mid-channel, or about a league distant from each, in eight and nine fathoms water.

At 11 P. M., having run our distance within a mile or two by the log, which we allowed for drift, we shortened sail, and hove to under the topsails; considering ourselves to be nearly abreast of Calicut, at which place we intended anchoring, to land some of the passengers, and to fill up the remaining stock of water for sea.

28th.—When the day opened upon us, we found the town of Calicut right-a-head, bearing about East, at the distance of less than a league. We accordingly filled and stood in under the topsails for the anchorage, coming to in five fathoms, with the flag staff bearing E. by N., distant off shore from two to three miles.

At sun-rise, the passengers quitted the ship, and I accompanied them on shore. We were met on our way by the official assistants and friends of the parties, who had made all preparation for our reception, and on reaching the shore, we accordingly found carriages, palanquins, and chairs ready to convey us to their residences.

In the course of the day, we received visits from the principal people of the settlement ; among whom were the Circuit Judge, the Resident Judge, the Collector of the Land Revenues, the Conservator of the Forests in Malabar, the Registrar, and the Master Attendant of the Port, an interesting old sailor of seventy, who had seen almost every part of the globe ; several officers of the Bombay establishment, a Lieutenant of the Madras army and his lady, the surgeon, and a Captain of H. M. 17th foot, and others who had come down here with their families, for their health. We closed a day of great pleasure by an evening ride over some fine parts of the country, and were delighted with the charming prospects which it presented to us.

29th.—There being seldom any other religious observance of Sunday, at the out-stations in India, beyond that of closing the public offices, and enjoying a respite from business ; it is a day more particularly devoted to the paying and returning of visits, in which the morning is consumed, and in the evening there is generally a party at the house of one of the principal residents, to which all the rest are invited.

It was thus that after the former part of the day had been got through in returning our visitors' calls of yesterday, the whole of the family with whom I was staying, and several others of their guests, rode out to the residence of the Collector of Revenue, at a distance of about three miles from the town, where we had all been invited to dine. We found already assembled here the whole of the European residents, with the ladies of such among them as were married, though it was just past three o'clock, and the dinner hour was nominally at four. The ladies were all in full evening dresses, but the gentlemen were all in white jackets ; the freedom of an out-station admitting of this indulgence even to strangers, without its being considered disrespectful. There being two billiard tables in the verandahs, the gentlemen were occupied in this game, and the ladies barely found a companion each to beguile their time until dinner.

This was at length announced, and we sat down, in number about twenty, to a very sumptuously furnished table, where turtle-soup, excellent fish, choice turkeys and poultry, old Madeira wines, iced claret, and sparkling champaign were in such abundance as to have furnished a feast to any number of the most fastidious epicures. It is this constant and universal manner of high and expensive living which prevails over every part of India, in which the English are found, that ultimately injures their health to such a degree as to destroy all relish for the greatest luxuries that even Indian wealth



can procure. In the present instance, as I had already seen it in a hundred others, the table literally groaned beneath the weight of the good things with which it was loaded, and at least ten or a dozen dishes were taken away without being tasted; while those that were used were consumed in such small quantities as to justify the assertion, that not one tenth part of the provisions set on the table were consumed, though the guests were all in good health and spirits.

The twilight was passed in an agreeable ramble over the sides of the hills, on whose summit the dwelling of our entertainer was seated, and we enjoyed all the refreshing coolness of the sea breeze long after sun-set, and saw the shadow of night steal over the fine mountain scenery of the interior before we returned from our walk.

Our evening was divided between billiards, cards, chess, and backgammon, and a sofa party for conversation. The rigour of the Protestant mode of observing Sunday in England, soon relaxes in India into a freedom quite equal to that of the Catholic, when a small community like the present finds time to hang heavy on their hands without amusements, and when they have no clerical censors at hand to repeat to them the fourth commandment. As among the Catholics of Europe, however, this laxity in the religious observances of Sunday, so prevalent among the Protestants of India, is by no means indicative of a similar laxity in general morals. Since in both classes it is found among those of the highest principles, the firmest integrity, and the most unblemished reputation.

We retired at an early hour, or before ten o'clock, after a temperate and rational enjoyment of the day, and prolonged our ride homeward for the sake of breathing the delicious coolness of the land breeze and the night air.

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STANZAS.

'Tis not an eye of deepest blue,  
'Tis not a cheek of rosy hue,  
'Tis not a vermeil tinctur'd lip  
Where dewy nectar we might sip—  
'Tis not in shape or face, we own the spell,  
It dwells in something that we cannot tell.

And happiness lies not in wealth,  
Nor in the joys of buxom health,  
Nor yet in Fortune's gifts profuse,  
Nor in the treasures of the Muse;—  
All these a blythesome spirit cannot give,  
Without a something else it cannot live!

M. B.

## HINDA. AN EASTERN ELEGY.

*From Maurice's Poems.*

LED by the star of evening's guiding fires,  
 That shone serene on Aden's lofty spires,  
 Young Agib trod the solitary plain,  
 Where groves of spikenard greet his sense in vain.  
 In wealth o'er all the neighbouring swains supreme,  
 For manly beauty every virgin's theme.  
 But no repose his anxious bosom found,  
 Where sorrow cherish'd an eternal wound !  
 The frequent sigh, wan look, and frantic start,  
 Spoke the despair that prey'd upon his heart,  
 The haunts of men no more his steps invite,  
 Nor India's treasures give his soul delight :  
 In fields and deep'ning shades he sought relief,  
 And thus discharg'd the torrent of his grief.

“ Ye swains, that through the bowers of pleasure rove,  
 Ye nymphs that range the myrtle glades of love,  
 Forgive a wretch, whose feet your bow'rs prophane,  
 Where joy alone and happy lovers reign :  
 But oh ! this breast incessant cares corrode,  
 And urge my fainting steps to death's abode,  
 Joyless to me the seasons roll away,  
 Exhausted nature hurries to decay ;  
 Day's cheerful beams for me in vain return,  
 For me the stars of heav'n neglected burn ;  
 In vain the flow'rs in wild luxuriance blow ;  
 In vain the fruits with purple radiance glow ;  
 In vain the harvest groans, the vintage bleeds ;  
 Grief urges grief, and toil to toil succeeds :  
 Since she whose presence bid the world be gay,  
 From Agib and the world was torn away.”

HINDA, once fairest of the virgin train  
 Who haunt the forest, or who grace the plain,  
 Sleeps where the boughs of yon black cypress wave,  
 And I am left to languish at her grave !

“ To that dear spot, when day's declining beam  
 Darts from yon shining towers a farewell gleam ;

Constant at eve my sorrows I renew,  
And mix my tears with the descending dew ;  
The last sad debt to buried beauty pay,  
Kiss the cold shrine, and clasp the mould'ring clay.

“ Far other sounds this conscious valley heard,  
Far other vows these ardent lips preferr'd  
When sick, with love, and eager to embrace  
Beauties unrivall'd but by angel grace ;  
I madden'd as I gaz'd o'er all her charms,  
And hail'd my HINDA to a bridegroom's arms :  
I printed on her lips a hasty kiss,  
The pledge of ardent love and future bliss.  
Her glowing blushes fann'd the secret fire,  
Gave life to love and vigour to desire :  
Then, with the tear, warm trickling down my cheek,  
Spoke the full language passion could not speak :  
Our mutual transport seal'd the nuptial rite,  
Heav'n witness'd, and approved the chaste delight.

“ Prepare, I cried, prepare the nuptial feast,  
Bring all the treasures of the rifled East :  
The choicest gifts of ev'ry clime explore ;  
Let Aden \* yield her tributary store ;  
Let Saba all her beds of spice unfold,  
And Samarcand send gems, and India gold,  
To deck a banquet worthy of the bride,  
Where mirth shall be the guest, and love preside.

“ Full fifty steeds I boast, of swiftest pace,  
Fierce in the fight, and foremost in the race :  
Slaves too, I have, a num'rous faithful band,  
And heav'n hath giv'n me wealth with lavish hand :  
Yet never have I heap'd a useless store,  
Nor spurn'd the needy pilgrim from my door.  
And skill'd alike to wield the crook or sword,  
I scorn the mandate of the proudest lord.  
O'er my wide vales a thousand camels bound,  
A thousand sheep my fertile hills surround :  
For her, amidst the spicy shrubs they feed,  
For her, the choicest of the flock shall bleed.  
Of polished chrystal shall a goblet shine,  
The surface mantling with the richest wine ;

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\* Aden and Saba, are both cities of Arabia Felix, celebrated for the gardens and spice woods which surround them

And on its sides, with Ommau's \* pearls inlaid,  
 Full many a tale of love, shall be pourtray'd.  
 Hesper shall rise, and warn us to be gone,  
 Yet will we revel 'till the breaking dawn ;  
 Nor will we heed the morn's unwelcome light,  
 Nor our joys finish with returning night.

“ Not Georgia's nymphs can with my love compare ;  
 Like jet the ringlets of her musky hair ;  
 Her stature like the palm, her shape the pine ;  
 Her breasts like swelling clusters of the vine ;  
 Fragrant her breath as Hadramut's perfume,  
 And her cheeks shame the damask rose's bloom.  
 Black, soft, and full, her eyes serenely roll,  
 And seem the liquid mansion of her soul.  
 Who shall describe her lips where rubies glow,  
 Her teeth like shining drops of purest snow.  
 Beneath her honey'd tongue persuasion lies,  
 And her voice breathes the strain of Paradise.

“ A bower I have, where branching almonds spread,  
 Where all the seasons all their bounties shed ;  
 The gales of life amidst the branches play,  
 And music bursts from every vocal spray :  
 The verdant foot a stream of amber laves,  
 And o'er it, love, his guardian banner waves.  
 There shall our days, our nights, in pleasure glide ;  
 Friendship shall live when passion's joys subside,  
 Increasing years improve our mutual truth,  
 And age give sanction to the choice of youth.

“ Thus fondly I of fancied raptures sung,  
 And with my song the gladden'd valley rung ;  
 But fate, with jealous eye, beheld our joy,  
 Smil'd to deceive, and flatter'd to destroy.  
 Swift as the shades of night the vision fled,  
 Grief was the guest, and death the banquet spread ;  
 A burning fever on her vitals prey'd,  
 Defied love's efforts, baffled medicine's aid,  
 And from these widow'd arms a treasure tore,  
 Beyond the price of empires to restore.

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\* The sea of Ommau bounds Arabia on the south, and is celebrated by the eastern poets for the beauty of the pearls it produces.

" What have I left ? What portion but despair,  
 Long days of woe, and nights of endless care ?  
 While others live to love, I live to weep :  
 Will sorrow burst the grave's eternal sleep ?  
 Will all my prayers the savage tyrant move  
 To quit his prey and give me back my love ?  
 If far, far hence, I take my hasty flight,  
 Seek other haunts, and scenes of soft delight,  
 Amidst the crowded mart her voice I hear,  
 And shed, unseen, the solitary tear.  
 Music exalts her animating strain,  
 And beauty rolls her radiant eye in vain :  
 All that was music fled with Hinda's breath,  
 And beauty's brightest eyes are clos'd in death.  
 I pine in darkness for the solar rays,  
 Yet loath the sun and sicken at his blaze :  
 Then curse the light, and curse the lonely gloom,  
 While unremitting sorrow points the tomb.

" Oh ! Hinda, brightest of the black ey'd maids  
 That sport in Paradise' embow'ring shades,  
 From golden boughs where bend ambrosial fruits,  
 And fragrant waters wash th' immortal roots ;  
 Oh ! from the bright abodes of purer day  
 The prostrate Agib at thy tomb survey ;  
 Behold me with unceasing vigils pine  
 My youthful vigour waste with swift decline.  
 My hollow eye behold and faded face,  
 Where health but lately spread her ruddy grace,  
 I can no more---this sabre sets me free---  
 This gives me back to rapture, love, and thee.  
 Firm to the stroke, its shining edge I bare,  
 The lover's last, sad, solace in despair.  
 Go, faithful steel, act nature's ling'ring part  
 Bury the blushing point within my heart,  
 Drink all the life that warms these drooping veins,  
 And banish, at one stroke, a thousand pains.

Haste thee, dear charmer ; catch my gasping breath,  
 And cheer with smiles the barren glooms of death !  
 'Tis done---the gates of Paradise expand,  
 Attendant Houris seize my trembling hand ;  
 I pass the dark, inhospitable shore,  
 And Hinda, thou art mine---to part no more !"

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

‘ At the annual meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, held on the 15th of March, 1828, Sir Alexander Johnston, Chairman of the Committee of Correspondence, having verbally reported the proceedings of that Committee since its institution,

‘ It was resolved,

‘ “ That he be requested to reduce his report to writing, and that it be printed in the Appendix to the Society’s Transactions.”

‘ *Report of the Committee of Correspondence.*

‘ The Committee of Correspondence understand it to be their duty,

1st. ‘ To open and keep up a correspondence and communication with every Government, Society, and individual, who can in any way assist the literary and scientific objects of the Royal Asiatic Society.

‘ 2d. To inspire all such Governments, Societies, and individuals, with an interest in the success of the Royal Asiatic Society, and a zeal in promoting their researches in every part of the world.

‘ 3d. To procure for the Royal Asiatic Society, and for such persons as may apply to the Committee, information relative to Asia, from every source and every country from which it can be derived; from every work, ancient and modern, in whatever language it may be written; from every servant of the Crown, and of the East India Company, whether civil, military, naval, or medical; from every diplomatic agent and public consul; from every Christian missionary, whether Catholic or Protestant; from every traveller, trader, or navigator, whether Christian, Mahommedan, Hindoo, or Buddhist; and from every country in Europe, particularly from Portugal, Spain, Holland, Denmark, Italy, France, Germany and Russia.

‘ With this view of its duty, the Committee will now proceed to report to the Society what it has done within the last twelve months, in Great Britain, in India, and on the continent of Europe.

‘ *In Great Britain.*

‘ The Committee have to report under this head, that they have opened and kept up a correspondence with the East India Company, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, the Royal Institution, the Medico-Botanical Society, and the Mechanics’ Institute.

‘ *The East India Company.*

‘ As the East India Company possess so extensive an empire in Asia, and so valuable a collection of Oriental works in this country, the Committee have felt it to be their duty to communicate with the Directors of that powerful body upon every occasion upon which their co-operation was material, and are happy to lay before the

members of the Society, a detail of the circumstances which are connected with one of the communications, and the important result to which it has led. Sir Alexander Johnston having long considered it of importance to a general knowledge of Oriental literature in Europe, that English translations should be made of all such Oriental works as are believed to contain new or useful information, in any branch of science or literature, had frequent communications upon the subject with Professor Lee, whose talents, and knowledge of Oriental languages, have so justly placed him in the highest rank of Oriental scholars in Europe; and Sir Alexander, some months ago, received a letter from the Professor, which will be found in the Appendix, No. 1.

‘Upon the receipt of this letter, Sir Alexander spoke to Mr. Lindsay, the Chairman of the Court of Directors, and ascertained from him, that he agreed perfectly with Mr. Lee, as to the utility of the plan which he proposed; and that he would willingly, if the plan were sent to him officially, lay it before the Court.

‘Sir Alexander Johnston then submitted the measure to the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society, which, upon the motion of Sir Alexander, sent a deputation of its members, consisting of Sir Alexander Johnston, Dr. Babington, Sir R. Barclay, Colonel Doyle, and A. Macklew, Esq., to the Chairman of the Court of Directors, with a request that he would officially bring the subject before the Court. He accordingly did so, and the Court having approved of Professor Lee’s proposal, in a very liberal manner voted an immediate donation of 105*l.*, and an annual subscription of 105*l.* more, in furtherance of the object of the Royal Asiatic Society, which will be found in the Appendix, Nos. 2 and 3. Sir Alexander knowing that the plan of making English translations of Oriental works was very popular with many persons, who in other respects felt little or no interest in questions relating to India, thought it advisable to take advantage of this feeling, and consulted upon the occasion with Colonel Fitzclarence, who throughout the proceedings had taken a most active and efficient part in favour of the measure.

‘The Colonel immediately spoke to his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, who, being satisfied of the policy of the plan, not only subscribed his own name to it, but with a zeal which had always marked his patronage of the Society, adopted immediate steps for ensuring the success of the measure. Sir Alexander also knowing the weight which the public would justly attach to the patronage of the head of the church to such a plan, obtained through Dr. D’Oyly, the patronage and subscription of the Archbishop of Canterbury to it: and a Committee has now been formed for carrying it into

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\* The Letters referred to in this and other parts of the Report, are of an extremely interesting character, and we regret that the length of our Domestic and Indian Intelligence, should render their insertion in this impression impossible. They will appear in the September Number.—ED.

effect, which is composed of several members of the Society, and some of the most distinguished Oriental scholars in England, under the direct patronage of his Majesty and the Royal Family; of the First Lord of the Treasury; of the heads of the church, navy, and army, and many of the most powerful and distinguished individuals in Great Britain.

*' The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.*

' The high character which the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge hold in the estimation of the Government, and of the people of England, the talents and erudition of their members, the influence which they naturally exercise over the education, and the religious and moral opinions and feelings of the leading men in the country, the collections which they possess of Oriental works, the attention which they pay to Oriental literature, the efficient aid which they can afford, by means of their printing presses, to the printing of Oriental manuscripts, and of the English translation of them, must render their co-operation of the utmost importance to any Society in England, that is engaged in researches into Oriental literature and science, many parts of which are often of so much use, in illustrating and explaining subjects which are intimately connected with the true reading and perfect understanding of the most remarkable passages in the Holy Scriptures. The Committee, therefore, took the earliest opportunity of opening a communication with both these learned bodies. With respect to Oxford, they have to report that Mr. Peel, as soon as he was informed by Sir Alexander Johnston of the objects of the Society, and the wishes of the Committee, not only promised his own support to their proceedings, but with the liberal feeling and spirit which he evinces on every occasion, in which the interests of literature and science are concerned, immediately wrote upon the subject to the Bishop of Oxford, on whose suggestion such a communication as the Committee had wished, was soon after opened between the delegates of the Clarendon press and the Royal Asiatic Society. With respect to Cambridge, the Committee have to report, that through Professor Lee, a similar communication has been opened between some of the leading members of that University and the Society, and that the result of these communications is that the two Universities approve of the proceedings of the Royal Asiatic Society, and that there is reason to believe they will afford the Society such assistance as their respective institutions will permit.

*' The Royal Institution.*

' The variety of the combinations of different metals which are used for domestic and other purposes by the Natives of India; the variety of the materials which they manufacture, and of the substance of which their dyes are composed; the simplicity of the processes to which they have recourse in their several manufactures, render researches concerning them an object of interest to



the public, and make it necessary that the Society should have the means of communicating with an institution, whose members and establishment are peculiarly fitted for obtaining and circulating useful information, relative to such researches. The Royal Institution, from the manner in which it is constituted, from the lectures which are delivered at its regular meetings, from the knowledge of chemistry, theoretical as well as practical, possessed by many of its members, from the facilities which it affords for experiments and inquiries into every branch of science, from its valuable and extensive library, from the evening meetings which are held at its house every Friday, from the scientific character of the Society which attends these meetings, from the practical utility of the lectures which are delivered at them, and from the encouragement which is afforded to scientific men by Mr. Fuller, one of its most active and zealous supporters,\* is evidently an institution which is well calculated for assisting the Royal Asiatic Society in researches of the nature which have been mentioned; and the Committee are happy to be able to report, that a communication has been opened between that Institution and the Society, which has been attended with great benefit to the Society, owing to the zeal of Mr. Faraday, who is one of the most scientific chemists of the present time, and has frequently afforded the Committee the assistance of his talents, and profound knowledge of chemistry, in analysing and explaining to them the nature of the different combinations of metals and other substances which the Society have received from various persons in Asia, and which now form a part of the collection in their Museum.

‘ *The Medico-Botanical Society.*

‘ The immense extent and variety of the soil and climate of the British territories in India; the numbers and the varieties of the plants and other vegetable productions which are used, either for food or medicine, by the natives of the country; the facility which exists at present for the scientific investigation of their nature, their growth, and their medical properties, by means of the able and well-educated medical men who are stationed in every province; the interest which has been excited upon the subject by the works of Drs. Fleming, Roxburgh, and Ainslie; and the importance of such information to the British Government, with a view to the economy of their medical department, and to the increase of the exports from their East-India colonies, have led the Committee

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\* This gentleman has lately had a certain number of gold and copper medals struck, at his own expense, with the head of Lord Bacon on one side, and the name of the person to whom the medal is given on the other, for distribution amongst such of the members of that Society as are the most distinguished for science. These medals, which are executed by Mr. Wyon, are specimens of the great perfection to which that distinguished individual has arrived in his art.’

to take measures for making collections of all the plants and vegetable productions which are used in every part of India, either as food or as medicine, for procuring accurate accounts of them from persons on the spot, for obtaining copies of every work written upon the subject in any European or Oriental language, and for opening a direct communication with the Medico-Botanical Society in England, through their President, Sir James M'Gregor, who, from the high professional character which he enjoys, and the public office which he holds under the crown, has great influence, both public and private, not only with all the members of his own Society, and the medical men and botanists in Europe, but with every king's surgeon, and assistant-surgeon, in Asia, who, from the scientific nature of their education, and the admirable regulations which Sir James has made for their guidance, form a most efficient body for collecting upon the spot every information which the Royal Asiatic Society can require in this branch of their researches.

*'Mechanics' Institute.*

'One of the most important and most useful of the objects which the Society has in view, is the communication to the people of Asia of such of the modern improvements in machinery as may be applicable to their present situation. The surest method of attaining this object is, to procure accurate models of the machinery in use in India, to make the knowledge of them as public as possible in England, and to induce all the great mechanical geniuses of the country to co-operate with the Society in the work in which they are engaged. The Committee have therefore taken measures, first, to procure from every part of Asia models of every machine which is used in that quarter of the globe, together with accurate descriptions of such models, a history of the different purposes for which they are employed, and a detailed account of the situation and circumstances of the country in which they are found, and of the religion, laws, manners, customs, character, and even prejudices of the people amongst whom they are used; secondly, to have the information they obtain respecting such machinery immediately published and circulated amongst those persons in England, who are the most conversant with, and interested in, the subject; and, thirdly, to open an easy and rapid communication between the Society and the different Mechanics' Institutes in Great Britain, which are composed of the greatest number of the most distinguished mechanical geniuses that were ever collected together in any part of the world. What the Committee have done upon the first point may be seen by a reference to the models which are already deposited in the Museum, and to the descriptions which have been obtained from the India House, of those models which are deposited in the library of the East India Company. What they have done upon the second point, may be seen by a reference

to the first volume of the *Register of Arts*, which the Committee beg leave to offer to the Society in the name of the editor, who has already entered with great readiness into their views upon this subject, and intends, from time to time, in his future volumes, to devote a portion of his very valuable journal to descriptions and drawings of all such machines as are in use in India, having already given to the public, in the present volume, a description of the different machines that are in use in Ceylon, the models of which were brought to England, by Sir Alexander Johnston, in 1809, at the time he proposed to his Majesty's Government to adopt a measure relative to the state of machinery on that island, similar to the one which the Committee have now adopted with respect to the state of machinery in every part of Asia. What the Committee have done upon the third point, may be seen by a reference to the communications which has passed between Sir Alexander Johnston and Dr. Birkbeck, who is acquainted with the leading members of every Mechanics' Institute in England, and has promised that, as soon as he has obtained the necessary information, he will lay before the Committee a comparative view of the state of machinery in England and in India, and will point out to the Committee what portion of the improvements which have been made in the former, may, in his opinion, be introduced into the latter with advantage to the people of the country, and without militating in any way against their religion, laws, manners, customs, and prejudices.

*' In India.*

'The Committee have opened a correspondence with the Governor-General, the three subordinate Governors of the Company's territories, the King's Governors of the Isle of France and Ceylon, the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, the Literary Societies of Bombay, Madras, and Ceylon, and with many distinguished literary characters in Asia; and have taken measures for establishing Committees of Correspondence at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Penang, Ceylon, and in the Isle of France, and for encouraging the Natives of the country, as well as the civil and military servants of the crown and the East India Company, to become members of those Committees. The communications which the Committee have recently received from India, shew the great advantage which the Society may derive from the civil and military servants of the East India Company, and from the Natives of India, as corresponding members of the Society. Captain Low has forwarded from Penang to the Society, a MS. copy of his English translation of the Siamese laws; a work which, from the insight it affords the public into the manners of the Siamese people, and into the customs of their country, is, considering the political and commercial relations which exist between Great Britain and the Burmese empire, of considerable importance, not only in a literary, but also in a political point of view. As the Committee know the active and laborious duties in which Captain

Low was officially engaged under the Penang government, at the time he collected the Siamese laws, and translated them into English, they are fully aware of the value which ought to be attached to his zeal and perseverance in favour of literary researches; and hope that the aid which he will receive from the local government of Penang, will enable him to extend his researches into the laws and literature of the Burmese, and adjoining nations, and to publish the valuable Grammar which he has prepared of the Siamese Language. Radhacant Deb, a Native of rank and influence in Bengal, and a Vice-President of the Agricultural Society at Calcutta, has addressed from Calcutta a letter (which will be found in the Appendix, No. 4) to Sir A. Johnston, as Chairman of the Committee of Correspondence. The subject to which the letter relates, the depth of thought it displays, and the English style in which it is written, do great credit to Radhacant Deb's talents and knowledge of the English language, and afford his countrymen a bright example for them to follow in cultivating their understandings, and becoming acquainted with the literature of Europe. The Committee, therefore, feel it their duty to submit, through their Chairman, to the Society, for confirmation, the resolutions in favour of Captain Low and Radhacant Deb (which will be found in the Appendix, No. 5.)

‘Although the Committee have turned their attention in general to all the subjects to which the views of the Society are directed, they have more particularly directed their inquiries to two subjects, the investigation of which is so much facilitated by the acquisition of territory which the British Government has made within the last twenty years. The one is, the history of those descendants of the Arab tribes, who profess different modifications of the Mahomedan religion, and are established along the whole of the sea-coast of India; the other, the history of the numerous nations who profess different modifications of the Buddha religion, and are in the North and East of Asia, and on the island of Ceylon.

‘The first of these subjects embraces the history of the descendants of those Arabs who, either from a desire of trade or of propagating their religion, have, from time to time, during the last ten centuries of the Christian era, formed establishments on the eastern coast of Africa, from Babelmandel to Mozambique; on the Comoro Islands; on the north-west coast of Madagascar; on the whole west, south, and east coasts of the peninsula of India, from the Gulph of Cambay on one side, to the mouths of the river Ganges on the other; on the sea-coast of the whole circumference of Ceylon; on the Laccadive and Maldive Islands; on the north coast of Sumatra, and on many other islands in the Indian seas. These people retain the Arab features of their ancestors, and profess the Mahomedan religion, although they have, in many instances, adopted the language and some of the customs of the several nations amongst

whom they reside. They in general are small capitalists, and carry on the retail trade of the country; they are, however, sometimes very large capitalists, very extensive merchants, very great proprietors of ships, and are very actively engaged in extensive commercial speculations between their respective countries and every part of India, Persia, and Arabia. A few of them are skilful navigators; many of them are the best practical sailors of all the different Natives of Asia who navigate the Indian seas; and most of them have a set of maritime and commercial usages, according to which, disputes between themselves relative to maritime and commercial questions, are decided by arbitrators of their own class and religious persuasion. The Committee look for information, with respect to such of these people as inhabit the sea-coast of the peninsula of India, of the island of Ceylon, and of the Laccadive and Maldive Islands, from the King's and East India Company's civil and military servants who are in authority in the neighbourhood of those coasts; and with respect to such of them as inhabit the eastern coasts of Africa,\* the Comoro Islands, and Madagascar, from Sir Charles Colville,† the Governor of the Isle of France, and from many of the French inhabitants of that island. These colonists have, for a series of years, evinced a strong feeling in favour of intellectual improvement and researches into every branch of knowledge, literature, and natural history, by keeping up, both while they were under the French, and since they have been under the British Government, one of the best colleges for the education of their youth, and one of the best botanical gardens for the rearing of foreign plants, which are to be met with in any of the British possessions to the East of the Cape of Good Hope; and are inhabitants of an island, the name of which is associated in the history of the politics, the wars, the trade, the navigation, and the botany

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\* 'Captain Owen, the brother of Sir Edward Owen, the present Commander-in-Chief of the naval forces in India, collected during the survey which he some time ago made of the whole of the eastern coast of Africa, from Babelmandel north to Mozambique south, many very valuable memoirs relative to the different Mahommedan nations who have settlements along that coast. Captain Owen, with the greatest liberality, sent, previous to his departure for Fernando Po, the whole of these memoirs to Sir Alexander Johnston, in order that he might peruse them and communicate to the Royal Asiatic Society any part of the information they contained which he might think proper.'

† 'Sir Charles Colville, while Commander-in-Chief at Bombay, made a tour through different parts of India, and became thoroughly acquainted with the local peculiarities and the native inhabitants of the country. Mrs. Blair, the lady of Colonel Blair, Sir Charles's Military Secretary, who accompanied the Colonel on his tour, has taken very beautiful drawings of many of the places which she visited. As these drawings give an accurate view of some of the most classical and remarkable places which are mentioned in the history of India, it is to be hoped, for the benefit of all those who are interested in Oriental history and Oriental researches, that Mrs. Blair may be induced to allow them to be published.'

of India, with the distinguished names of La Bourdonnais, Dupleix, De Poivre, Commerçon, Gentil, Sonnerat, Flacourt, and Rochon ; and the geographical situation of which is peculiarly well adapted for researches relative to the state of those descendants of the Arabs who are settled on the eastern coast of Africa and the African islands, and who, from deriving their origin from the same race of people, from professing the same religion, and carrying on the same description of trade as those Mahomedans who are settled along the coast of Asia, bear so much resemblance to them, as to render any information relative to the history of the one, very useful in elucidating the history of the other.

‘The second of the subjects to which the Committee have adverted, embraces the history of those people who profess the principles of the Buddha religion in Tartary, Thibet, Nepaul, the Burmese and Siamese territories, Cambodia, Laos, China, Cochin China, Japan, and the island of Ceylon. The Committee look for information, with respect to such of them as inhabit Tartary, China, Cochin China, and Japan, from the Russian University at Casan, the Russian College at Pekin, and from the Chinese libraries of Sir George Staunton,\* and Dr. Morrison ; and with respect to such of them as inhabit the Burmese and Siamese territories, Laos, and Cambodia, from Mr. Fullerton, the Governor of Penang, Captain Low, and the different civil and military servants and Christian missionaries who are established along the coast of Tenasserim, at Penang, Malacca, and Singapore. Thibet is, to the people of the Buddha religion in the north, what Ceylon is to those in the south of Asia—the place to which they refer for authentic knowledge, relative to that particular modification of the Buddha religion which they profess. The Committee, therefore, look for information, with respect to the doctrines of that form of it which prevails in Thibet and the Nepaul country, from Mr. Gardner, the political resident in Nepaul, and Mr. Hodgson, his very able assistant ; and with respect to the doctrines of the same religion, which prevail on the island of Ceylon, from the English translations of several Pali, Singalese, and Dutch manuscripts, which were made by order of

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\* ‘Sir George Staunton, both while he held a high office in the service of the East India Company, and while he acted as one of his Majesty’s Commissioners in China, shewed the possibility of uniting the strictest attention to the duties of a public office with the most ardent zeal for acquiring a knowledge of the language and literature of the Chinese, and made, during his residence in China, the large and valuable collection of Chinese books (consisting of 2,600 vols.) which he some time ago presented to the Royal Asiatic Society. As Mr. Huttman, the Secretary to this Committee, has acquired a very accurate knowledge of the Chinese language and literature, it is hoped he will have leisure, with the assistance of Sir George, to translate into English some of the most valuable of these works.’

Sir Alexander Johnston,\* while President of his Majesty's Council in Ceylon, from the several civil and military servants and Christian missionaries on that island, and more particularly from the Dutch and Native inhabitants of the country, who, judging from the intellectual activity and local knowledge which they have invariably displayed in the exercise of those political privileges with which they have been invested by his present Majesty since 1811, are highly qualified, if properly encouraged, for making researches into the history and antiquities of their country, and procuring for the Society such information as may be derived from the numerous Pali and Singalese works,† which are preserved by the priests of the

\* 'These consist of:—

'First. The English translations of the answers given in Singalese by several of the most learned of the Buddha priests, and other literary characters, on Ceylon, to questions which were officially submitted to them by Sir Alexander Johnston, while President of his Majesty's Council in Ceylon, relative to the history and doctrine of the Buddha religion, as professed by the followers of Buddha on that island.

'Secondly. English translations of the Singalese works, called the Mahavamsie, the Rajah Valle, and the Rajah Ratnakari, which were reported to Sir Alexander Johnston by the Buddha priests, whom he had officially consulted upon the subject, to be, in their opinion, the most authentic histories which they possessed of their religion and their country, from the earliest times to the beginning of the sixteenth century.

'Thirdly. The English translations of the whole of that volume of Valentyn's history of the Dutch possessions in India which relates to the island of Ceylon.

'Fourthly. English translations of a great many papers written by several Dutch inhabitants of Ceylon, in Dutch, at different times during the whole of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, relative to the history of the Buddha religion and the people of Ceylon.

'All the translations from the Singalese and Pali languages into English were either made or revised by the late Rajah Paxie, who was one of the best Sanscrit, Pali, and Singalese scholars amongst the Natives of Ceylon, and held for a great many years the office of Maha-Modhar, or chief of the cinnamon department on that island. He was the Native chief of whom Sir Alexander Johnston has presented an engraving to the Society.'

† 'Some of these books relate to the systems of astronomy, astrology, geography, cosmography, and medicine, which prevail among the people of Ceylon, but most of them to the history and doctrine of the Buddha religion. Sir Alexander Johnston, in consequence of the official intercourse which he always kept up with the principal Buddha priests on the island of Ceylon, obtained from them, in 1808, the very detailed catalogue of these works which he, some time ago, gave to the Society.

'He had also, in 1808, copies made of between five and six hundred of the most valuable of these works, all of which were unfortunately lost in the *Lady Jane Dundas*, in which he had sent them to England, in 1809. As the originals are an object of literary curiosity, he is about to have other copies of them made on the island of Ceylon, which he means, as soon as he can procure them, to present to the Society.

'The only work of the whole collection which he preserved, is a com-

**Buddha religion** in many of the Buddha temples that are situated in the interior and the southern division of the island. The Committee consider it to be a most fortunate circumstance for the Society in particular, and for the cause of Oriental literature in general, that their researches in Ceylon will be assisted and directed by Colonel Colebrooke, a near relative of the learned Director of the Society, and a Parliamentary Commissioner on that island, who is one of the original founders of the Society, and who, during many years of his civil and military career, in different parts of India and Java, has eminently distinguished himself, as well by the knowledge he acquired of the people and the countries of Asia, as by the humanity, liberality, and philanthropy with which his public measures and private conduct were marked, in every civil and military office which he has held, either under the Crown, or the East India Company,

*On the Continent of Europe.*

‘Some sovereigns on the continent of Europe have for centuries encouraged amongst their subjects the study of the languages, the history, the geography, the antiquities, and the literature of Asia; have established professorships of Oriental literature at their respective universities, and have sent, at a considerable expence, many of the most distinguished men in the country, to different parts of the world, for the express purpose of prosecuting Oriental researches, and collecting for the public libraries of their respective nations scarce and valuable works, in all the different languages of the East. Other sovereigns of Europe, though from the political changes which have taken place in their respective countries, they do not at present feel so great an interest as they formerly did in the subject, yet have nevertheless preserved with care, as well amongst the public archives of the country, as in their public and private libraries, valuable information, in manuscript and in print, relative to the state and the people of India during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

‘Russia, from the extent of Northern Asia, which is directly under her dominion, from the intercourse which she keeps up with the whole of Tartary and with the northern provinces of China, from the Asiatic descent of a considerable portion of her subjects, from the various Oriental languages which are spoken by them, and from the different modifications of the Buddha and Mahomedan religions which influence their moral and religious opinions, has not

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plete copy of the *Pansiypayenasatakaya*, which he brought home with him in 1818, and which he has given to the library of the Society. As a complete copy of this work is the most difficult to be procured of any of the works on the Buddha religion, and as it contains the most authentic account of the whole of the doctrines of that religion, Sir Alexander has taken measures to have an English translation made of it for the use of the Society.’



only an interest in all literary researches which relate to the northern and eastern parts of Asia, but is enabled, from her local situation and the nature of her government, to carry them on at less expence, and with more success, than any other nation in Europe. Catharine II., while in the plenitude of her power, from a desire to promote, by her influence, every object of science and literature, and to ascertain upon a more extensive plan than was ever attempted before, the analogies and affinities of all the languages of the world, procured, through the late Professor Pallas, in answer to instructions drawn up by herself, under the advice of the ablest and most profound philosophers and philologists of the age, very minute and authentic information relative to the different languages, dialects, and idioms, which were either spoken or known in any part of her immense dominions. The only portion of this information which is still incomplete, is that which relates to the numerous languages which prevail in those divisions of Asia, which are at present either under the government or the influence of Great Britain.

‘The Royal Asiatic Society, through the civil and military servants of the East India Company, and the Christian missionaries who are established in every part of India, and who have acquired a knowledge of the various languages which are spoken throughout the British territories, possess at this moment a facility which no other society enjoys, for completing, in as far as it relates to the south of Asia, the grand and enlightened plan which was originally commenced and carried into effect by Catharine II., in as far as it relates to the north and east of Asia. The Committee of Correspondence have therefore opened a communication upon this subject, through Prince Lieven, with the present Emperor of Russia, and are happy to report, that his Imperial Majesty has, through the Prince, as appears by the Prince’s letters to Sir Alex. Johnston, not only agreed to assist the Society in the attainment of its objects generally, but has also been graciously pleased to present to it copies of all the works relative to the different languages of Russia, which were compiled under the orders of Catherine II., and were printed by her Imperial Majesty for private circulation.

‘Germany has of late years evinced the greatest zeal in procuring information from every quarter of the globe, relative to the history, the literature, and the sciences of Asia. Austria has an Oriental academy at Vienna, and may be of considerable use to Oriental researches, by means of the Oriental manuscripts which she possesses in the libraries of Vienna, Milan, and Venice, and by the patronage which she may afford to a continuation of Von Hammer’s celebrated work, the “*Fundgruben des Orients*.” Prussia has shewn herself a friend to Oriental literature, by the encouragement which she has given to Professors Bopp and Rosen; by the liberality with which she has promoted the study of Sanscrit at the University of Bonn; by the appointment to that University of

A. W. Von Schlegel, who is one of the best Sanscrit scholars of the present age ; and finally, by the high respect which she shews to Baron William Humboldt, whose philosophical inquiries into the grammatical construction of Oriental languages, has at once proved the extent of his philosophical genius and the value of his philological inquiries. Bavaria, by the choice which she has made of Dr. Rückert for the Oriental Professorship at the University of Erlangen, by the disinterested manner in which she has enabled Professors Bopp and Frank to carry on their Oriental studies in France and in England, and to complete their Sanscrit grammars, has conferred a benefit on those who make a study of Oriental literature.

‘Holland, by having established at Batavia the first literary society that was ever formed in Asia, for investigating the literature and science of that part of the globe, by having encouraged the works on botany and natural history of Van Rheece, Burman, Linnæus,\* and Rumphius ; by having patronized and assisted with the whole influence of her government, Valentyn’s valuable history of the Dutch East India possessions, is intitled to the very first place amongst those nations who have promoted the acquisition of knowledge relative to Asia.

‘Portugal, from having been the first European power which ever had any permanent establishments in India, possesses amongst her records many valuable memoirs relative to the state of the people of that country, during a great part if not the whole of the sixteenth century.

‘Spain, from having been so long the seat of the Mahomedan kingdoms of Seville and Cordova, at a time when those kingdoms were famed for the encouragement which they gave to every branch of literature, contains in her public and private libraries valuable information relative to all those branches of literature and science which were known by the Mahomedans in Spain, and at Bagdad during the most remarkable period of their history, and which are intimately connected with the different branches of literature and science which still prevail throughout many parts of Asia.

‘Rome, from being the seat of the College of the Propaganda, and the depository of the reports which were made by the Jesuit, and all the other Catholic Missionaries in India, during the 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, affords much information relative to the people of India which cannot be procured from any other source in Europe or Asia. France, from the very early encouragement which she gave to the study of Oriental literature ; from the value and the number of the Oriental works in her libraries ; from her early intercourse with Siam ; from the able men she has

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\* ‘Linnæus, besides his other great works on natural history, wrote the *Flora Zeylanica*.

had in her different factories in Asia Minor ; from the researches made by La Bourdonnais and Dupleix, into every branch of the trade and politics of India ; from the works of Commerçon, Lechenaude de la Tour, and Gentil, on the science and natural history of India and the Indian seas ; from the knowledge acquired by the French Institute, while in Egypt, relative to that country and its connection with Asia ; and finally, from her having established at Paris a society, whose sole object is to carry on researches relative to the literature and science of Asia, must be considered as one of the most able and efficient coadjutors, which the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland can have, in prosecuting the researches for which it was instituted.

‘ For these reasons, the Committee have already opened a communication with some of the governments, and with many of the most distinguished characters on the continent of Europe ; and have received from all of them the most encouraging assurances of co-operation and literary assistance. Monsieur Falck,\* Baron Billow, Count Ludolf, Count Moltke, and Baron Cetto, the Ministers at the British Court, from the Netherlands, Prussia, Naples, Denmark, and Bavaria, will procure for the Society an accurate account of all the collections of Oriental manuscripts in Prussia, Naples, Rome, Denmark, Bavaria, the Netherlands, the archives of the late Dutch East India Company, the Island of Java, and all the Dutch possessions in Asia. Count Funchal, the Minister of Portugal at Rome, will draw up for the Society a *précis* of all the information which the Portuguese possess relative to Asia ; and Lord Stuart de Rothsay, the English Ambassador at Rome, will, as soon as his Portuguese manuscripts are arranged, allow the Committee to look over such of them as relate to the different Portuguese settlements in the East Indies.

‘ With respect to France, the Committee beg leave to report, that they have on every occasion received the most ready, and most material assistance from Prince Polignac, the French Ambassador at this court ; and that they feel it their duty, in referring the Society to the letter, (which will be found in the Appendix, No. 6),

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\* Monsieur Falck is descended from a family, whose services in India have been productive of the greatest benefit to the Dutch East India possessions, and is a cousin of the late Dutch governor of the Island of Ceylon, William Emanuel Falck, whose name is still revered on that island, and is invariably associated in the minds of the natives of the country, with the idea of the most impartial justice and the purest integrity. Sir Alexander Johnston, out of respect to the memory of this great man, has presented to the Royal Asiatic Society a very interesting drawing, in which Governor Falck is represented as signing, in the presence of his council and the Candian ambassadors, the treaty of 1766, by which the King of Candia ceded to the Dutch East India Company the whole circumference of the island of Ceylon, the acquisition of which had been the principal object of their policy from the time they first got possession of that island.

from Mons. Abel Remusat to Sir Alexander Johnston, most particularly to call the attention of the Society to the very cordial and friendly manner in which the Duke of Orleans, as President of the Asiatic Society at Paris, and all the Members of that Society, received the communication which Sir Alexander Johnston made to them upon the subject of Mr. Daniell's proposal to publish, under the patronage of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, his very valuable collection of drawings of different parts of India.

'The Committee also beg leave to report that they have, in carrying on their foreign communications with different persons and governments on the continent of Europe, derived great assistance from many foreigners who are members of the Committee, and that they have therefore, with their permission, appointed three of them to be their foreign Secretaries: Dr. Rosen, the pupil of the celebrated Professor Bopp at Berlin, and professor of Oriental languages at the London University, to be their Sanscrit and German Secretary; Dr. Dorn, a distinguished Persian and Arabic scholar, to be their Persian and Arabic Secretary; and Monsieur Cæsar Moreau, the French Vice Consul in England, and the author of many valuable works on the Statistics and Commerce of Great Britain and France, to be their French Secretary.

'The Committee have taken measures for procuring detailed accounts of the different articles of which the collection in the Museum of the Society is composed; and they have reason to hope that several persons, who are well acquainted with the nature of those articles, will soon lay before the Society such descriptions of them, as may enable the public to derive much information from the Museum, relative to those parts of Oriental history to which the Society have directed their inquiries.'

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#### SONG.

*(From the Juvenile Keepsake, 1829.)*

I WILL come to thee when night-winds creep  
O'er the crimson rose's odorous sleep;  
When the song of the gurgling nightingale  
Sounds like a harp, in the greenwood vale;  
When moonlight sleeps on the deep-blue sea—  
Maid of my love! I will come to thee!

When the tulip-flower has closed its leaf,  
Like a bosom that hides from the world its grief;  
When the lily is drooping its beautiful head,  
Like a love-sick girl, o'er the violet's bed;  
When the night-dew hangs on the passion-tree—  
Maid of my love! I will come to thee!

## MOUNT CARMEL.

*(From Hervey's Poetical Sketch Book.)*

THE harp is hushed in Kedron's vale,  
 The river dwindled to a rill,  
 That haunts it—like an ancient tale,  
 In dying whispers, still !  
 The wind among the sedges, keeps  
 Some echoes of its broken lyre,  
 And wakes, at times, with sudden sweeps,  
 Thoughts of its former fire,—  
 Where Carmel's flowery summits rise,  
 To point the moral to the skies !  
 My breast has learnt in other lands,—  
 That moral, through its own deep glooms,  
 Lone—as yon lonely city stands  
 Among her thousand tombs !  
 Amid its mouldering wrecks and weeds,  
 While memory—like that river,—sings,  
 Or—like the night-breeze in the reeds,—  
 Plays with its broken strings,  
 My spirit sits, with folded wing,  
 A sad—but not unhappy—thing !  
 What if my love's like yonder waves,  
 That seek a dead and tideless sea,—  
 Have perished in the place of graves,  
 That darkly waits for me !  
 What if no outlet of the earth  
 Those dull and dreary waters own,  
 And time can give no second birth  
 To dreams and wishes gone !  
 What though my fount of early joy,  
 Like Kedron's springs be almost dry !  
 High o'er them, with its thousand flowers,  
 Its precious crown of scent and bloom,  
 Hope, like another Carmel, towers  
 In sunshine and in gloom !  
 Flinging upon the wasted breast  
 Sweet born, in climes more pure and high,  
 And pointing, with its lofty crest,  
 Beyond the starry sky,—  
 Where a new Jordan's waves shall gain  
 A statelier Jerusalem.

## MEETING OF THE MERCHANT COMPANY OF EDINBURGH.

*From 'The Edinburgh Evening Courant,' July 9.*

## TRADE TO INDIA AND CHINA.

Mr. J. F. MACFARLAN said, as the business for which the Meeting had been specially called was now disposed of, he would take the liberty of directing the attention of the Company to a subject of very great and general interest, and which at this moment excited much attention throughout the whole country. He alluded to the trade to India and China. He did not mean that the Company should take any immediate step, but merely declare an opinion, and remit the subject to the more deliberate consideration of the Master and Assistants—to be brought forward by them at such time, and in such manner, as they should see most advisable. It is upwards of 200 years since the East India Company was established, with a capital of about 400,000*l*. It was established at a time when capital was not so abundant, nor the enterprise of our merchants so great as at the present day; but it appeared to him that the Company was established for general good, more than as a monopoly for the profit of individuals. He drew that inference from Government requiring the Company to bring home such a supply of tea (the principal article of the monopoly) as should be required for consumption; and, if the supply was not equal to the demand, so as to enhance the price, it retained the power to grant licences to import the article from the continent. This proved that the intention of Government in granting the monopoly, was good; but unfortunately, this valuable privilege was repealed, among a heap of trash, by the Customs' Consolidation Act, 6th Geo. IV. Many years ago, when smuggling in tea was carried on to a great extent, Government, as a remedy, was induced to lower the duty; and, in order to make up the deficiency in the revenue thus occasioned, he believed the window-tax—the most odious of all impositions, which makes us pay for the light of the sun shining into our houses—was laid on; and, on that ground at least, the public did not owe the Company a debt of gratitude. In 1792, attempts were made to open the trade to the East, which were so far successful; but the privilege being limited to trading in vessels of the Company, and subject to their controul, proved of little utility. In 1814, however, a greater boon was obtained, in the trade being opened to the private merchant on a more extended scale; but still it was so guarded with restrictions as to the size of the vessels to be employed, the ports to which they were limited, and the regulations on dealing with the Natives, particularly by being entirely prohibited a free intercourse with the interior. These and other restrictions rendered the privilege of comparatively

little advantage. None were permitted to trade without license from the Company, and of these they were so jealous, that, so late as 1826, an order was issued, signed by Mr. Lushington, the chief secretary of the Indian Government, to stop all Europeans, whether British born subjects or otherwise, who might be found at a distance of more than ten miles from the presidency, on commercial business, unprovided with a passport; and even those who had been in India with a license, on returning to England, were obliged to bring with them a certificate from the Company's servants abroad of their good conduct, otherwise they would not obtain another license to return thither. The renewal of the Company's charter will be in 1834, but the discussion will take place next session of Parliament, because three years' notice must be given of an intention to alter it. The advantages derived from opening the trade had already been felt in the prices of almost every article brought from the East being reduced almost one half; but the export trade was of still greater importance, as would appear from the fact, that in the year 1814, only about eight hundred thousand yards of plain and printed calicoes were exported, while in 1827, the number of yards had increased to upwards of 34,000,000, and there was every prospect that this trade would increase, because the supply was not equal to the consumption; and surely this was a circumstance of vast importance to our manufacturers in their present depressed state. The next point, and upon which he would say but a very few words, was the trade with China, from which the private trader is at present entirely excluded. This was a branch of the subject of much importance to the shipping interest, at a time when freights were difficult to be had. Before the English merchant could send his goods to China, he was obliged to ship them in American vessels, because no British ship, except those belonging to the Company, were permitted to clear for the Celestial Empire. It was curious to observe the difference of price in teas on the Continent and in England—occasioned entirely by the want of free intercourse with China—a difference, though not so great as existed some years ago, as stated in No. 78 of the *Edinburgh Review*, was yet sufficiently extraordinary. He begged to refer to the latest returns of prices, as certified to by Mr. Canning, our Consul-General to the Hans Towns, and Mr. Ferrier, our Consul at Rotterdam. At Hamburg the wholesale price of Bohea is 5*d.* to 7*d.*; Congo, 8*d.* to 10*d.*; Souchong, 5*d.* to 1*s.* 5*d.*; and so on. At Lubec, Congo is retailed at 1*s.* 2*d.* to 1*s.* 10*d.* per lb. At Bremen, Bohea is retailed at 1*s.* 1½*d.* and Congo at 1*s.* 7*d.* to 1*s.* 8*d.* per lb. At the last June sale, the Company's lowest price for Bohea was, he believed, 1*s.* 5½*d.*, while Congo was from 2*s.* 1*d.* to 2*s.* 7*d.*; but this price told double—for whatever the Company's sale price was, the duty was equal in amount. He did not grudge Government their duty, but the difference in the cost to the merchant was so great, as to call for an opening of the tea trade. He did not mean to say that the Company pocketed the difference of price

as profit, for the cost was so augmented by their expensive establishments—the length of time occupied in their voyages (two years generally, while it is made in little more than one by the private trader) and other circumstances, that their profit was perhaps moderate enough. But, because they traded as Princes, it was rather too much that we should be called upon to pay the expense of keeping up their state. There were a great many other points to which he might allude; but he would not occupy more of the time of the Company. He begged to propose:—

“That, in the opinion of this Company, the removal of restrictions impeding the trade between this country and India, and the opening of a free trade to China, would be productive of much advantage to the country at large.

“That it be remitted to the Masters and Assistants to consider of the best time and manner of giving effect to this expression of the Company’s opinion.”

MR. ARCHIBALD ANDERSON expressed a wish, that the resolutions should lie on the table till another meeting, as he believed many members did not then possess the requisite information to enable them to make up their minds on the subject; and it was one of great importance, and should be well and deliberately considered before any opinion was expressed. The trade with China he admitted to be a question of the utmost consequence to the shipping interest. Mr. Anderson, in reference to the statute referred to by Mr. Macfarlan as repealed, said it was part of the Company’s charter, that tea should be exposed for sale at one penny a pound beyond the original cost, and he was not aware that this clause had been repealed; but their expenses were so great, and the trade so mixed up with other matters, that the clause had become in effect of little importance. The Company were entitled to somewhat high prices, otherwise they could not maintain their establishments in India: and if we took their charter from them, we must then pay it in another manner for the Indian Government and armies.

MR. ANDREW SCOTT was against the Company coming to any resolution at that meeting, conceiving that after the notice which had been taken of the subject, it should be left to the Master and Assistants, to be brought forward as they thought proper. With that view he should second the second resolution, but he thought the first should be withdrawn.

MR. GEORGE BROWN said, it would perhaps be the most advisable mode, that Mr. Macfarlan should withdraw his resolutions, and give notice of a motion for a future day:

MR. SPITAL thought the resolution should lie on the table till the next meeting of the Company. This was a subject on which the whole country felt a deep interest; why then, should Edinburgh appear lukewarm, or keep back? Therefore, he thought Mr.



Macfarlan deserved great credit for the manly manner in which he had brought the matter under the notice of the Company. He had already said the citizens of Edinburgh ought not to keep back the expression of their sentiments. Why should they keep back? The opinion was general that the renewal of the charter, as it at present stands, was altogether out of the question—the Company itself did not even expect it. The tea trade was a strong and invincible evidence against the revival of monopoly; but there was also the export trade in cloths and calicoes. Had not the export trade, restricted as it now is, extended from a few thousand yards to several millions of yards annually? With respect to the tea trade, he would refer to the speech of Mr. Huskisson, who was of opinion that the market was under-stocked. That right honourable gentleman did not see the use of keeping teas two years in the Company's warehouses.

Mr. Anderson and Mr. W. Blackwood both rose to order. Mr. ANDERSON said, the Company, by their charter, were bound to have by them a quantity of tea, equal to three years consumption.

Mr. SPITTAL, in continuation, remarked, he was not aware that he was out of order in referring to statements made by the best informed commercial Minister this country could boast of; but he felt obliged to Mr. Anderson, for he had informed him of a fact of which he was not before aware. He would with pleasure second the resolutions of Mr. Macfarlan, if they were allowed to lie over till next meeting.

The LORD PROVOST was against adopting at that meeting an expression of opinion, tending to pledge the Company, before discussion. He thought it would be more advisable to enter on the consideration of the subject on a motion made for the special purpose.

Mr. MACFARLAN had no objection to withdraw his resolutions, and gave notice of a motion for next meeting, having no wish to press them, because he was convinced the more the subject was considered, 'the more would its performance be felt and acknowledged. The clause in the charter, alluded to by Mr. Anderson, he believed remained the same, but what he referred to was an act of Parliament, which had been repealed. The delay, however, would be of advantage, by enabling such as wanted information to acquire it from Mr. Buckingham, who, he believed, was to be in this city very soon; but he (Mr. M.) had brought the general question before the Company at this meeting, that the idea might not go abroad that the merchants of Edinburgh were quite indifferent to it till tutored by Mr. Buckingham.

Mr. MACFARLAN then withdrew his resolutions, and gave notice that he would, at the next meeting of the Company, submit a motion on the subject of opening the trade to India and China.—Adjourned.

PROGRESS OF MR. BUCKINGHAM'S LABOURS IN THE COUNTRY.

IN the early part of the last month, Mr. Buckingham left town for Scotland, intending to follow up his successful career in this country, by a visit to the other portions of the British kingdom: retaining, however, his unintermitted communication with this journal, to which all the labours of his pen are now exclusively devoted. The result of his visit to Scotland has already been most satisfactory, the sensation occasioned by his Lectures in Edinburgh being so powerful as to oblige him to remove from the Hopetoun Rooms, where they were first commenced—to the Great Room of the Waterloo Hotel, one of the most capacious in the metropolis of Scotland. Even this was so crowded as to afford scarcely any room for additional numbers; and such was the desire of the auditors to secure places, that seats were generally occupied an hour before the Lectures began. All the rank, wealth, and talent of the Scottish capital, were assembled on these occasions, and the audiences were among the most numerous and brilliant that have for some time been seen in Edinburgh, notwithstanding that the season was considered unfavourable, as the Courts of Law had risen, and many of the principal inhabitants had gone to the watering places, or their country seats. The question is evidently exciting intense interest throughout every part of Scotland, and the following is published in the Edinburgh papers, as the order and date of Mr. Buckingham's future route:—

Edinburgh . . . . .	July 13	Glasgow . . . . .	August 3
Leith . . . . .	21	Paisley . . . . .	12
Aberdeen . . . . .	27	Greenock . . . . .	14
Dundee . . . . .	29	Ayr . . . . .	17
Perth . . . . .	30	Dumfries . . . . .	19
Stirling . . . . .	31	Carlisle . . . . .	22

At each of which places he is to deliver one or more Lectures on the India and China Trade, and the Government and Revenues of the East. The following extracts from the Edinburgh papers, will convey a pretty accurate notion of the impression made in that capital—as they are taken from writers of very opposite political bias, and may therefore be regarded as sincere and impartial.

MR. BUCKINGHAM'S LECTURES ON THE EASTERN WORLD.

From '*The Caledonian Mercury*,' July 16.

FEW men in our day have made a greater figure in the world than Mr. Buckingham. In one way or other his name has been almost continually before the public. The arbitrary and tyrannical act of oppression which drove him from India, and ruined his rising fortunes in that country, first engaged the attention, and we may truly

add, enlisted in his behalf the sympathies of the people of England. Persecution of every kind invariably defeats its own object. When the strong, merely because they are strong, in the very wantonness of conscious power, employ their strength against the weak, and convert the authority with which they have been clothed for the benefit of a great community into an instrument of undisguised oppression against an individual, the generous feelings of our nature are immediately awakened in behalf of the victim of injustice, and the public at once take him under their protection. Hence the very means which were taken to crush Mr. Buckingham, and to ruin for ever his prospects in life, at once marked him out as a person of consideration, and excited universal indignation against the petty tyrants who had attempted his destruction. His first introduction to our notice, therefore, was by means of a passport signed and counter-signed, if we may so express ourselves, by his Indian persecutors. And since that time we have been rendered familiar with his name in a great variety of aspects; as an enterprising and intelligent traveller, who had indefatigably explored and ably described some of the most interesting countries on the face of the earth; as a sturdy claimant for justice and reparation, thundering at the gates of the India House, and disturbing the slumbers of the merchant princes of Leadenhall-Street; as the triumphant defender of his literary reputation against the ungenerous and unmanly attack which had been made upon it by Mr. Bankes; as the parent of a whole generation of periodicals, political and literary; and, lastly, as the preacher of a general crusade against the East India Company's monopoly. We confess, therefore, that we felt no ordinary degree of curiosity to see and hear a person who had made so much noise in the world, and connected his name with so many great interests, remarkable occurrences, and distinguished individuals; and that with expectations considerably excited, we repaired on Monday night to the Hopetoun Rooms, where it was announced that Mr. Buckingham would deliver the first of a short course of Lectures on the Eastern World. Nor were these expectations in any degree disappointed.

Of the subject of the Lecture we shall speak presently. With regard to the Lecturer himself we must say that he appears to us admirably qualified for the task he has undertaken. Full of the subject, on which he evidently possesses the most abundant information, he spoke from the printed heads of his lecture, which are exceedingly brief, with the greatest ease and fluency, and in a style of elocution equally simple, graceful, and unpretending, displayed a talent for communicating knowledge in a clear, vivid, interesting, and popular manner, far surpassing any thing of the kind we have lately witnessed. The best proof of this we can mention is the fact, that for nearly three hours he kept the attention of a numerous and most respectable audience so rivetted by his graphic descrip-

tions and illustrative anecdotes, told frequently with an archness and effect peculiarly *frappant* and felicitous, that, forgetting to take any note of time, his auditors, at the conclusion, seemed actuated only by a feeling of regret that the lecture had so soon been brought to a close. As a *conteur*, indeed, Mr. Buckingham might almost rival some of his friends in the Desert, of whom he cherishes so many pleasing recollections; nor is it possible to conceive any thing more engaging than the style in which he brings before his audience the scenes, the manners, the characters of the gorgeous East; not in frigid description, but in full presentment, as it were, touching our own imaginations by the happy power he possesses, and enabling us almost to *see* what, in fact, he only after all *describes*. But never for one moment did he lose sight of his main object, namely, to demonstrate the expediency or rather the necessity of breaking up the Company's monopoly, and opening a free trade with the East. To this almost all his numerous illustrations were skilfully made to converge; and many of the facts and circumstances which he adduced in support of the measure he recommends, were unquestionably calculated to make a deep impression upon the minds of his hearers. Beyond all question, Mr. Buckingham is the most formidable enemy with whom the sovereign monopolists of Leadenhall-Street have yet had to contend. Commercial or political reasonings and speculations, when read in the closet, make but a faint impression; and many will not even read them at all. But when truths of the very highest importance to the interests of the nation, are clothed in so fascinating a garb, and surrounded with so many accessory attractions, their force is immediate and irresistible. They sink deep into the mind, and become at once, as it were, part and parcel of itself; while, in this way, the ignorant are informed, at the same time that the instructed and intelligent have their opinions confirmed, and the desire to reduce them into practice stimulated and awakened. Hence, we anticipate the very greatest benefits to arise from the progress that Mr. Buckingham is now making through the kingdom, teaching and preaching anti-monopolist doctrines, in a style and manner so captivating and attractive. By this, in conjunction with other means that have been employed, the mind of the country will be thoroughly awakened; and, in due time, public opinion will acquire a consistency and force sufficient to surmount every obstacle, and to overcome all opposition, founded on old errors, and anti-national interests.

The subject of the first lecture was Egypt, its geography, climate, minerals, vegetables, animals, antiquities, chief towns, population, religion, manners, government, and commerce; on all of which Mr. Buckingham discoursed with the ease, clearness, and fluency of a man thoroughly conversant with his subject in all its details. To persons who have made the ancient and present state of this country a study, indeed, the lecture communicated little or nothing that was

not as familiar as household words : but as the number of those who have devoted themselves to such inquiries is extremely limited, the various topics discussed must have been equally novel and attractive to the great majority of the audience. The geographical description was peculiarly excellent ; and the same thing may be said generally respecting the colossal antiquities of that wonderful country—of which, Mr. Buckingham succeeded in imparting a juster and more adequate conception than any other traveller has ever yet been able to convey. This he effected by familiar comparisons and contrasts, and by placing, as it were, in juxtaposition with the gigantic monuments of Egypt the pigmy structures which have been reared in other countries, and particularly in our own. What, for example, could possibly convey a more striking idea of the magnitude of the great temple of Carnac, than telling the audience that St. Paul's, London, might be contained within its portico, and still leave a very considerable surrounding space unoccupied ? The description of the Sphynx and the Memnon was equally graphic and striking : and, indeed, the whole lecture was in the highest degree interesting, even to those who had most attentively and laboriously studied the subject.

It may easily be supposed, however, that Mr. Buckingham could scarcely discourse for three hours on Egypt without touching on some debateable points, and delivering some questionable opinions. The first of these which we shall notice was a statement, that according to the best information which had been received, the Bahrel-Abia, or western branch of the Nile, is the long sought for Niger, or Nile of the Negroes. Mr. Buckingham did not inform us how he had arrived at this conclusion, which is in fact that which Mr. Barrow had been all along labouring to enforce through the medium of the *Quarterly Review* ; and it is perfectly possible that he may possess some information to which we are still strangers. But, in the present state of *our* knowledge, we think we could prove the negative of the proposition, and show that, wherever the outlet of this mysterious river may be, it is not by the White River, or western branch of the Nile of Egypt. Next, we cannot but think that Mr. Buckingham has inconsiderately adopted Denon's theory, founded on the experiments of Halley, to account for the absence of rain in Egypt, and the periodic overflowings of the Nile. The etesian winds unquestionably blow in the direction he describes ; but how these winds can carry from the Mediterranean to the Mountains of the Moon successive strata or volumes of atmospherical air, charged with moisture, and of course superficially heavier than the dry strata on which they are supposed to float, we are utterly unable to conjecture. Nor is this all. According to Mr. Buckingham these mountains are enveloped in *perpetual* rain. But if the fact be so, how comes it that the overflowing of the Nile is only *periodical* ; or, in other words, how comes that river to overflow at all ? On

the subject of antiquities, too, we differ in some points, from Mr. Buckingham; especially as to the purpose for which the pyramids were destined. He conceives them to have been merely royal sepulchres. Now this appears to us extremely doubtful on many accounts, and on none more than this, that in a sarcophagus in one of the chambers, bones were found, which, on examination, proved to be those of a cow; a circumstance which seems to show that their destination was of a religious nature, and that these stupendous structures had some connection with the superstition which prevailed in Egypt at the time when they were erected. In after times it is quite possible that they may have been used as sepulchres; but that the purpose of their original erection was different, seems evident from a variety of circumstances which we have neither time nor space at present to enumerate. Finally, Mr. Buckingham committed an error in describing *Diospolis Magna* (Thebes) as "the city of the Gods." *Diospolis* is a literal Greek translation of the Egyptian name of that wonder of the ancient as well as the modern world, and which was *Téb-Amun*, "the city of Amon," who was considered identical with the Jupiter of the Greeks. In fact, the latter had frequently both epithets applied to him at once.

On Tuesday Mr. Buckingham gave a view of Arabia, under the same classification of heads with Egypt; and, last night the subject of lecture was Palestine, which he rendered intensely interesting from the scriptural illustrations with which it was accompanied. But we shall defer for the present making any observations either on these lectures or on the countries described; especially as we shall have another opportunity of discussing the main question to which all these prelections are devoted.

(From 'The Edinburgh Evening Courant,' July 16.)

On Monday night, this celebrated traveller commenced his Lectures in the Hopetoun Rooms, on the manners, antiquities, and policy of the Eastern countries. The company was numerous and genteel; and for the two hours during which his discourse continued, he was listened to, as he deserved to be, with the most profound attention. He has since delivered two other lectures which have not been less favourably received. Mr. Buckingham, we believe, is the only traveller who ever resorted to this method of communicating the result of his observations verbally to the public, in place of publishing them in a printed volume; and every one must at once see how greatly these *viva voce* communications must excel in vivacity and interest any written composition, whatever be its merits, especially where the person who makes this experiment is so eminently qualified to give it effect as Mr. Buckingham appears to be. As a lecturer his merits are very great. His elo-

cution is easy; his manner quite natural and agreeable; and he seems to carry on his discourse without the aid of any written notes. He has indeed all the ease, readiness, and alacrity of a finished speaker, and so simple and familiar is his style, that in place of a public audience we might suppose him to be addressing an account of his adventures to a circle of his private friends. He has none of that ease, however, which degenerates into carelessness; and he never approaches to any thing like tameness. On the contrary, though he is obliged, in consequence of his limited stay in this city, to protract his lecture for two, and sometimes nearly three hours, he never flags for a moment, but seems to gather new vigour, as he enters more deeply into his subject; and goes on, to the last, fluent, animated, and impressive. Yet he does not evince any anxiety to shine; his sole object seems to be, to convey instruction to his audience; to tell them what they did not know before, and to tell it in the easiest and briefest manner. His style is accordingly simple. He does not go out of his way for flowery descriptions or embellishments of any sort, but seems to rely entirely for his success on the sterling value of the information which he communicates, and which is only a portion of that larger store which he has collected in the course of his travels. His acquaintance with those eastern countries which form the subject of his discourses, seems to be most perfect; we were particularly struck with the mastery which he displayed over every part of his subject; with the fulness, the freshness, the vivacity of his sketches; the force of his illustrations; the prodigality of his details; and the skill with which he disposed and arranged to the best advantage, his extensive information. There are many travellers ingenious and well informed, who have perfectly accurate and just notions of all that they have either seen or heard, but who yet fail to give any distinct or vivid impressions of interesting objects; who set the mind afloat, as it were, among vague and general ideas, and there leave it. Mr. Buckingham is quite the reverse of this. Whatever be the matter on which he is discoursing, whether it be any point of local usage or manners, any interesting relic of antiquity, or any question of antiquarian research, he is sure to make it clear before he has done with it, and to bring it home to the standard of our ordinary ideas, by some ready and familiar illustration. He does not seem to be much given to ingenious or doubtful speculations; yet he misses no opportunity of illustrating the manners and policy of the Eastern countries; and, without being a theorist, he is frequently very successful in tracing particular facts to the general state of manners, in striking out an unexpected light, where the mere antiquarian would grope in darkness, and in thus bringing out the *rationale* of many ancient customs, by reasonings that display at once his research and his judgment.

With regard to the East India Company's charter, on which it is Mr. Buckingham's object to treat in his last lecture, this is a

question which leads to a wide field of speculation, involving many complex considerations, into which we do not mean to enter. But his merits as a lecturer, which we willingly allow, and which seem to be acknowledged in the reception he has met with, are independent altogether of his views on those disputed points. His lectures have certainly given, as far as they have gone, general satisfaction; and most of his hearers are, we believe, impressed with the ability which he displays in condensing within so small a compass so much entertaining and useful knowledge.

*Lecture First.*

We can scarcely give an outline of this lecture, which embraced so great a variety of interesting subjects. Mr. Buckingham began with explaining that Egypt was in a manner formed by the Nile. It was that strip of fertile land which extended along its banks; and it was in length 635 miles, and in breadth only nine miles at its broadest part; and in some parts was so narrow, that one person calling to another could be heard from one side of the country to the other. Of Egypt, the Nile is the most important feature. The source of this river is unknown, as it is now certain that Bruce only went to the fountain-head of the minor branch, leaving the larger stream, the Bahr-el-Abia, unexplored. It is a remarkable peculiarity of the Nile, that it runs for about 1000 miles of its course through a sandy desert, without receiving one single tributary stream. It is subject, however, to a periodical overflow, deriving its supplies of moisture from the great belt of high land called the Mountains of the Moon, which run across the African continent near the line. The Mediterranean, it is well known, has currents constantly flowing into it from the Straits of Gibraltar, also through the Bosphorus and the Hellespont. It receives, besides, a variety of other streams; and there is no outlet for this vast supply of moisture. It is accordingly drawn off by evaporation: and the mists which are exhaled by the heat, and which frequently obscure the Egyptian sky, and operate as a kind of screen from the solar rays, are carried, by the Etesian winds, over the flat country, without any interruption, until they are arrested by the mountains of Central Africa, and being condensed, deluge that country with almost perpetual rains, which, replenishing all the tributary branches of the Nile, cause an overflow of the lower stream in Egypt. This rise in the Nile commences in June; and the land depending entirely for its fertility on this inundation, it is looked to by the people with corresponding anxiety; and as in this country our inquiries are directed to the state of the weather, with a view to the produce of the year, in Egypt the rise of the Nile occupies the same place in the public estimation; and the inquiry is not what sort of weather it is, but how high has the Nile risen. The height of the inundation is marked by the Nilometer; and in order to prevent all speculations on the subject, it is regu-



larly notified by a public crier through the streets of Cairo, in place of being, as it would be in this country, inserted in the newspapers, along with the price of stocks, and markets of every description.

Egypt, considering its latitude, has not an extremely hot climate; the thermometer in summer seldom rises above ninety-five; there is no rain; and on this subject Mr. Buckingham mentioned, that he once met an Arab who had no conception of what rain could be. He was told that it was water which fell in drops from the sky, and in such quantities as to swell the rivers and to irrigate the whole country. He replied, that he could easily conceive, that when a stone was thrown into the water, it raised drops which again descended; but that rain could come down of itself from the sky, was what he would not believe; and though repeatedly assured of the fact, it appeared evident that he considered the whole to be a mere joke. Another illustration of this fact was also mentioned by Mr. Buckingham. He was one day surveying an ancient and magnificent temple, which had been left by the artist in an unfinished state; and in different parts figures were finished in relief, while in other parts the design had been merely marked out in red ochre, to be afterwards chiselled out on the stone. Now, this marking must have remained there about 3000 years, although by wetting his finger and drawing it across it, Mr. Buckingham entirely erased it; which seems clearly to prove that during all this period no rain could have fallen.

In the account given of the productions of Egypt and the animals, there was nothing new or remarkable, except that the cotton which was formerly raised in that country from bad seed, has been greatly improved by the present Pacha, who was at the pains to procure the best seed from Brazil. This being planted in Egypt prospered greatly in the fertile soil; insomuch that Egyptian cotton which was formerly worth little or nothing in the European markets, is now preferred, except to some peculiar sorts of American cotton. The crocodile, contrary to the general supposition, Mr. Buckingham described to be a harmless, and a timid animal; and mentioned that he had often seen them running about among women and children, and exciting not the smallest terror—to the hyena he also gave the same character of timidity. The pigeon he described to be in such numbers that they darkened the air; and the sturgeon in the rivers was in such abundance, that they had only to let down a basket, which when drawn up was full of them.

On the antiquities Mr. Buckingham dwelt at great length; and much to the entertainment and instruction of his audience. Of the vast progress which the ancient Egyptians had made in the arts, he gave a very striking account; and of their great works, far surpassing what has ever been since executed by any age or nation. Mr. Buckingham ascended to the top of the Pyramids, which is

about 750 feet along the inclined plane, and about 600 feet in perpendicular height; and as the steps by which the ascent is made are some of them six feet in height, and but narrow at the bottom, he describes this ascent, and still more the descent, as one of the most frightful attempts in which he ever was engaged; there being no railing to take hold of; and the least stumble or false step, to a certainty precipitating the traveller over the tremendous height. Those pyramids, in the opinion of Mr. Buckingham, which he supported on very rational grounds, were places of sepulchre, the ancient Egyptians being extremely anxious, from their superstitious creed, to preserve the dead body from violation or decay. Of the other catacombs he also gave a singular account. The practice in ancient Egypt was to inter the dead in a large square pit. They were all packed in an erect posture, like a regiment of soldiers, as close as possible; and when the bottom of the pit was covered, other bodies, all embalmed, were placed above them—and so on until the whole was filled up. The modern Egyptians do not, however, participate in this superstition, for it is now the practice to dig up these mummies, to be used without ceremony for the base purpose of fuel; the resinous quality of the stuff in which they are preserved fitting them for this. In this way it is not unusual to see one or two Arabs digging up these, and carrying them away as coolly on their shoulders as the porters here carry their burdens of coals; and a modern Egyptian housewife, when her coal-hole is empty, immediately sends for some of the Arabs, who bring in a new supply of these embalmed bodies, which are hewed down without ceremony, and used in the kitchen as an article of fuel.

Of the splendid remains of the ancient city of Thebes, Mr. Buckingham gave an interesting account. One temple which he mentioned had an approach to it two miles in length, and on each side the whole way was one continued line of sphynxes. The temple was on a scale of vast extent and grandeur. The portico had 136 pillars of large dimensions, and was so large that it would have contained within it St. Paul's Church, and sufficient space would still have remained to have allowed access all around it. Mr. Buckingham also saw and examined minutely the celebrated figure of Memnon. He stood by the foot, which was so large that he could not see over it without standing on tiptoe; and, *ex pede Herculem*, from this we may estimate the size of the figure, which Mr. Buckingham stated to be 120 feet in height, and cut of one single stone, which, in order to have been set up in its place, must have been moved at least 200 miles. A curious question here occurs, namely, by what process of mechanical power known to this ancient people, such a mass could have been moved to so great a distance.

#### *Lecture Second.*

Mr. Buckingham's second lecture related chiefly to Arabia. He

previously recapitulated, however, or more fully explained, several points which he had touched on rather lightly in his first lecture. He dwelt at some length, and with considerable animation, on the policy of the present Pacha in relieving the Egyptian trade from the shackles of monopoly, and in encouraging the colonization in the country of foreign wealth, talent, and integrity. The consequences of this policy, Mr. Buckingham described as being eminently beneficial; the inhabitants of Alexandria had, in consequence, increased from 5,000 to 20,000, and in place of one English commercial house, there are now about twenty in that city, and as many, or more, in Cairo. A visible improvement had also been brought about by the infusion of European morality into the habits and manners of the people, and a sort of public opinion had been formed by the union of this growing mercantile body, which had frequently controlled the government in some of its arbitrary measures. Property was more secure—knowledge was increasing—and the great body of the community were become less bigotted to their Mahommedan superstition, and less intolerant to strangers.

With regard to Arabia, Mr. Buckingham pointed out the usual geographical divisions of the country, and contrasted it with Egypt, in this respect, that, while Egypt was periodically inundated by the Nile, and owed its prosperity to that cause, Arabia had not one single stream which deserved the name of a river, being one continued tract of burning sands, with here and there scattered patches of verdure, like the spots on a leopard's skin. The climate during the summer, is hotter than in any other part of the world, the thermometer being above 100 degrees; at 108 in the morning, and rising to 110, 120, and even to 125, in the coolest and shadiest parts. During the most part of the summer this is the temperature, and, owing to its being so equable, the country is subject to dead calms, which continue sometimes, without interruption, for sixty days. When the temperature begins to vary, and the winds to resume their wonted activity, the country is visited by the Simoon, or hot blast of the desert, about which so much has been said. Mr. Buckingham experienced the effects of this hot and parching wind. He is not of opinion, as has been sometimes asserted, that it has any poisonous qualities. When it is suddenly inhaled, it may, in the same manner as a hot blast from an oven, cause faintishness or sickness, and even swooning; but this is not to be ascribed to any quality but heat. The effect of these violent winds is, to raise up the fine sand, with which the desert is in many parts covered, and to set it afloat all through the atmosphere, in such quantities, that Mr. Buckingham states it to be impossible to see for a few yards before you; if you were standing at the tail of a camel, its head would not be visible. On these occasions, all the animals, by instinct, lie down and bury their nostrils under the sand, to avoid the influence of this hot wind. In this situation, the

man generally lies down on the lee side of the animal, and in a short time the sand is blown up to the level of the camel, which has, of course, to rise and to lie down on a new foundation, in order to avoid being covered with sand. But, in many cases, from weariness, faintness, or sleepiness, occasioned by the great heat, and often from a feeling of despair, both the man and the animal lie still, and in twenty minutes they are buried under a load of sand, and there miserably perish in these inhospitable deserts. Arabia is bounded on the west by the Red Sea, which, so far from being muddy or red, as has been sometimes asserted, Mr. Buckingham describes as being the most pellucid water he ever met with; in proof of which he mentioned, that while in our seas it is scarcely possible ever to see an object beyond the depth of two fathoms, and even in other seas, as on the Bahama Bank, in the West Indies, it was reckoned very clear water, when the bottom could be seen at five fathoms; in the Red Sea, he read distinctly the name of the ship on the anchor, at the depth of twenty-five fathoms. The only fruit of the desert is the date, which supplies the Arabs with their scanty food. Coffee is produced in the vicinity of Mocha, and it is justly held in the highest estimation all over the globe; at the same time, the soil of Bengal is equally capable of producing it in the same perfection, and here he could not help mentioning an anecdote on this subject. At the time that the insurrection took place at Manilla, when the Native population rose upon and destroyed the Europeans, and when every white face was considered an enemy, two Frenchmen escaped from the general massacre, and came to Calcutta penniless, and glad to fly for their lives. Having seen Mr. Buckingham's Journal, they inquired for him, and laid before him their deplorable case. He inquired, what he could do for them? what they were capable of? They replied, that they were skilled in nothing but the cultivation of coffee, which, they understood, they would not be allowed to prosecute here. Mr. Buckingham replied, if they had been Englishmen, they would not have been allowed; but because they were Frenchmen and foreigners, they would be allowed the privileges which were withheld from Englishmen. The poor men thought at first that he was mocking them in their misery; they could not believe in such an anomaly, as that any government would allow to foreigners what was refused to natives; and it was not until the fact was confirmed by many other persons, that they could be persuaded of it. Such being the case, however, that foreigners but not Englishmen are allowed to settle in India, a sum of 5,000*l.* was subscribed for the French refugees, a coffee plantation was begun, from which as excellent coffee is now produced as any to be found in Mocha.

It is singular that no inhabitant of Mocha will taste coffee, and any one who would drink it would be thought by the inhabitants to be a perfect fool. Their beverage is an infusion from the outer

rind of the berry, which Mr. Buckingham describes as having the most nauseous and bitter taste that can be imagined, and he compared it to a strong dose of senna. As another extraordinary instance of this diversity of taste, Mr. Buckingham told a lively story of an Abyssinian princess, a renowned beauty, who sailed in the same ship with him and a medical friend, but of whom it was impossible to obtain even a glimpse. This lady, however, happened to be taken ill, when recourse was had to European skill. But still Mr. B. and his friend were positively denied all access to her; at last, however, they were allowed to see her, when the reputation of her beauty was fully confirmed. As the lady was not remarkably ill, they prescribed for her a dish of tea, some of which they had with them of the finest quality, such as is never seen here, and which, for flavour and aroma, is unrivalled, being only sent in presents from China to some of the distinguished servants of the East India Company. The lady, after much persuasion, was prevailed on to take it, when she spit it all out of her mouth, expressed the most violent disgust, and affirmed that the Europeans had conspired to poison her.

Of the animals, the camels and the dromedary, Mr. Buckingham gave the usual account, enlivened, however, by such details as an eye-witness only can give. Respecting the Arabian horse, he mentioned that, though it excelled in all the fine qualities for which that animal is prized, that is, in swiftness and in docility of temper; and though it is the source of all the excellence which is to be found in the European breed, it is very roughly treated, and but scantily fed. It never tastes corn of any sort, neither meal nor grass, but is usually fed on camel's milk, prepared for it, or browses on such stunted shrubs as the desert produces; it never lies down from the time of its birth to the time of its death, except when sick; and is allowed to stand at the tent door of the Arab, after enduring the heat of the day, uncovered during the cold of night, as the Arabs would think a man mad who would put any sort of cloth over a horse; yet this animal, so little cared for, will perform, for successive days, a journey of fifty miles; and farther, it appears that from this rough treatment and scanty fare, its strength is derived, for when it is brought to India, fed richer on herbage, and protected from the weather, it loses its strength, and in place of fifty miles, it will not go thirty miles for successive days; and it is a general remark, that in all those countries which abound in rich and luxuriant herbage, the indigenous horse is never so fine an animal as where it is more poorly fed.

The locust is also found in Arabia, although Mr. Buckingham thinks that it is a native of Africa, and that it is blown from that country into Arabia, out of its natural course, by the winds. The account given in Scripture of the ravages of this insect, when it is said, "that before them was the garden of Eden, and behind a

desert," is verified by experience. They light upon the country in a cloud which darkens the air, and they leave nothing green behind them. They are sometimes blown by the winds into the ocean, where they are drowned; and Mr. Buckingham mentioned, that when he was sailing in the Red Sea, we believe at the rate of seven or eight knots an hour, the ship's way was suddenly stopt, and she did not go on at the rate of more than four. The water was at the same time darkened for many miles by a brown substance, which many thought was oil from some shipwrecked vessels. But when they took up some of this substance they perceived that it was a cloud of locusts, which had perished in the water. They found the mass to be twenty feet deep; at the bottom the locusts were perfect, but at the top, and a good way down, they were greatly decomposed.

Mr. Buckingham gave an interesting account of the Arabs, among whom he dwelt for a considerable time. He described them as kind, hospitable, and just, and not at all addicted to that ferocity and pillage which we are accustomed to consider a part of the Arab character. The plunder of the caravans would never take place were their owners to pay them a small contribution for the privilege of passing through their country, and of sharing in their herbage, in their scanty supply of water, and in their other produce. But these trading strangers come into the country more powerful than the inhabitants; they carry off all its produce, leaving the native population, without any remorse, to starve; and it is because the Arabs exact payment from these intruders, and because they refuse them a moderate compensation for what they receive, that they attack the caravans, cut off the stragglers, and carry off what they consider a just recompense for the supplies which the country furnishes, and for which all payment is refused. The Arabs are the most abstemious people on earth. They only take one meal a-day, and that after sun-set. The more luxurious of them drink a single cup of coffee, without either milk or sugar, in the morning, and taste nothing more until night, when they make a simple repast on a few dates. They are, nevertheless, remarkably healthy. An Arab is never known to be sick, and they generally live to a very great age; yet they have no such thing as a physician among them.

In describing the different towns of Arabia, Mr. Buckingham dwelt at length on the importance of Mecca, as being so admirably fitted for a great commercial depôt of European goods. This place, it is well known, is the noted resort of pilgrims, from all parts of the Mahomedan world; it is the centre point where they all meet. A pilgrimage to Mecca is reckoned indispensable in a pious Mahometan, and here an immense concourse of persons, to the number annually of more than 100,000 meet from Constantinople, from all parts of India, from Japan, from Java, from all the isles of the Eastern Archipelago; from

Timbuctoo, and all parts of the interior of Africa. Now, Mr. Buckingham concludes, that as many of these pilgrims come for trade as well as for religion, they must bring something there, and take away an equivalent in return. He suggests, therefore, that if the warehouses of Birmingham or Manchester could be only emptied in this great centre of intercourse, that the pilgrims would each carry away to their respective places of abode, some commodity of British manufacture, which is far superior, in cheapness and excellence, to any thing that could be found in their own country. Thus they would act as so many radii from the centre of a circle, and would carry over all the parts of the Eastern world samples of British goods, for which they would soon spread a taste, and excite a demand. This would be a beginning; and the next step would be the establishment of a commercial house at Mecca, to which British goods could be consigned, when there is little doubt that a great increase of trade would be the consequence, and British manufactures would make their way where they never had been before heard of. In adverting to the humanizing influence of trade in softening the prejudices, and refining the manners of barbarous countries, Mr. Buckingham mentioned a curious anecdote of a Mahometan, a native of Fez, who had visited Gibraltar, whom he met in a voyage in the Red Sea, where he (Mr. B.) was disguised as a follower of Mahomet, speaking their language, wearing the dress, and having a long beard, three years old. This person, though a zealous disciple of the Prophet, was liberal in ideas, and had no objection to a little free discussion. Mr. Buckingham began the conversation, by asking him whether he thought the fast of Ramadan, which is not like our fast in Lent, that freely admits an indulgence in many rare luxuries, such as salmon and turbot, &c., with lobster-sauce, but a strict fast from sun-rise to sun-set, during which the worshippers eat nothing, nor so much as smoke a pipe. Mr. B. asked him if he thought this fast indispensable to the Mahomedan religion; he replied that he did. Then, said Mr. B., the Prophet could not have intended his religion to have been universal all over the world. Why so? said the young man. Because, said Mr. B., there are certain parts of the world where it would be impossible to observe it, for the sun does not set for six months. The young man stared, and was incredulous; but Mr. B., constructing a globe, demonstrated the fact in such a manner as left him in no doubt, when he freely admitted that the Prophet could not have been aware of this fact, or he would not have promulgated his creed; and from that moment, the spirit of inquiry being set afloat, his faith was much shaken; and in place of making the pilgrimage of Mecca, which was his first intention, he sneered at the idea, and after transacting his business at some of the towns in the Red Sea, he returned to his own country, with impressions very different from those with which he had left it; and Mr. Buckingham mentioned this fact to shew how inevitably the free intercourse

of trade tended to pave the way for the accomplishment of higher than even commercial objects, how it tended to break down superstitious prejudices, and to diffuse other and better notions in their stead.

Mr. Buckingham concluded his third lecture last night to a more crowded audience than he has ever had. Not being previously known in this city, he was not so numerously attended at first as might have been expected; but as his merits become known, a greater interest is excited, and we have little doubt that his hearers will still increase. The room last night was quite crowded, and it was with difficulty that seats could be procured. His discourse on Palestine, Syria, &c., was, like all the others, equally amusing and instructive.

*From 'The Edinburgh Observer,' July 17.*

We noticed briefly, on Tuesday, the commencement of this gentleman's lectures on the Eastern World. Since then we have been twice to hear him; and, on the whole, have derived a very considerable degree of pleasure from his labours. Mr. Buckingham's name has, for several years past, been of note in the literary circles; he is, perhaps, the greatest traveller, as a meter of miles, alive at this moment; and to crown all, the stout battle he has fought with the East India Company, has given him somewhat the character of a political martyr. Before saying any thing of his lectures, we shall abridge, for the information of our distant readers, the sketch of his life, travels, and political and literary labours, which is now in circulation among his auditors at the Hopetoun Rooms. The reader, the better to understand his pilgrimages, would do well to peruse our abridgment with a good map of the world before him. At the early age of nine years, Mr. Buckingham embraced, with the most enthusiastic ardour, the maritime profession; and embarked in one of his majesty's packets for a foreign station. Before he completed his tenth year he was captured, and, as a prisoner of war, passed several months in confinement at Corunna, after which he was marched, with other companions in misfortunes, a distance of many hundred miles, barefoot, through Spain and Portugal, from Corunna to Lisbon. Subsequently he visited other countries in the same profession, and obtained a maritime command at the age of twenty-two. In this capacity he performed several voyages to the West Indies, the two Americas, and the Mediterranean Sea, including Gibraltar, Malta, the Greek Islands, and Smyrna in the Levant. In 1813, having resolved to abandon the sea, and settle as a merchant in Malta, he sailed from London for that island; but, on his arrival, found it devastated by the plague, in consequence of which his speculation failed, and he proceeded to Alexandria, in Egypt, to look for fresh sources of enterprise.



Here he obtained the notice and attention of Mahommed Ali, the present ruler of that country, who had just begun to appreciate the advantage of encouraging the settlement of intelligent Europeans in his territories. With Mahommed Ali he spent a very considerable portion of his time instructing and explaining, with the assistance of a set of Arrowsmith's charts, the relative positions and productions of various countries. From Alexandria he proceeded to Cairo; and from thence ascended the Nile into Nubia, beyond the cataracts, where almost total blindness, arising from a long and severe ophthalmia, prevented him from penetrating farther. On his descent, he halted at Kench, and crossed the desert to Kosseir, on the shores of the Red Sea, in the course of which journey he encountered a body of mutinous soldiery of the Egyptian army, returning, in a state of revolt, from Kosseir, by whom he was stripped, plundered, and left nearly naked on the barren waste. Nevertheless, he succeeded in reaching Kosseir, from whence, finding it impossible to proceed further in that direction, he retraced his steps back to Kench, on the Nile. Descending the Nile to Cairo, he from thence traversed the isthmus of Suez, and visited every part of Lower Egypt, and the Delta, habited as an Egyptian, speaking the language, and mixing freely with the people of the country. At this period the English merchants resident in Egypt proposed to him to undertake on their account a voyage to India, by way of the Red Sea—partly to ascertain the practicability of its coasting navigation by English ships, and partly to learn whether the merchants of India were disposed to renew the commercial intercourse which formerly existed between India and Egypt. He set out for Suez accordingly, with a vast caravan of pilgrims bound to Mecca, and proceeded from thence to Jedda and Mocha, and ultimately to India. His mission to the Indian merchants was unsuccessful; and he then bethought himself of turning his attention to some maritime or mercantile speculation in India itself. In accordance with this desire, he was appointed to command a new frigate just launched at Bombay for the Imaum of Muscat, an independent Arab Prince, who had commissioned her for a voyage to China. Scarcely however was he invested with this command, when the government of Bombay intimated to him, that having arrived at India without license or authority, he should ship himself forthwith for England. All his efforts to obtain a mitigation of this harsh, but legal decree, were unsuccessful. The authorities at Bombay admitted at once that he was an intelligent man, and likely to prove a useful agent in that quarter; but the orders of the Court of Directors in England were too peremptory to be departed from. Mr. Buckingham then returned to Egypt by a second voyage through the Red Sea; and, in the course of time, was again empowered by the British merchants at Alexandria, to act as their envoy in a second commercial mission to Bombay, and

also as the Ambassador of Mahommed Ali. Previous to setting out on this expedition he took care to procure from England the license necessary to qualify him to become a resident in British India. He left Alexandria, by sea, in the close of 1815, landed at Bairout, in Syria, proceeded by Tyre, Sidon, Acre, and Jaffa, to Jerusalem; was compelled, by the disturbed state of the country, to traverse nearly the whole of Palestine, and the countries east of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, the Hauran, and the Decapolis;—reached Damascus;—passed several weeks in the agreeable and hospitable society of Lady Hester Stanhope;—visited Baalbeck, Lebanon, Tripoli, Antioch, the Crontes, and Aleppo. From thence he proceeded into Mesopotamia; crossed the Euphrates at Bir; visited Orfah, the Ur of the Chaldees, and Edessa of the Greeks, near Haran, the birth-place of Abraham the Patriarch; journeyed to Diarbekr, or the Black City, in the heart of Asia Minor: from thence to Mardin on the mountains; and the great Desert of Sinjar to Moosul on the Tigris;—inspected the ruins of Nineveh, Arbela, Ctesiphon, and Seleucia; made extensive researches on the ruins of Babylon, identified the Hanging Gardens and the Palace, and discovered a portion of the ancient wall; ascended to the summit of the Tower of Babel, now still erect in the Plain of Shinaar, and at length reposed in the celebrated city of Bagdad, on the banks of the Tigris. After a short stay there he proceeded into Persia, crossing the chain of Mount Zagros, and going by Kermanshah to Hamadan, the ancient Ecbatana; Ispahan; the ruins of Persepolis; and by Shiraz and Shapoor to Bushire. At this port he embarked on an East India Company's ship of war, bound on an expedition against the Wahabees, the Arab Pirates of the Persian Gulf: visited their Port at Ras-el-Khyma; went on shore with the commodore of the squadron, and acted as his Arabian Interpreter; assisted afterwards in the bombardment of the town, and finally reached Bombay at the end of 1816, having been nearly twelve months in performing this long and perilous journey. The issue of his second mission to Bombay was not more successful in bringing about the wished-for trade between India and Egypt than his first; but he resumed the command of the *Imaum* of Muscat's frigate, in which he sailed for the Persian Gulf; and after visiting Muscat and Bussorah, returned, with a successful result, to Bombay. From hence he proceeded down the coast of Malabar, touching at Tellicherry, Calicut, Mahee, and Cochin; Colombo and Point de Gaile, in Ceylon; up the coast of Caromadel, touching at Covelong, Madras, and Bimlipatam; and at length reached Calcutta in June, 1818. Here he found orders from the *Imaum* directing the frigate to proceed to the coast of Zanzibar, in Africa; to give convoy to several vessels there engaged in procuring slaves, a service which he declined, and by doing so resigned his command. Having met with much attention from people of distinction in India, he yielded to their solici-

tions, and agreed to undertake the editorship of a public journal in Calcutta. In three years he brought this paper to produce a net profit of 8000*l.* per annum. The Marquis of Hastings, who was then Governor-General, cordially approved of the independent manner in which the "Calcutta Journal" was conducted, but the more bigotted adherents of the Company's system regarded him with the utmost distrust, and spared no efforts to procure his arbitrary banishment from India. The Marquis, however, scorned to do an oppressive act, and while he remained at the head of affairs, Mr. Buckingham found that he had a shield between him and the exercise of arbitrary power; but no sooner had Lord Hastings quitted India, than his temporary *locum tenens*, Mr. Adam, made no secret of his intention to banish the editor of the obnoxious Journal from India, as early as possible. This made "Buckingham grow circumspect;" but a Presbyterian minister, Dr. Bryce, whose name is not unknown in this country, having entered the lists against him as a political adversary, and received, as a reward for a very virulent attack on him, an office of some emolument under Government, of which we have also heard something in Scotland, Mr. Buckingham was induced to play off a little wit against him and his patrons, and for that small fault he was instantly sent out of the country, and returned to England, with all his prospects blasted. Since then he has been one of the most Herculean labourers in the vineyard of literature. He has established several political journals, —and, filled with a spirit of hostility towards the East India Company, which is identified with his existence, he has rendered all of them more or less subservient to the subversion of its power. He is now, we need scarcely state, making a circuit of the British isles, for the avowed purpose of preaching a crusade, if we may employ such a term, against the Leadenhall monopoly; and to render his prelections palatable to all classes, he garnishes them with rich geographical descriptions of those Oriental lands which he wishes to redeem from moral and commercial barbarism.

Having been thus particular in regard to the adventures of Mr. Buckingham, we shall now speak of his appearance in our city. In his lectures on Arabia and Palestine, the two at which we were present, he stated very little that is not familiar to every intelligent reader; but at the same time, what he did state was so happily expressed and so agreeably illustrated by personal anecdotes, that we believe every body in the room was heartily sorry when he brought them to a close. We were in particular greatly struck with his picture of Damascus—than which nothing oral could be more graphic and enchanting; and it recurred to us repeatedly, that were such a man to devote himself entirely to delineating the face of the earth by word of mouth, he would do more to advance geographical knowledge than all the professors in Britain. It is Mr. Buckingham's object to draw attention to the Eastern world, and of course he paints

the orient as strewn with paradises ; but still, with the full persuasion that his pictures are in danger of being overcharged, we are not prepared to say that we detected any palpable exaggerations—or at least any that a lecturer might not legitimately employ. The knowledge that he had seen the towers and temples—traversed the deserts—bathed in the waters—slept in the groves—eat of the fruits—and conversed with the people he described, added greatly to the effect of his details. Though he never lets slip a favourable opportunity of giving his old oppressors a kick, he does not employ any vituperative language against them, or in anywise intrude his own grievances into the subject. On the whole, we regard him as a very formidable enemy to the Company. He has undertaken to render it unpopular; and with the undeniable facts that he can adduce, and the tide of public opinion setting strongly in his favour—for there is not one man in a hundred but is hostile to the further extension of the charter—he will do much to accomplish it. On Monday the attendance at his lectures was but thin ; on Tuesday it was rather better ; Wednesday and yesterday it was very good ; and doubtless, it will improve so much towards the conclusion of the course, that we shall not be surprised though he goes over the same ground again. We observe that, with a view to accommodate the increasing audiences, his lectures on India, which take place on Saturday and Monday, are to be delivered in the Great Room at the Waterloo Hotel, at one o'clock in the afternoon.

*From 'The Edinburgh Literary Journal,' July 18.*

Mr. Buckingham's lectures which commenced on Monday last, and have continued every evening during the week, appear to be exciting much interest, and giving great satisfaction, in this city. We are, for our own part, heartily disposed to approve of the favourable impression which he has made. We have heard him with no common degree of pleasure ; and consider ourselves called upon to declare, that we were never before in possession of such vivid and accurate notions of all that is remarkable in the countries he undertakes to describe, as those with which we have been supplied by him. Egypt, Arabia, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Persia, have been successively delineated, with all their wonders, both of art and nature, in a manner which makes us now feel comparatively at home upon these subjects. Numerous circumstances concur in recommending Mr. Buckingham's lectures to the public, viewing them merely in a literary and popular point of view, and altogether apart from the grand national question, with which, however, they are all more or less connected. In the first place, Mr. Buckingham has himself been in the countries of which he treats, and has seen with his own eyes every thing he describes. If he speaks of the Pyramids, he has stood on their top ; if of the Nile, he has bathed

in its waters ; if of Mecca, he has made the pilgrimage to the holy shrine ; if of Palmyra, he has been among its ruins. In the second place, information conveyed orally has a great advantage over that which comes to us through the medium of books. It is amazing how much the looks and gestures of the speaker contribute to give distinctness and graphic force to the picture he attempts to sketch. A book is the best substitute we can have for its author, but it is only a substitute. Mr. Buckingham is both the book and the author in one, and the effect produced is therefore doubled. In the third place, Mr. Buckingham's manner is exceedingly prepossessing and agreeable. One sees at once that he is a gentleman, and entitled to respect as well as to attention. He is a man apparently fully past middle life, but hale and active, with an intelligent and pleasant expression of countenance, and with a modest but energetic and business-like mode of delivery, which effectually prevents the minds of his audience from wandering. In addition to all this, he is excellently skilled in the art of pleasing a popular assembly, by intermixing with his graver and more important matter, a number of light and amusing stories. On the whole, we can safely say, that we know of no way in which a body of really substantial and useful knowledge, may be more easily and effectually attained than by attending a course of Mr. Buckingham's lectures. So much does this seem to be also the opinion of the inhabitants of Edinburgh, that he has found it necessary to desert the Hopetoun Rooms for the still larger hall in the Waterloo Hotel, where he is to lecture upon India, this day, and on Monday, at one o'clock. These two lectures will not be purely commercial, but will embrace a great variety of interesting facts respecting the institutions of the country and the condition of the people, which are as deserving the attention of ladies and professional gentlemen, as of commercial men.

*(From 'The Edinburgh Observer,' July 21.)*

MR. BUCKINGHAM.—Yesterday this celebrated traveller concluded his course of Lectures on the Eastern World, to the great regret, we venture to say, of every person who had the good taste to attend him. As we anticipated, his audience gradually increased as he drew nearer and nearer to the grand topic to which all his details, whether descriptive or argumentative, converged ; and on Saturday and yesterday the great room in the Waterloo Tavern was crowded with several hundreds of the most intelligent and respectable of our citizens, all intent to catch the winding-up of his prelections. The ladies supported him staunchly all along ; and, judging by their looks at least, we may safely assert that his advent has created quite a sensation, and completely annihilated in many a fair bosom the popularity of the gigantic monopoly which he strives to subvert. Our own favourable opinion of Mr. Buckingham, not

merely as a lecturer, but as a man of most extensive intelligence, has steadily progressed ever since we first heard him speak; and we are now confirmed in the opinion, that there are few men in the British islands equally qualified, and certainly none better, to expose the erroneous principles on which our vast territories in the East are governed; and the imperious necessity of the people at home making a firm stand against the extension of a charter which militates so monstrously against the improvement of eighty-five millions of the human race. It cannot be, we know, that Mr. Buckingham is without a bias in the contest. No man could have battled so long and so obstinately with a very powerful enemy, without having his perception quickened by a spicing of vindictiveness towards his adversaries; but we must say, that so far as our judgment goes, he has to boast of a very large share of philanthropy, and that it is not easy to listen to his arguments without feeling respect for the man, and aversion towards the system of moral and commercial bondage which he labours to overturn.

On Saturday Mr. Buckingham described the geographical position of India, the peculiarities and general appearance of the country—its antiquities, climate, animals, vegetables, minerals, population, &c., and concluded with a brief notice of its government, and the religion and manners of its inhabitants. All these details were interspersed with anecdotes illustrative of the gross abuses that have been fostered by the Company, and the beneficial effects that would result from a radical change in the government of that vast portion of the British dominions. Yesterday he followed up the same subject, touching on the vexatious disabilities under which Englishmen in India labour; the powers held by the Company of licensing individuals to reside there, and of recalling that license whenever they think proper; the prohibiting of Englishmen from holding land in India; the stigmatation of commerce, in certain cases, as a crime; the miserable condition of the Natives, and the practicability of greatly bettering that condition by agriculture and commerce; the atrocity of permitting, for a political purpose, the immolation of widows on their husband's funeral pyres; and the still greater atrocity of drawing a revenue from the horrible rites celebrated at Juggernaut. Had the Company, he insisted, avowedly set itself to bar the improvement of the human race, it could not have more effectually checked moral and commercial advancement. Though India had been so long under European sway, it was still without roads, without canals, and, of course, without any of those facilities of intercourse, by means of mails, which every civilized nation enjoys. In conclusion, he alluded shortly to the trade with China, proving that it was made to pander grossly to individual avarice; and that, to maintain it on its present footing, and thereby prolong the Company's existence, for on that single branch of revenue it confessedly depends, the people of the British islands were taxed in

the article of tea, to an extent almost exceeding credibility. We do not pretend to do more than give the heads of this lecture; indeed no newspaper report could embrace it; and knowing that Mr. Buckingham will soon tell the same truths—for truths we believe them to be—in other parts of the country, we also purposely abstained from giving an outline of any of his previous details. At the commencement of the course we thought him quiet and conversational; but yesterday he exhibited all the fervour and energy which give effect to the richest eloquence, and, we hesitate not to say, left very few of his auditors unconvinced that he was advocating the abolition of a system no less injurious to the country in which it prevails, than discreditable to the country that protects it.

*From 'The Caledonian Mercury,' July 23.*

Mr. Buckingham's supplementary lecture on the East India Company's Monopoly, and the advantages which would result from throwing open the trade to India and China, was delivered in the Waterloo Great Room on Monday last, to a numerous and highly respectable audience. It occupied nearly four hours in the delivery; but, from the interesting nature of the subject, the multiplicity of the details introduced, and the engaging qualities of the lecturer himself, whose talent for communicating knowledge in a clear, animated, and attractive form is really of a very high order indeed, the attention of the auditory was kept up, with unabated intensity to the last; and if we may judge from our own feeling and observation, the discourse might have been almost indefinitely prolonged without producing any sensation of lassitude or of exhaustion. The principal topics upon which Mr. Buckingham enlarged, with a fluency and outpouring truly wonderful, were—first, the history and constitution of the East India Company, with the qualifications of Proprietors, and the graduated scale of duties assigned to the Directors; secondly, the practical effect of their mismanagement in the progressive increase of their debts, the unnatural interest they have in becoming more and more embarrassed, and their total neglect of the country over which their sway is extended; thirdly, the baneful influence of the Company's rule in not only arresting the natural course of improvement, but in keeping it perfectly stationary, and even causing it to retrograde: fourthly, the disabilities under which the English in India, not in the Company's service, labour, in consequence of their liability to be banished without trial and without cause assigned, by the arbitrary fiat of the Governor in council; fifthly, the arguments against the settlement of English merchants in the interior of Hindoostan, and the answers by which these arguments may be met; sixthly, the universal prevalence of a desire among the Natives to possess British manufactures of every description, and the obstacles at present opposed to the gratification of this desire beyond the three principal settlements or ports of Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay, &c. &c.

Such is an outline or rather skeleton of this remarkable discourse, which ranged over almost every branch of a subject the most complicated and extensive that the mind of man can grapple withal, embracing the interests and improvement of a large proportion of the whole human race. In what we have to say at present, however, we shall not attempt—for the attempt would be preposterous—to follow so discursive a plan, but, throwing general considerations and arguments as much as possible out of view, endeavour, by means of facts and figures, to give our readers a correct idea of the main bearings of the question, in so far as relates to the opening of a free trade to the East.

But we cannot enlarge farther upon the subject at present, having already greatly exceeded our limits. It is one of too great interest and magnitude, however, to be lost sight of, especially considering the stimulus which has been given to the public mind by Mr. Buckingham's very able and comprehensive lecture. The subject of the trade to China we also reserve for future consideration.

*From 'The Glasgow Herald,' July 23.*

On Monday, the subject of Mr. Buckingham's lecture was the constitution, policy, and government of the East India Company, and the condition of the population of Hindoostan, and it was delivered to a more crowded audience than any that has yet attended him. He continued expatiating on this important subject with such varied powers of eloquence, argument and wit, that for the space of nearly four hours he enchained the attention of his hearers. Every new appearance which Mr. Buckingham makes confirms and increases the first impressions of his great and original talents. On Monday he surpassed all his former exertions.—He was animated apparently by the presence of so large an audience; and he rose at times to the highest tone of impassioned eloquence, while he enlivened the dry details of argument in a manner so extremely amusing and original, that we never before saw entertainment and instruction so happily combined. He was occasionally quite dramatic in his statements, and the delight of his audience, testified by frequent plaudits, seemed to react upon him, and to inspire him with new energy. He improved in fluency and ardour, and presented every topic upon which he touched in a new and more striking aspect, by the force and vivacity of his delineations.

*From The Edinburgh Observer, Friday July 24.*

**MR. BUCKINGHAM.**—Last night this gentleman gave the first of three supplementary lectures on the Eastern World, to an audience consisting of upwards 500 ladies and gentlemen, among whom we noticed a great many individuals of the highest intelligence and respectability. Mr. Buckingham, while he touched on all the countries which he had described in his previous lectures, was careful to avoid repetition, his object in extending his course being



rather to supply facts omitted, than to rivet those which he had before communicated. In this attempt he was exceedingly happy—this lecture being fully more diversified, and richer in anecdote, than any of its predecessors. Mr. Buckingham's stores of information regarding the East appear to be quite inexhaustible; and he opens them with a facility exclusively his own, and which makes us regret every time we hear him, the impossibility of doing justice, in a report, to a tythe of the topics which he illuminates.

*From 'The Edinburgh Evening Courant,' July 25.*

On Thursday evening, Mr. Buckingham delivered a Lecture in the large room in the Waterloo Hotel, the principal object of which was to supply what he had omitted in his former lectures on the Eastern countries. He likewise enlarged considerably on the Monopoly question, and communicated additional information on that interesting subject. The audience was highly respectable, and every part of the room, including the gallery, was crowded. He lectured with unabated interest for the long space of three hours and a half. As usual, he became more animated as he proceeded, and delighted his audience by his eloquence, as well as by the playful and fascinating manner in which he narrated his personal adventures. We need scarcely add, that he was often interrupted by the applause of his audience.

The following are the towns in Scotland in which Mr. BUCKINGHAM's Lectures are now positively fixed, and on the dates annexed.

1. Aberdeen,	July 27—28	5. Paisley,	August 12—13
2. Dundee,	29—30	6. Greenock,	14—16
3. Perth,	31—1	7. Ayre,	17—18
4. Glasgow,	August 3—11	8. Dumfries,	19—21

#### MONUMENT TO THE LATE MR. ADAM.

[Mr. BUCKINGHAM, to whom the subjoined was sent during his stay in Edinburgh, can have no possible objection to the insertion of it in the pages of 'The Oriental Herald.' When parents write Epitaphs for their deceased Children, Criticism is disarmed:—but an Inscription on the Tomb of a Son placed there by the Father, although it may prove the affection which dictated the eulogy—can hardly be regarded as sufficient evidence to outweigh the testimony of facts which no affection can obliterate. If the Epitaphs of much greater invaders of the liberties of mankind than Mr. Adam, were to be consulted for their characters—the greatest tyrants that the world ever saw, would pass for paragons of meekness and humanity.]

*Edinburgh, July 16, 1829.*

THE annexed Epitaph was copied, this afternoon, from a marble slab in the mausoleum of the Adam family, situate in the south-west corner of the Greyfriars Church-yard of this City. The Copier first saw it last summer, and intended, at that time, to send a copy for insertion in 'The Oriental Herald,' but neglected so

to do. But now that Mr. Buckingham is in Edinburgh himself, he may have an opportunity of seeing, what is so much at variance with his own opinion of the merits of the person commemorated.

JOHN ADAM,  
Eldest son of  
The Lord Chief Commissioner,  
was born 4th May, 1779.  
In June, 1795, he sailed for Bengal,  
In the civil service  
Of the East India Company.  
He passed through various offices of great trust and labour,  
And in 1819, was placed in the supreme Council.  
The usual term of holding that station being completed,  
He was re-appointed,  
And from January to August, 1823, he acted as Governor-General,  
A period which required decision, firmness and energy.  
His character and services have been extolled  
By the public voice of India.  
His extensive knowledge, his elevated views,  
His indefatigable zeal, his exemplary integrity,  
And the wisdom of his measures  
Have been publicly recorded by the Supreme Court of Bengal,  
And by those who preside over the affairs of India  
In England.  
Ill health, the effect of climate,  
fatigue and anxiety,  
Compelled him in March, 1825,  
to embark for England,  
His surviving parent and his family expected to have seen,  
In ripened manhood, what early youth had promised ;  
To have beheld his benign countenance ;  
To have enjoyed his enlightened discourse ,  
To have been soothed by his warm affection ,  
To have witnessed his active benevolence ;  
but  
He died on the 4th of June, 1825,  
on his voyage home,  
And his remains  
Were committed to the Ocean.

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This Stone  
Is inscribed to his private virtues.  
His public services  
will be recorded in  
The History of British India.

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Put up by his father in July, 1827.

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## WRECK OF THE CARN-BREA CASTLE INDIAMAN.

THE following is an extract of a letter from one of the passengers, a lady, to her father in Edinburgh, dated the 10th July :—

‘ The particulars of our wreck are, as nearly as I can remember, as follows :—We had been wind-bound off Portsmouth from the 1st to the 5th of the month, when, about ten in the morning (Sunday) it sprung up a fine fresh wind. All was bustle and life in a short time ; the anchor was weighed, and sails set, and we should have been off (as the Bolton was) at the rate of six knots an hour, had it not been that one of the passengers, a Mr. A——, had not come on board, although he had orders to be so the night before ; we waited about an hour and a half before he was seen coming from the shore, and it was not till one o’clock that he got on board. We then set off ; but in a very short time the wind changed, and we were then obliged to tack. I had always been a good sailor till this day ; for, though at anchor, the motion was very great, and I had been in bed mostly all day. About five o’clock W—— came down stairs, and had also lain down, and had said to me, that both he and Captain S—— thought that Captain Barber was keeping too near the land. I said that I thought several times I felt the ship as it were touching the ground. Just at that moment the ship struck with such a tremendous crash, that it almost makes me shudder to think of it. W—— started up, and told me to put on my cloak, which I did, and also put some of my most valuable parcels into my bag, and left my cabin ; Captain S—— made me go into theirs, beside his wife, who was much alarmed but composed. Except one woman, not a lady made the least noise, but said that they would do whatever was thought best. Perhaps we remained here about half an hour, during which time every third or fourth sea dashed the ship with such violence against the rocks, that every moment we thought we were gone. We then went up stairs to be ready to go off, but what did we not feel when we were told that no boat could come off, though we were not more than three quarters of a mile from land ; guns were fired, but were of no use. The rudder broke with an awful noise ; the boat was let down to take the ladies, and swamped immediately ; the sea washed in at one cuddy window, and ran out at the other ; things of different kinds were thrown overboard ; and every one did what they could to assist. The Captain never left the poop, but behaved with the utmost calmness and precision ; but the men had not known him long enough to be under much discipline ; they were almost all boys, and did not know what to do. We had on board five ladies in all, and amongst the number a Miss F——, and if it had not been for this lady it is probable we must have remained all night. She came from the Isle of Wight, and her friends, seeing the ship, had gone to the Revenue Officer and insisted upon him doing his duty, and at least attempting to get to the ship, which he did, and providentially

reached it in time to get the ladies on shore that night. We were let down into the boat partly by help of hand and partly by ropes, the sea running so high that it was with the greatest difficulty that we could get into it. I was the last, and the men would hardly take me in; but to part from my W——, at such a time, was truly dreadful; he gave me some money, and kissed me upon deck, and at that moment neither of us knew that we should see each other again in this world. We were made to sit down in the bottom of the boat amongst the wet, and the sea washing over us very much. I think we must have been about half an hour in this state. I had only two dressing gowns on, and my cloak and bonnet, but the people were kind to us, and took us to a farm house called Motteston, about eight miles from Newport, but here, after a little, my agony began. W—— did not follow; night closed in, in utter darkness, the wind blew with such violence, that when they fired the guns we did not hear them, though not a mile from the shore. W—— says it was terrible when the masts were cut down; and for some time the ship looked like a bridge, rising up in the middle, and that he expected every moment to see it break in two. By the time day light came in, the sea was calmer, and a boat brought them safe to land.

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#### A GREEK SAILOR'S WAR SONG.

MY gallant ship! again—again in freedom shalt thou bound,  
Once more upon the trembling main thy thunders shall resound;  
And heroes from thy boards shall leap on the red deck of the foe,  
When the grappling fight is ship to ship, and sabres deal the blow.  
Hark! messmates now the breeze is loud, to the wind your canvass  
spread  
Again we feel our hearts beat proud, as the sounding deck we tread.  
Farewell—the maids of that soft isle, though long we've own'd their  
sway—  
Nor melting tear, nor witching smile, shall tempt our farther stay.  
Far other raptures now we seek than Love's soft votaries know,—  
The bliss that fills the warrior Greek, when falls his Turkish foe;  
When on their decks our falchions flash, in mingling conflict hot,  
Or when their distant riggings crash beneath our whistling shot.  
Oh, these are joys but known to men,—to men who dare be free!  
We've felt them, and we yet again to seek them scour the sea;  
Where'er around our country's shore the Moslem banners fly,  
Shall there be heard the battle's roar—shall there the crescent lie.  
We will wipe out the slavish stain our race has borne so long,  
And Greece shall be the land again of heroes and of song;  
And Genius from her slumbers deep shall wake to sleep no more!  
And Salamis' blue waves shall sweep as proudly as of yore!

## LETTER FROM CHINA.

THE use of the drug that is so great a luxury in China, has been much extended of late years ; in the last, the consumption appears to have increased one-fourth beyond any former season. The price has not latterly been high, which has brought more of the population among the smokers. It is expressly prohibited by law, being considered by the heads of the Government, as deleterious to the health, and corruptive of the morals of the people. The probability is, that in a general way, its inordinate use is less frequent, and its effects taken in moderation less pernicious than the practice of drinking strong liquors in other countries. The Government of British India is giving as much encouragement to the growth of opium as they possibly can do, with the immediate view of adding to the large profits they already derive from its cultivation. It is a monopoly of their own, and forms a considerable part of their revenue. They buy from the growers for about 350 rupees, what they sell at 1,200 to 2,000 rupees. I believe nothing further enters their heads. Some of us here, however, who observe how necessary the article is become to many of the Chinese, and the increasing demand for a luxury that custom renders indispensable, suppose it may some time, not far off, turn out an engine of power in our hands, to obtain a better footing among them with regard to our trade, if not also in a political relation. The time may come that they may feel all the inconvenience which they believe we should do if deprived of tea, by withholding from them their supply of opium. If resorted to the next time they stop our trade, we might from the effect produced, be able to judge what greater advantages could be drawn from the use of a weapon that would shed no blood, and cost the Company neither men nor treasure ; I am afraid, however, this will not happen until the expiration of their Charter. Their agents cannot deviate from the letter or spirit of their instruction from the Directors, without a dereliction from duty and a compromise of their own particular interests,—we must wait a few years for a better state of things. Those who are interested in a free trade to China, look forward with considerable feelings of interest to the discussions that will take place this year in England, on the merits of the Company's Charter. It is now an acknowledged axiom among commercial men, that all restrictions upon the free course of trade are injurious, and therefore the greater a monopoly the greater must be the evil. Most of the private traders settled here, are provided with consul's patents from different states in Europe. At present they appear useless, as the supercargoes do not interfere. It is supposed that the near approach of the time for Parliament taking into consideration the Company's exclusive privilege, induces their agents to act with a degree of forbearance that they may not consider necessary, if the Charter should be again renewed. In that case a consul's patent would be desirable to any one out of their favour.

## RETRENCHMENT IN THE INDIAN ARMY.

*To the Editor of 'The Oriental Herald.'*

SIR,—You have, no doubt, long ere this, heard of the infamous order putting all stations from Allahabad to the Presidency on half batta. "He who allows oppression shares the crime," and it is hoped that the Editor of 'The Oriental Herald' will once again exert himself to protect those who, from their situation, are unable to protect themselves. This new order, it is said, emanating from the Court of Directors, and acted upon by Lord Wm. Bentinck (from whom better things were expected) is considered by the whole of the army mean and infamous in the extreme. An officer with his regiment is, even now, put to many shifts to support the character of a gentleman, and in the grade of Ensign, it is well known a man cannot *live upon his pay* and support that character. The Ensign is obliged to involve himself, and hence follows all the misery he must undergo in after life—if he gets a staff appointment, it is true he has then the means of liquidating his debts; if not, and how few even of those possessed of talents, can ever hope for such good fortune, he must go on as he has begun; is pestered to death with duns, and as follows of course, in a short time becomes callous—callous, can any member of the Court of Directors who has ever been in India read that word without a shudder—has he sons? has he any near relatives about to commence their career! if he has, I will venture to affirm he cannot.

How many fine, high-spirited lads do we see daily arriving in India, sons of Gentlemen, and who fondly imagining that in a foreign clime, they too will be able to support themselves as such—some perhaps, who have come out in the expectation of being able to assist their parents; think of their disappointment, of the horrid sinking of the spirit, which accompanies the conviction (and it very soon forces itself upon them) that do what they may, they are helpless, perfectly helpless! See these fine young men, and meet the same three or four years after, on my word, as a gentleman, you often cannot believe them to be the same individuals, the brandy bottle, that sad resource for the miserable, has wasted the form and withdrawn the blood from the once healthy cheek; to complete the picture, they neglect their duty, Courts Martial follow, and they are driven with disgrace from the service, or, perhaps, as a favour, placed on the pension list; those who have sense and prudence enough left to avoid such a catastrophe, escape, not long—cares and sorrows soon put an end to life in an Indian climate.

That this should be the case with all who enter the military service, or with the greater number—God forbid—but the career of far too many ends even thus. Can it be believed it is the allowances of such a service the authorities at home propose to reduce!!

The order has made the married officers discontented to a degree, it takes the very bread out of the mouths of his children. The medical men, and with equal justice, are just as discontented as the last, in fact the discontent is *universal*.

To excite any feeling of compassion in the breasts of the Court of Directors, or the East India proprietors, is, we know from experience, a vain and useless attempt—but in the name of heaven, are the members of these two Honourable Courts imbeciles?—have they no foresight? from their actions one may certainly be led to say, none. I am a young man, Mr. Editor, but “the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong,” and in like manner an observation or two I shall make seems to have escaped my elders. A day or two since I mentioned to an intelligent Sepoy of my company this batta business, his answer was, “Sahib, why do you allow them?” I believe I must have looked surprised, for he added immediately, “first they will cut you, and then they will cut us, but send in a petition; the Sepoys will join you, and then what can they do?” He paused a moment or two—“Sahib, we all know that your interest and ours is the same; if they cut you, you cannot afford to assist us in any of our little difficulties; the other day you made us all a present (alluding to some trifling expense I had paid for them) I suppose you will not now do it again—our interests, Sahib, are the same.” And let me ask, with my worthy friend the Sepoy, what could they do if men became desperate? and we would as soon the Honourable Company “took our lives, as that whereby we live.”

Breaking the spirit of the Officers is not the way to make an army efficient. Let the Court of Directors annul these odious orders, let them do so without delay; and I for one, hope that “all may yet be well.” Even now it is not too late to regain the esteem and respect of their servants, perhaps, however, such a thing is in their eyes a matter of no moment; they keep no covenants with us; the time, however, may come when they will repent it.

AN INDIAN OFFICER.

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#### THE MEDICAL SERVICE.

*To the Editor of 'The Bengal Hurkaru and Chronicle.'*

‘Sir,—The subject on which I am about to trouble you, concerns the respectability, the interest and the welfare of a body of gentlemen in the Honourable Company’s service; and as their profession is at once liberal and arduous, and one in which all the interests of humanity are concerned, it demands some consideration; indeed, a great deal more than it has yet met with.

‘With your permission then, Mr. Editor, and in few and plain

words, I have to draw your attention to the situation in which Assistant-Surgeons of this service are placed, by the orders lately issued. It may not be amiss to remind you, that from the commencement, a medical man's studies and pursuits are attended with great expence and labour; and it is natural, that when he commences upon his professional career, he should expect, by the fair and liberal exercise of his anxious avocations, to open to himself a way to independence. He considers it a duty to attend to the calls of humanity;—the poor who are sick and distressed naturally look up to him for relief; the misery he is too often brought acquainted with, induces, nay, compels, him to admit the call of the sufferers, not only on his attention, but on his purse; and he has surely a right to expect that those willing sacrifices at the shrine of humanity will be compensated to him by a fair, if not a liberal, return for his professional labours, when rendered to the affluent. Deeply concerned in alleviating and healing the sufferings and wounds of humanity, he is expected not only to keep pace with the advancement of the science, but, by industrious research, to add to the general stock of information; if the means are not granted to him, it is impossible he can attend to these various claims and duties. The Assistant-surgeons of the Honourable Company have now nothing but a living afforded to them, and that a very wretched one. There is no inducement to them to be zealous and industrious in the discharge of their several duties; the prospect held out to them is blank and dreary, and if they be found wanting in their duty, their employers have none to blame but themselves. It is obviously the policy of every government to make a man's interest correspond with his duty; the more especially where such important and extensive ones as those under discussion are concerned. To neglect this maxim seems alike impolitic and unjust. Without stopping here to notice the cruelty of inveigling men to enter a service, on conditions and expectations open to violation by the stronger party, (for what else is it to deprive them of those allowances established for years, and which they came out assured of possessing?) can it be in reason expected, that a medical gentleman will leave an English home, and come to India, where he may be marched about from one end to the other of that land of exile and disease, of hot or cold, dry or wet extremes, and endure, for a long series of years, in an unhealthy, nay, deadly climate, all the trouble and expence to which it may suit that government to subject him, for the sake of a mere subsistence? If it be urged that he has something to recompense him when he arrives at the rank of Surgeon, I deny the position; for the present allowances of a Surgeon are altogether an inadequate return for his past services and present exertions. Waiving, however, the consideration of this point for the present, the argument becomes reduced to a declaration, that an Assistant-Surgeon can deserve nothing! Still, for the sake of argument, let it be granted that



it is fair he should derive no advantage from the service till he reaches the rank of Surgeon, the chances of his living to be a Surgeon, and if he should become one, that he shall live to lay by any thing like a provision, are infinitely against him. Here I may remark, that all the medical gentlemen of this service came out in the certainty that they would be at least reasonably, if not handsomely, remunerated for their professional services; that at the end of seventeen years, they might perhaps save so much, as, together with their pension, would enable them to return home and enjoy the remainder of their days. An Assistant-Surgeon cannot enter the service before he is twenty-two years of age; the greater number enter much after that period. Supposing he is sixteen years an Assistant-Surgeon; for it cannot be a less period with those coming in junior of a list of 250, when he comes to be a Surgeon, he finds himself at least thirty-eight years of age; at what period of life, I may ask, will he be able to retire with that which shall enable him to live decently, not forgetting to take into account the *half-batta*? To an European, there is little of real comfort or enjoyment in this country; he toils on in it, in hopes of seeing some few better days, and these days he is anxious to enjoy while he may yet have the ability and power of doing so. Besides, a medical man (and, I believe, every other in the service) will call to mind the changes that have become so frequent of late, and the reductions for which there is so decided a taste, and if he cannot depend upon the stability of his allowances for one given period, how can he expect to calculate on the enjoyment of any thing hereafter? Having premised thus much, Mr. Editor, I shall proceed to the main subject.

The Honourable East India Company (under the impression it would appear that their Medical Officers were too well paid) have considered it necessary to deprive them of the medicine allowance which they had been drawing for a number of years past, and which was granted to them partly by way of recompence for their labour, for, according to the number under their care, was the proportion of medicine allowance; this pittance surely needed not to have been looked upon with an evil eye, when it is taken into consideration, that it was granted only for the number of soldiers, syces and grasscutters employed by the Company. Bearers, Clashes, &c. in the service were attended gratis, and so were the families of officers, and their servants, and the poor people of the attached Bazaars, and about the vicinity generally. From this allowance, the medical officer was obliged to furnish European and country medicines of every description, Wine and nourishment, Instruments, Cots, Stationary, &c., &c., and to keep up and pay the Hospital Establishment of servants, (a Native Doctor excepted) and when marching to provide carriage for the conveyance of all his stores, &c. According to the new system, a medical man is not paid in proportion

to the labour and responsibility of his charge, but according to his rank ; for instance, a Surgeon, whether in charge of a corps, or five companies, will draw the difference of batta of a Major, viz. 270 Rs. on full and 135 on half batta. An Assistant Surgeon with the like charge, will draw the difference of batta of Captain, viz. sixty Rupees on full and thirty Rupees on half batta, in addition to the established allowance of his personal rank. Government have also resolved, that for every charge less than five companies, a Medical man shall not draw difference of batta, but only thirty Rupees Palankeen allowance. Now supposing he had the charge of four Companies consisting of 400 men, will any one say that thirty Rupees a month for a conveyance, is a fit return to a medical man for his education, industry and talent ? Palankeen allowance is no remuneration whatever, for a medical Officer's labour ; and whilst on this subject, it may be observed that the sum fixed by Government will actually not keep up the conveyance necessary for a medical man ; for instance, there may be more than a dozen Officers scattered about in different parts of a Cantonment. Supposing that four or five of these Officers fall sick of fever at the same time, which is not uncommon, and the medical Officer is called on to see each of them three or four times a day, and to visit his Hospital besides, as often as is necessary, how is he to manage with *one* or even *two* conveyances, considering the ground he travels over ? or if the thirty Rupees suffices to pay a set of Bearers, where is he to find means for buying, repairing, and replacing the Palankeen itself ? A medical officer would certainly in strictness be justified in keeping only a Palankeen, or using a sick Dooly, and when his bearers complain of being tired, in refusing to go out. It is curious too, to find the medical officer placed among the Staff, and drawing allowances inferior to them all, when the duties to which he has to attend, are far more responsible.

These remarks are few and hastily written. Your space and my time alike demand brevity, which consideration has induced me not to depart from the immediate question, but there are collateral branches of it which are even more distressing than the main point. I have hitherto written as my own interests and feelings are affected as a Bachelor ; but it is impossible to paint the anguish and distress the order alluded to, has heaped on the *married* Assistant-Surgeons ; nor is the bitterness of their despair unmingled with indignant remorse, that through no fault of theirs, they should have been made the instruments, however guiltlessly, God knows<sup>1</sup> of dragging their unhappy partners within the vortex of that ruin which blasts their own prospects for ever. These men married under moderately fair circumstances, when morality, prudence, and propriety equally sanctioned the measure, and now, without fault of theirs, and from events which they could neither foresee nor controul ; nay, which they were the rather assured against by their faith in their employers, they are doomed to the agony of knowing, that they

have been the means of destroying the comfort and happiness of those, they would have died rather than injure.

‘ In conclusion, Mr. Editor, I would beg to assure you, that the medical officers of the service would rather decline having any thing to do with medicine allowance ; they would prefer that Government should supply the necessaries for the sick, but at the same time they have some claim to expect a just, nay, even a liberal remuneration for their scientific labours and responsible services.

Yours,  
A CONSTANT READER.

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LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK.

(Letter from Calcutta.)

THE most important change which was probably ever made in the Government of India, was that decree of Lord Cornwallis, known under the name of the ‘ self denying ordinance,’ by which he limited the claims of the Company to a fixed sum of the rental in many of the provinces, allowing to capital and industry and talent, the benefit of their own accumulations. The measure has been attacked both by friends and enemies of the Indian Government ; by friends, who would still keep up the system of unbounded exaction, taking *all* the produce, except enough to enable the *ryot* (or labourer) to subsist, and the small portion of the rent claimed by the *Zemindar*—the hereditary landlord ; by enemies, who would put the *ryots* in possession of the lands—unfortunate people, wholly without capital, and wholly incapable of considerably increasing the productions of the soil. But the results of the measure of Lord Cornwallis have been undoubtedly good ; and the value of the property on which the measure has been brought to bear, has been much increased. The system, however, has not been extended to the provinces, which since the time of Cornwallis, have been added to our Oriental empire. Again and again has the pledge been given that the ordinance should be allowed to operate on the newly conquered possessions, but the pledge continues unredeemed, though the most active advocates of the prosperity of India, among the servants of the Company, have claimed the fulfilment of a promise so often made, and so important to the Indian community.

The operation of the benevolent law referred to, has been the creation of wealth in private hands ; wealth growing out of agricultural improvements, protected as they never were till Lord Cornwallis’s time, and encouraged by that protection. The main source has been the vast diffusion of European capital in Indigo works, now one of the staples of the country, which has brought prosperity to most of those engaged in its production. The article is of

modern introduction—at least, on a large scale; and the success of the experiment is one of the most extraordinary and irresistible proofs of the immense capabilities in India. Now what is Lord William Bentinck doing? He is shaking the confidence of the Zemindars by inquiries into titles growing out of the Cornwallis settlement, made nearly forty years ago, and seems to imagine that the rent which has accumulated in the hands of the intelligent landlord, *would* have belonged to the Company, but for the Cornwallis decree; *i. e.* that the lands would have been equally improved had the *profits* of the improvement been denied to the improver. If Lord Bentinck has instructions from home directing him to seek additional revenue from such a source as this, he is very ill-advised. Far better would it have been at once, and freely to extend a system productive of so much good—to *do* what has been so long *promised*, so often promised during the last twenty years—to make the Cuttack and the north-western provinces, and those to the west of the Jumna participators in the benefits of a more extended, more philanthropic, more long-sighted sagacity—especially after the evidence afforded by observations of its effects elsewhere. Instead of this, Commissioners of the revenue are lately appointed; and they are engaged in sharp and capricious inquiries into titles undisturbed since the settlement of 1793. There is as much folly as injustice in this, and it will unpopularise the Governor surely and speedily.

Then, too, he persists in that policy which taxes justice up to the *maximum*—aye, and beyond it—of human endurance. Your papers have already told the English public, what excitement ‘the Stamp Act’ has produced in this capital. His Lordship might have bought much good will at a cheap price, by siding with those who made so strong a case against it. He has absolutely *repulsed* the inhabitants who were desirous of addressing him on so important a matter. Now you were told, as it was very obvious, that the ‘Stamp Act’ would be evaded. Bad laws defeat themselves, and are defeated by the coalition of the common interest. The Government has brought actions against those who, by mutual understanding, made the law inoperative. What then? Juries refused to convict; and though courtly Judges *pleaded* the cause of the Government, *opinion* triumphed; and now we hear of devices far more oppressive than any before existing to enforce that which, after all, will not be enforced so easily as is dreamed.

Lord William has irritated the army, too, by at once issuing a mandate which two succeeding Governments had refused to carry into effect, for reducing the pay of the officers of inferior grade. The poor and the weak here, as elsewhere, go to the wall; they are punished by an *ex post facto* law, which alters the understood conditions on which they entered the service.

With a word of praise—*le dernier mot*—I conclude. Lord William is no jobber. He seems not to exercise his patronage for private ends. His errors are not, I think, in the affections: he appears to mean well—and this is something.—(*Morning Herald*)

## ANNALS AND ANTIQUITIES OF RAJAST'HAN.

COLONEL TOD, late political agent to the western Rajpoot states, has recently given to the world, a work, entitled 'The Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han.' To those who have any previous knowledge of the character and peculiarities of the people to whom this publication relates, the title alone is abundant recommendation. Perhaps no part of India, from Comorin to the Himmalaya, is so full of the materials of interesting inquiry, as the tract which is bounded on the north, by the Sutledge, on the south by the Vindhya mountains, on the east by the country of Boondelkhund, and on the west, by the valley of the Indus. This space, embracing a superficial area of 350,000 square miles, is peopled by a race, who for martial prowess, personal bravery and beauty, and their progress in manners and civilization, are not surpassed by any of the nations of Asia. The Rajpoot clans are our surest auxiliaries in the field; they may be converted into firm and attached friends. Had not a short-sighted purblind policy alienated their affections from the cause of our Government, they would be a strong bulwark against domestic insurrection, or foreign invasion. In the case of an irruption from the North, the warlike tribes of Oodipoor and Jodpoo, under the guidance of their hereditary Rawuts, and the disposition of European tactics, would furnish a noble garrison for the Punjab. Pity that our exactions should deprive us of such a stay, that such a people, should feel themselves to be vassals and not allies.

It is almost unnecessary to speak of the qualifications of the author for the task he has undertaken. It has long been generally understood among those who have served in the East, that to his surveys we are indebted for all that is accurately known respecting the geography of Rajast'han. Colonel Tod was attached to the Embassy sent after the close of the Mahratta war, in 1806, to the Court of Sindia. The opportunities enjoyed during this employment, were used with a degree of ability and zeal, which no one unacquainted with the sphere of their exertions, is competent to appreciate. The results of unequalled labour and research, were, in 1815, presented to the Marquis of Hastings, and contributed materially to the glorious termination of the ensuing campaign. Colonel Tod has, by this work, proved to the public what was already well known to his friends, that he is among the most distinguished in a service, eminent not only for the lustre of its military achievements, but also for the superior literary and scientific attainments of its members.

Proposing in a future number, to devote more time and space to the examination of the Annals of Rajast'han, than our engagements of this month will permit, we defer any detailed notice of

the contents of the work. We cannot, however, refrain from saying that it is written in a style often nervous and impassioned, and never degenerating into insipidity. The reflections on the condition of the people, bear the impress of much thought and extensive observation. Colonel Tod seldom deviates from his course into political discussion, but when this does happen, there is a mingled firmness and moderation in his tone equally distant from the intemperate violence of party, or the meanness of sycophant applause.

We cannot speak too highly of the mechanical execution of the work; it is embellished with exquisitely beautiful engravings, by Finden, from drawings by Capt. Waugh, of the costumes of the Natives, and of the celebrated fortresses and monuments of Rajast'hans. It is entitled to demand a place in every library with the smallest pretensions to *recherche*, and we sincerely congratulate the author and his friends on a production, so honourable to his taste, his learning, and his talents.

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STANZAS FOR MUSIC.

BY J. H. WIFFEN, ESQ.

(From the *Literary Souvenir*, 1826.)

ART thou desponding? I will wake a strain  
 Sprightly as Pan's, when with his reeded flute  
 He makes the mountain-pines bow to the plain,  
 And charms the Orcaids mute.

Art thou delighted? I will take a tone  
 Of gentle woe, which makes delight more dear;  
 Like that which Philomel, when buds are blown,  
 Pours in Night's serious ear.

Art thou solicitous? My song shall flow  
 Easy and voluble as waves that wind  
 Down the green dell, and leave where'er they go  
 A track of light behind.

Whate'er thy mood, but speak;—thou shalt be armed  
 With airs to soothe, transport thee, or beguile;  
 For both my heart and harp to thee are charmed  
 By spell of thy sweet smile.

CIVIL AND MILITARY APPOINTMENTS, PROMOTIONS, AND  
CHANGES IN INDIA.

[B. signifies Bombay—M. Madras—C. Calcutta.]

- ANDERSON, John, Cadet, Engin., prom. to 2d Lieut.—C. June 15.  
 Aquetil, T. J., Maj. 14th N. I., app. to charge of 57th N. I., v. Hepleustale, dec.—C. Jan. 8.  
 Arding, C., Lieut., to officiate Interp. and Qu.-Mas. to 58th N. I., v. Mee.—C. Jan. 14.  
 Ainslie, M. Mr., to officiate as Commis. of Land Revenue, &c., of Cawnpore, &c.—C. Jan. 1.  
 Anderson, F., Esq., to be head Assist. to principal Collee. and Magis. of Malabar.—M. Feb. 17.  
 Anchinerlh, C. H., Assist.-Surg., app. to do duty under Garr.-Surg. of Fort St. George.—M. Feb. 10.  
 Ardagh, Capt., to be dep. Judge-Adv.-Gen. to North Dist.—M. Feb. 3.  
 Alves, Capt., to be Deputy-Assist. Judge Adv.-Gen., to centre div., and Presid. of St. Thomas's Mount.—M. Feb. 5.  
 Aitken, J., Surg., rem. from 3d L. Inf., to 22d N. I.—M. Feb. 6.  
 Annesley, Jas., Surg., returned to duty.—M. Feb. 13.  
 Barwell, R. C., Mr., to be Collee. of Land Reven. and Customs, with charge of Salt Chokees at Dacca.—C. Feb. 6.  
 Becher, C., Mr., to be Commercial Resid. at Radnagore and Keerpoy.—C. Feb. 6.  
 Balderston, Arch., Ens. 16th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Dormer, res.—C. Jan. 17.  
 Brown, A., Maj. 1st Eur. reg., app. to charge of 41th N. I.—C. Dec. 30.  
 Brown, G. G., Assist.-Surg., posted to 1st brig. horse artill., and Med. charge of 1st troop.—C. Dec. 30.  
 Beavan, Robt., Ens. 31st N. I., to be Lieut., v. Rowe, prom.—C. Jan. 21.  
 Begbie, H. P., Lieut. Artill., rem. from 3d comp. 2d batt., to 3d comp. 3d batt.—C. Jan. 8.  
 Bartou, E., Maj. Inf., to be Lieut.-Col., v. Hay, retired.—C. Jan. 31.  
 Becher, H. M., Ens., to do duty with 7th N. I.—C. Jan. 14.  
 Bridge, W., Ens., to do duty with 43d N. I.—C. Jan. 14.  
 Blackhall, R., Capt. 50th N. I., app. to comm. pioneers, v. Anquetil.—C. Jan. 17.  
 Bremer, J., Ens. 33d N. I., to be Lieut., v. McMurdo, dec.—C. Feb. 5.  
 Buchanan, W. W., Assist.-Surg., to officiate as Civ.-Surg. at Azunghur, in absence of Dr. Cragie.—C. Feb. 5.  
 Baldwin, R. H., Cadet of Artill., prom. to 2d Lieut.—C. Feb. 5.  
 Balderston, D., Lieut., to officiate as Interp. and Quar.-Mas. to 72d N. I., v. Boisragon.—C. Jan. 21.  
 Baddeley, W. C., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 53d to 41st N. I.—C. Jan. 21.  
 Bryant, Geo., Capt., invalid, estab., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. Jan. 9.  
 Brown, G., Lieut., Fort-Adj. at Surat, to take charge of Engin. dcp., v. Mant.—B. Jan. 8.  
 Bearan, A. W., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—B. Jan. 12.  
 Briggs, T., Lieut., 24th N. I., to be acting 3d Assist.-Commis.-Gen.—B. Jan. 12.  
 Brown, G., Lieut., to have charge of bazars at Surat, v. Clichand.—B. Jan. 16.  
 Birdwood, C., Lieut., to act as Quar.-Mas. of 3d N. I., v. Candy, absent on duty.—B. Jan. 17.  
 Baynes, Edw., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—B. Jan. 30.  
 Best, J. R., Mr., to be Judge of Jessore.—C. Feb. 17.

- Blakie, M. Mr., to be Assist. to Polit. Resid. and Commis. at Delhi.—C. Feb. 10.  
 Blant, W., Mr., to be 3d Memb. of Sudder Board of Rev.—C. Jan. 1.  
 Bushby, G. A., Mr., to be Jun.-Sec. to Sudder Board of Rev.—C. Jan. 1.  
 Bird, W. W., Mr., to be Special Commis. for investig. of suits at Moorshedabad.—C. Jan. 1.  
 Boldero, to be Commis. of Rev. of Mooradabad, &c.—C. Jan. 1.  
 Barlow, R., Mr., to be Commis. of Land Revenue at Allahabnd, &c.—C. Jan. 1.  
 Bird, M., Mr., to be Commis. of Land Revenue at Goruckpoor, &c.—C. Jan. 1.  
 Barwell, E. R., Mr., to be Commis. of Land Rev., &c., at Backergunge, &c.—C. Jan. 1.  
 Braddon, W. Mr., to be Com. of Land Rev., &c., at Burdwar, &c.—C. Jan. 1.  
 Boulderson, to be Collec. at South Mooradabad.—C. Feb. 6.  
 Boddam, R. H., Mr., to be Collec. at Agra.—C. Feb. 6.  
 Begbie, A. W., Mr., to be Collec. at Banda.—C. Feb. 6.  
 Biscoe, T. P., Mr., to be Collec. at Sarun.—C. Feb. 6.  
 Bacon, G. W., Mr., to be Prin.-Assist. in South div. of Delhi.—C. Feb. 6.  
 Brown, C. P., Esq., to be regis. to Prov. Court of Appeal, &c.—M. Feb. 17.  
 Birdwood, W. J., 2d Lieut. Engin., to be 2d Assist. to superintend. Engin. in Presid. Div.—M. Jan. 18.  
 Bishop, H. A., Lieut. 15th N. I., perm. to resign.—M. Jan. 16.  
 Byng, John, Lieut., 6th L. Cav., to be Quar.-Mas., Interp. and Pay Mas., v. Knox, on furl.—M. Jan. 16.  
 Beresford, J. P., Lieut. of Artill., to be Staff-Off., to detach. at Prince of Wales' Island, v. Watkins on furl.—M. Jan. 16.  
 Bruere, C. A. S., Cadet Artill., prom. to 2d Lieut.—M. Jan. 28.  
 Butcher, J. E., Sen.-Lieut. 18th N. I., to be Capt., v. Lynch, invalid.—M. Jan. 23.  
 Bullock, Capt., to be Dep.-Adv.-Gen. at Nagpoor.—M. Feb. 3.  
 Boulderson, J. C., Lieut. 35th N. I., app. Commis. for nearest heirs of deceased followers on serv. at Ava.—M. Feb. 3.  
 Bond, T., Surg., posted to 1st Eur. reg.—M. Feb. 6.  
 Burke, G., Surg., rem. from 22d N. I., to 3d L. Inf.—M. Feb. 6.  
 Broadfoot, G., Lieut. 31th L. Inf., Memb. of committee assembled in Fort St. George.—M. Feb. 16.  
 Bradford, C., Lieut., 28th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. Jan. 23.  
 Colvin, B. J., Mr., to be Assist. to Magis. and Collec. of Land Rev. in South div. of Cuttark.—C. Feb. 6.  
 Corri, A. A. L., Lieut., to officiate as Interp. and Quar.-Mas. to 54th N. I., v. Learmouth.—C. Jan. 12.  
 Clark, Chas. Ens., from Eur. reg., to be Lieut., v. Howard, prom.—C. Jan. 24.  
 Campbell, O., Ens., 43d N. I., to be Lieut., v. Nash, prom.—C. Jan. 31.  
 Capel, E. S., Ens., to do duty with 33d N. I.—C. Jan. 14.  
 Carlyon, C., Ens., to do duty with 51st N. I.—C. Jan. 14.  
 Cooper, H., Surg., app. to do duty with 28th N. I.—C. Jan. 15.  
 Cragie, G., Assist-Surg., to do duty with 30th N. I.—Jan. 17, and app. to med. duties of riv. station at Ajunghur.—C. Feb. 5.  
 Craig, W. M., Cadet Artill., prom. to 2d Lieut.—C. Feb. 5.  
 Colebrooke, W. H. H., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—Feb. 5.  
 Colebrook, R., Capt., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. Jan. 9.  
 Curtis, J. G. W., Ens. 37th N. I., on furl. to Eur.—C. Jan. 13.  
 Cotton, H. P., Lieut., 7th L. Cav., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. Jan. 17.  
 Cameron, L. J., Assist-Surg., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. Jan. 31.  
 Collette, J., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 1st to 6th N. I.—M. Jan. 15.  
 Cotgrave, E. C., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—B. Jan. 12.  
 Cormack, W. F., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—B. Jan. 12.  
 Cooke, J., Capt., 3d N. I., to assume comm. of troops at Surat, v. Cleclanl.—B. Jan. 16.



- Campbell, J., Lieut., Dep.-Assist., Quar.-Mas.-Gen., to take charge of department in Poonah div., v. Roe.—B. Jan. 17.
- Caghan, W., Lieut., to act as Brig.-Major to Artill., v. Cotgrave.—B. Jan. 23.
- Corsellis, H., Capt. 18th N. I., to act as Dep.-Assist., Quar.-Mas.-Gen., to Malwa force.—B. Jan. 28.
- Cruckshank, J. J. F., Cadet, Engin., prom. to 2d Lieut.—B. Jan. 30.
- Candy, T., Lieut., 20th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. Jan. 15.
- Carstairs, D., Lieut. 6th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. Jan. 12.
- Campbell, J., Lieut., 2d Gren. N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.
- Cutheart, E., Mr., to be Collec. at Colpee.—C. Feb. 6.
- Campbell, G. R., Mr., to be Princip. Assist. in Western div. of Delhi.—C. Feb. 6.
- Clough, John, Sen.-Lieut. 11th N. I., to be Capt., v. Rowley, prom.—M. Jan. 13.
- Clark, R., Esq., to be Acting Secret. to government in Mil. Depart.—M. Jan. 16.
- Cantis, W., Sen.-Ens., 15th N. I., to Lieut., v. Bishop, res.—M. Jan. 20.
- Campbell, A., Surg., rem. from 1st Eur. reg., to 50th N. I.—M. Feb. 6.
- Conwell, W. E. E., Surg., Staff-Surg., to Mad. troops at Penang, on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. Jan. 18.
- Chauvel, C. G. T., Lieut. 35th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. Jan. 30.
- Dewar, J., Mr., to be commercial resident at Rungpore.—C. Feb. 6.
- Delamain, John, Lieut.-Col., rem. from 52d to 44th N. I.—C. Dec. 30.
- Dich, Alex., Capt. 62d N. I., to be Major, v. Higgins, dec.—C. Jan. 24.
- Davis, C. E., Ens. 62d N. I., to be Lieut., v. Macdonald, res.—C. Jan. 24.
- Dallas, C., Lieut., Adj. Artill., rem. from 3d comp. 3d batt., to 3d comp. 2d batt.—C. Jan. 8.
- Doolan, R. W. C., Ens., to do duty with 18th N. I.—C. Jan. 11.
- Davis, S., Mr., Adm.-Assist.-Surg.—C. Feb. 5.
- Dickson, Arch., 60th N. I., on furl. to Eur.—C. Jan. 17.
- Doveton, C. J., Lieut.-Col. 38th N. I., on furl. to Eur.—C. Feb. 4.
- Duff, D. G., Lieut. 16th N. I., to be Capt., v. Thomas, dec.—B. Feb. 3.
- Davidson, W. W., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Jan. 13.
- Drummond, J. G., Capt., Dep.-Assist., Quarter-Master-Gen., prom. from 2d to 1st class, v. Garden, prom.—C. Jan. 17.
- Debret's, J. E., Capt. Artill., rem. from 7th comp. 6th batt. to 3d comp. 3d batt.—C. Jan. 23.
- Dusantoy, E. J., Lieut. 49th N. I., app. to rifle corps.—M. Jan. 6.
- Dickson, W., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 6th to 1st L. Cav.—M. Jan. 15.
- Dick, W. F., Mr., to be Commis. of Revenue for Barcelly, &c.—C. Jan. 1.
- Dunsmore, J., Mr., to be Collec. of Allahabad.—C. Feb. 6.
- Deedes, J. G., Mr., to be Collec. at Sacdabad.—C. Feb. 6.
- Davidson, J., Mr., to be Collec. at Etawah.—C. Feb. 6.
- Dorin, J. A., Mr., to be Account. to Commer. and Marine Depart., and Auditor of Commer. Salt and Opium Accounts.—C. Feb. 6.
- Disney, L. B., Lieut. 29th, to be Adj., v. Bradford, on furl.—M. Feb. 3.
- Dun, Capt., to be Dep.-Judge-Adv. Gen., to South div. and Travancore, subsid.—M. Feb. 3.
- Elliot, T. C., Assist.-Surg., app. to 1st L. Cav.—C. Dec. 30.
- Eccles, J., Mr., adm. Assist.-Surg.—C. Feb. 5.
- Elbhart, B. W., Lieut., 10th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. Jan. 9.
- Ennis, E. M., Lieut., 21st N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. Jan. 8.
- Elliot, H. M., Mr., to be Assist. to Political Resid. and Commis. at Delhi.—C. Feb. 10.
- Elliott, J. B., Mr., to be Special Commis. for investig. of suits.—C. Jan. 1.
- Ever, W. Mr., to be Commis. of Reven. of Shearunpoor, &c.—C. Jan. 1.
- Eglan, W., Mr., to be Master Attendant at Cochín.—M. Feb. 24.
- Eaton, Jas., Assist.-Surg., perm. to enter on gen. duties.—M. Jan. 16.

- Eaton, Assist.-Surg., app. to Med. duties of Zillah of Coombatore, v. Morton.—M. Jan. 20.
- Eyre, E. W., Assist.-Surg., app. to do duty under Med. Officer in garr. of Poonamallee.—M. Jan. 20.
- Edwards, E., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 17th to 5th N. I.—M. Feb. 13.
- Fleming, W. H., Ens. 36th N. I., perm. to resign.—C. Jan. 15.
- Folcher, F. P., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Jan. 21.
- Fraser, J. W., 1st. Lieut. Engin., to do duty with sappers and miners.—C. Jan. 14.
- Flyter, J., Ens., to do duty with 27th N. I.—C. Jan. 14.
- Fleming, F., Assist.-Surg., posted to 28th N. I.—C. Jan. 15.
- Field, G., Major, inval. estab., posted to comm. the 4th Nat. Vet. Batt.—M. Jan. 12.
- Falconer, G. A. H., Ens., rem. from 1st Eur. reg., to 33d N. I.—M. Jan. 12.
- Fraser, J. S., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 24th to 52d N. I.—M. Jan. 15.
- Freshfield, J. S., Cornet, to do duty with Cav. in detail.—M. Jan. 15.
- Franklin, H., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—B. Jan. 17.
- Fraser, S., Mr., adm., Assist.-Surg.—Jan. 30.
- Fraser, H., Mr., to be register of Junapore, and Joint-Magis. at Azemghur.—C. Feb. 17.
- Fraser, W., Mr., to Commis. of Reven. and Circuit for Delhi Territ.—C. Jan. 1.
- Fane, W. Mr., to be Commis. of Reven. of Cawnpore, &c.—C. Jan. 1.
- Ferguson, C., Mr., to be Commis. of Land Reven. at Sarum, &c.—C. Jan. 1.
- Freese, A., Esq., to be Collec. and Joint. Magis. of Cuddapah.—M. Feb. 13.
- Fraser, James, Esq., to be additional Sub.-Collec. and Joint Magis. of Cuddapah.—M. Feb. 17.
- Farren, J. O. C., Sen. Ens., 11th N. I., to Lieut., v. Rowley, prom. M. Jan. 13.
- Fothergill, J. W., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—M. Jan. 20.
- Flaggate, Chas., Sen. Lieut. 13th N. I., to be Capt., v. Rogers, dec.—M. Feb. 10.
- Gardiner, S. W., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Jan. 13.
- Garden, W., Capt., Dep.-Assist.-Qu.-Mas.-Gen. 1st class, to be Assist.-Qu.-Mas.-Gen., v. Morrison, on furl.—C. Jan. 17.
- Glassfield, J., 1st Lieut. Engin., to do duty with sappers and miners.—C. Jan. 14.
- Grange, R., Ens., to do duty with 13th N. I.—C. Jan. 14.
- Gifford, J., Ens., to do duty with 1st N. I.—C. Jan. 14.
- Gibb, J., Ens., to do duty with 44th N. I.—C. Jan. 14.
- Griffith, G., Vet.-Surg., app. to do duty with 2d Brig. Horse Artill.—C. Jan. 15.
- Gray, J., C. C., Capt. 21st N. I., to officiate as Dep.-Paymas. at Muttra, in absence of Capt. Christie.—C. Feb. 5.
- Grounds, J. E., Ens., to do duty with 63d N. I.—C. Jan. 20.
- Gouldwake, Jas., Capt., 60th N. I., returned to duty.—C. Jan. 23.
- Glascok, W. N., Ens., posted to 17th N. I.—M. Jan. 6.
- Gordon, T., Capt., Maj. of Brig. at Presid., to act as town Maj., v. Burr.—B. Jan. 12.
- Gaisford, Thos., Cadet Artill., prom. to 2d Lieut.—B. Jan. 12.
- Graham, G. J., Lieut., to act as Qu.-Mas. to 6th N. I., v. Farquhar, absent on duty.—B. Jan. 28.
- Gorton, W. Mr., to be Commis. of Land Reven. at Benare, &c.—C. Jan. 1.
- Glass, C. G., Mr., to be Sub.-Account., Gen.-Account., to Reven. and Jud. Depart., and Civil Auditor.—C. Feb. 6.
- Gerrard, W., 2d Lieut., to be 2d Assistant to Chief Engin.—M. Jan. 18.
- Griffiths, Henry, Lieut. 11th N. I., app. to rifle corps.—M. Feb. 3.
- Hyde, C. C., Mr., to be Commercial Resident at Jungypore.—C. Feb. 6.
- Hepburne, W. H., Cadet, prom. to Cornet.—C. Jan. 13.

- Hunter, Maj., Geo., to be Lieut.-Col. Inf., v. E. C. Browne, retired, v. H. Weston, dec.—C. Jan. 17.
- Hay, John, Lieut. 35th N. I., to be Capt., v. Monteith, prom.—C. Jan. 24.
- Hollings, G. E., Ens., removed from 73d to 51st N. I.—C. Jan. 8.
- Howard, W. H., Lieut. and Brevet Captain 1st European regiment, be Captain of a comp., v. Davidson, dec.—C. Jan. 24.
- Holroyd, G. C., 57th N. I., Lieut. and Brev. Capt., to be Capt. of a company, v. Morrison, prom.—C. Jan. 31.
- Harris, Joseph, Capt. 63d N. I., to be Maj., v. Lockett, prom.—C. Jan. 31.
- Hickman, G. W. J., Lieut., 70th N. I., to be Captain by Brevet.—C. Jan. 29.
- Harris, J. S., Ensign, to do duty with 41th N. I.—C. Jan. 14.
- Harris, P., Lieut., to act as Adjutant to right wing of 70th N. I.—C. Jan. 14.
- Harit, F., Assistant Surgeon, to do duty with 71th N. I.—C. Jan. 14.
- Hewett, W. W., Assistant Surgeon, to be 2d Assistant to President General Hospital, and nominated to Med. charge of Gov. Gen. body guard.—C. Feb. 5.
- Hardwich, F. W., Lieut., to act as Adjutant during absence of Lieutenant and Adjutant Welchman.—C. Jan. 21.
- Hearsey, J. B., Captain 6th Light Cavalry, appointed to charge of Loc. Horse, v. Dougan.—C. Jan. 21.
- Halhead, R. W., Lieutenant 26th N. I., returned to duty.—C. Jan. 23.
- Hunter, C., Mr., Pension estab., on furl. to Eur.—C. Jan. 9.
- Hodgson, J. A., Lieut.-Col., 42d N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. Jan. 13.
- Heathcourt, G. D., Lieut.-Col., 32d N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. Jan. 17.
- Hodgson, H., Lieut.-Col. Comm. 51st N. I., on furlow to Europe for health.—C. Jan. 21.
- Home, Richard, Capt., 72d N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—C. Jan. 31.
- Hunter, F., Lieutenant 53d N. I., on furlow to Europe for health.—C. Jan. 31.
- Hamilton, Gilbert, Lieut. 53d N. I., on furlow to Europe for health.—C. Jan. 31.
- Hunter, Jas., Ens. 53d N. I., on furlow to Europe for health.—C. Jan. 31.
- Heards, S. J., Lieut.-Col. 15th N. I., on furlow for health.—C. Feb. 5.
- Hewitson, C., Captain, appointed to rifle corps.—M. Jan. 6.
- Hill, H. P., Ensign, to do duty with 10th N. I.—M. Jan. 15.
- Hornby, N., Mr., to be acting Senior Assistant-Judge, &c. of Surat for Broach, v. Wroughton, on sick certificate.—B. Jan. 30.
- Hagart, C., Capt. 1st Eur. reg., to act as Maj. of Brig., v. Gordon.—B. Jan. 12.
- Hutchinson, J. R., Mr., to be Judge of Goruckpore.—C. Feb. 7.
- Harrington, H. B., Mr., to be Assist. to Pol. Resid. and Commis. at Delhi.—C. Feb. 10.
- Hawkins, F., Mr., to be Sen. Memb. of Sudder Board of Reven.—C. Jan. 1.
- Halhed, N. J., Mr., to be Commis. of Land Reven., &c. at Arrakan.—C. Jan. 1.
- Horsley, John, Esq., to be Assist.-Judge and Joint Crim.-Judge of Madeira.—M. Feb. 13.
- Harper, H., The Rev., (M. A.), to be Chaplain at Vizagapatam.—M. Jan. 13.
- Henderson, L., 2d Lieut., to be Assist. to superintend Engin., with Nagpoor subsid. force.—M. Jan. 13.
- Harrison, G. W., Cadet Artill., prom. to 2d Lieut.—M. Jan. 28.
- Hayne, John, Lieut. 26th N. I., to be Adj., v. Whitlock, on furlow to Europe.—M. Feb. 13.
- Hawkins, F. C., Ens., posted to 13th N. I.—M. Feb. 11.
- Innes, John, Cadet Artill., prom. to 2d Lieut.—C.
- Impey, H. R., Lieut. and Brev. Capt. 50th N. I., to be Capt. of a comp., v. Smith, dec.—C. Jan. 21.
- Isaac, E. E., Lieut. and Brev. Cpt. 63d N. I., to be Capt. of Comp., v. Harris, prom.—C. Jan. 31.
- Innes, J. C., Ens., to do duty with 43d N. I.—C. Jan. 14.
- Irwin, J. A., Mr., to be Magis. of Zillah of Cawnpore.—C. Feb. 17.

- Irving, John, Surg., to be Staff-Surg. to Mad. troops at Prince of Wales' Island, v. Conwell.—M. Jan. 16.
- Jackson, Geo., Cadet, prom. to Cornet.—C. Jan. 13.
- Jervis, E., Maj., 3d L. Cav., to assume comm. at Deesa.—B. Jan. 28.
- King, Edw. Ens., posted to 11th N. I.—M. Jan. 12.
- Kennet, J., Lieut.-Col., to comm. Buroda Subsid. force, v. Salter, on furl.—B. Jan. 18.
- Kenny, D., Assist.-Surg., app. to do duty under Garr.-Surg. of Fort St. George.—M. Feb. 10.
- Knox, J., Lieut. 6th L. Cav., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. Jan. 16.
- Law, W. A., Mr., to be Assist. to Magis. and Collec. of land reven. at Darca.—C. Feb. 6.
- Laughton, R., Assist.-Surg., app. to 20th N. I.—C. Jan. 8.
- Lockett, Abraham, Maj. Inf., to be Lieut.-Col. v. Boldock, retired.—C. Jan. 24.
- Lunsden, J. R. Ens. 63d N. I., to be Lieut. v. Isaac, prom.—C. Jan. 31.
- Legard, W. B., Ens., to do duty with 30th N. I.—C. Jan. 14.
- Lawrie, J. A., Assist.-Surg., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. Feb. 4.
- Leighton, J., Capt. 27th N. I., on furl. for health.—M. Jan. 15.
- Livingston, C. P., Assist.-Surg., placed at disposal of com.-in-chief.—B. Jan. 12.
- Lloyd, G. B., Lieut. 7th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. Jan. 20.
- Lushington, H., Mr., to be sub sec. to sudder board of Rev.—C. Jan. 1.
- Lambert, W., Mr., to be Commis. of Land Revenue at Patna, &c.—C. Jan. 1.
- Lushington, H., Mr., to be princip. assist. to Collector of Goruchipore.—C. Feb. 6.
- Lindsay, G., Mr., to be sub-collector and joint Magis. of Etawah.—C. Feb. 6.
- Lake, H. A., 2d Lieut., to be assist. to superintend. Engin. with Podale field force.—M. Jan. 18.
- Lane, T. M., Assist.-Surg., app. to Med. duties of north-west dist. v. Mark, on duty.—M. Jan. 20.
- Light, J. H., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—M. Jan. 23.
- Lubben, Geo., admi. on estab. as Assist.-Surg., and app. to do duty under Garr. Surg.—M. Jan. 27.
- Lynch, H. C., Capt. 18th N. I., transf. to invalid, and posted to 1st Nat. Vet. Batt.—Jan. 23.
- Jang, J. S., Sen. Ens., 18th N. I., to be Lieut.—M. Jan. 32.
- Lindsay, C. B., Lieut. 3d L. Cav., to be Qu. Mas. &c. v. Kerr, on furl.—M. Feb. 10.
- Lynch, H. C., Capt. 48th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. Jan. 20.
- Macdonald, Arch., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Jan. 13.
- Martin, J. R., Assist.-Surg. to be Surg., v. Luxmoor, dec.—C. Jan. 17.
- Mainwaring, H. G., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Jan. 17.
- Munro, J., Lieut. to act as adj. to 21st N. I., v. Farmer on leave.—C. Dec. 30.
- McGregor, W. L., Assist.-Surg., posted to, and app. to Med. charge of troop 2d brig. horse artill.—C. Dec. 30.
- Monteith, Thos., Capt. 35th N. I., to be Maj. v. Glover, retired.—C. Jan. 24.
- Maxwell, H. G., Maj. 43d N. I., transf. to inval. estab.—C. Jan. 24.
- Mackenzie, F. G., 2d Lieut. Artill. rem. from 1st comp. 1st batt. to 2d troop 1st brig. Horse Artill., and to act as Adj.—C. Jan. 8.
- Macnaghten, J. D., Cornet, rem. from 6th to 5th N. I.—C. Jan. 13.
- Morrison, H., Capt., 57th N. I., to be Maj. v. Barton, prom.—C. Jan. 31.
- Martin, P., Ens., to do duty with 59th N. I.—C. Jan. 17.
- Mackenzie, Sir A., (Bart.) Lieut. 48th N. I., to be deputy Pay Mas. at Dinapore, v. Thompson.—C. Feb. 5.
- Martin, J. R., to be Garr.-Surg. of Fort William.—C. Feb. 5.

- Macadam, J., Ens., to do duty with the 63d N. I.—C. 21.  
 Murray, J., Lieut.-Col., rein. from 41st to 69th N. I.—C. Jan. 21.  
 Moreland, R. S. B., Capt. Artill., rein. from 3d comp. 3d batt. to 2d comp. 3d batt.—C. Jan. 23.  
 Moat, Sir James, Lieut.-Col., Comm. Engineers, on furl. to Eur.—C. Jan. 17.  
 Menzies, Robert, Lieut. 31st N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. Jan. 31.  
 Mears, Thos. Ens. 33d N. I. rem. to the 1st Eur. reg.—M. Jan. 12.  
 Moubray, R. H. C., Cornet, to do duty with Cav. in detail.—M. Jan. 15.  
 Mercer, W. H., Ens., to do duty with the 10th N. I.—M. Jan. 15.  
 Munay, And. Mr. adm. Assist.-Surg.—B. Jan. 12.  
 Mearns, John, Mr., adm. Assist.-Surg.—B. Jan. 12.  
 Munro, C. G., Ens., 16th N. I., to be Lieut. v. Duff, prom.—B. Feb. 3.  
 Morgan, H., Surg., 2d memb. Med. Board, on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. Jan. 28.  
 Millett, F., Mr., to be Judge and Magis. of Beerbhoon.—C. Feb. 7.  
 Mc'Mahon, J. T., Mr., to be Assist. to Magis. and to Collec. of Hoghly.—C. Feb. 7.  
 Muir, John, Mr., to be Assist. to Collec. of Land Reven. and to Magis. at Furruckabad.—C. Feb. 10.  
 Money, W. J. H., Mr., to be Assist. to Collec. of Land Reven. and Customs and Magis. of Moorshedad.—C. Feb. 20.  
 Moore, M., Mr., to be Commis. of Reven. of Agra, &c.—C. Jan. 1.  
 Mc'Nabb, J. W., Mr., to officiate as Commiss. of Land Revenue at Benares, &c.—C. Jan. 1.  
 Macan, R., Mr., to be Collec. at Jounpore —C. Feb. 6.  
 Metcalfe, T. T., Mr., to be Collec. of Revenue and Customs in centre div. of Delhi.—C. Feb. 6.  
 Morley, C., Mr., to be Accountant-Gen.—C. Feb. 6.  
 MacLeod, C., Lieut.-Col. 34th N. I., to comm. field force in Dooab, v. Welsh, on furl. to Eur.—M. Jan. 20.  
 Mirchin, Fred., Lieut. 47th, N. I., permitted to place serv. at disposal of resid. at Ragoon.—M. Jan. 23.  
 Miller, W. H., Lieut. artill., perm. to place serv. at disposal of resid. at Ragoon.—M. Jan. 23.  
 Major, H. H. P., Assist.-Surg., app. to do duty under Cantonm.-Surg. at St. Thomas's Mount.  
 Macarthur, Capt., to be dep.-judge adv.-gen. to Hyterabad subsid.—M. Feb. 3.  
 Murcot, Capt., to be dep. judge adv. gen. to Prince of Wales's Island.—M. Feb. 3.  
 Mortimer, H. H., 1st Lieut. artill., returned to do duty.—M. Feb. 13.  
 McFarlane, A., Capt. 16th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. Jan. 30.  
 Mincealey, A. Surg., on furl. to the Cape for health.—M. Feb. 16.  
 Maughan, H., Ens., 21st N. I., on furl. to sea for health.—M. Feb. 10.  
 Nash, H. G., Lieut., and Brev. Capt. 62d N. I., to be Capt. of a comp., v. Dick prom.—C. Jan. 24.  
 Newton, T., Lieut.-Col., to take comm. of 28th N. I.—C. Jan. 10.  
 Nash, Jos., Lieut. 43d N. I., to be Capt. of a comp., v. Tulloch, prom.—C. Jan. 31.  
 Newnham, H., Mr., to be Commis. of Reven. at Furruckabad.—C. Jan. 1.  
 Nisbet, R. P., Mr., to officiate as Commis. of Reven., &c., for Dingapore, &c.—C. Feb. 6.  
 Nisbet, H., Mr., to be Collec. at Furruckabad.—C. Feb. 6.  
 Odell, J. C., Capt., 41st N. I., to be Maj., v. Hunter, prom.—C. Jan. 17.  
 Ousley, Rich., Ens., 50th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Impey, prom.—C. Jan. 24.  
 Oldfield, C. J., Lieut., to act as Adj. to left wing of 4th N. I.—C. Jan. 8.  
 Oldfield, J. B., 1st Lieut. Engin., to do duty with sapp. and min.—C. Jan. 14.

- O'Halloran, J. N., Ens., to do duty with 24th N. I.—C. Jan. 14.  
 O'Halloran, J., Brig., app. to Gen. Staff, v. Price.—C. Feb. 5.  
 Orrok, W., Sen. Super. Ens., posted to 15th N. I., v. Munro, prom.—B. Jan. 30.  
 Owen, H. T., Mr., to be Judge of Allahabad.—C. Feb. 7.  
 Oxenden, W. P., Mr., to be Collec. at Allyghur.—B. Feb. 6.  
 Oakes, W. H., Mr., to be Dep.-Account.-Gen., and Account. to Mil. Depart.—C. Feb. 6.  
 Ogilvie, W., Mr., to be Princip. Assist. to Collec. of Furruckabad.—C. Feb. 28.  
 O'Neill, T., Assist.-Surg., to be Garris. Assist.-Surg. at Fort St. George, v. Brown, dec.—M. Jan. 16.  
 Ogilvie, H. T., 33d N. I., to act as a Sub.-Assist.-Comm.-Gen.—M. Jan. 20.  
 O'Brien, Capt., to be Dep.-Judge-Adv.-Gen., to Mysore div., &c.—M. Feb. 3.  
 Parks, C. C., Mr., to be Dep.-Collec. of Sea Customs.—C. Feb. 6.  
 Parker, Richard, Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Jan. 13.  
 Phibbs, J. K., Ens., 41st N. I., to be Lieut., v. Ramsay, prom.—C. Jan. 17.  
 Parker, W., Lieut. 10th L. Cav., to be an additional Brig.-Maj., on estab. at Whow.—C. Jan. 24.  
 Pattenson, T. F., to do duty with 59th N. I.—C. Jan. 14.  
 Penny, G. R., Lieut.-Col., Comm. 11th N. I., to be a Brig., v. O'Halloran.—C. Feb. 5.  
 Palmer, W., Lieut. 39th N. I., to be a Dep.-Judge-Adv.-Gen., on estab., v. Pratt, resigned.—C. Feb. 5.  
 Phayre, A. P., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Feb. 5.  
 Platt, J., Lieut., to act as Interp. and Quarter Master, to 23d N. I., v. Bean, res.—C. Jan. 21.  
 Pereira, J., Capt. Artill., rem. from 2d comp. 3d batt., to 7th comp., 6th batt.—C. Jan. 23.  
 Pillans, W. S., Lieut., to do duty with 2d troop, 2d brig, Horse Artill.—C. Jan. 23.  
 Playfair, Geo., Surg., returned to do duty.—C. Jan. 22.  
 Payne, R., Capt., to be 2d Assist.-Commis.-Gen., v. Reynolds.—B. Jan. 15.  
 Parry, E. C., Lieut., to act as Adj. to 21st N. I., v. Ennis, sick.—B. Jan. 12.  
 Poole, O., Lieut., 9th N. I., returned to duty.—B. Feb. 3.  
 Pattie, J., Mr., to be 2d Memb. of Sudder Board of Rev.—C. Jan. 1.  
 Pakenham, T., Mr., to be Commis. of Land Reven., &c., at Cuttack, &c.—C. Jan. 1.  
 Preckett, R., the Rev., to be District-Chap. at Bhargulpore.—C. Feb. 8.  
 Proby, J., the Rev. Joint-Chap. at Meerut.—C. Feb. 10.  
 Page, W. G., Capt. 48th N. I., to be Dep.-Judge-Adv.-Gen. at Dooale.—M. Feb. 3.  
 Palmer, O., Assist.-Surg., posted to D. troop of 1st Brig. Horse Artill. at St. Thomas's Mount.—M. Feb. 13.  
 Ramsay, W., Lieut. and Brev.-Capt. 41st N. I., to be Capt. of a company, v. Odell, prom.—Jan. 17.  
 Roop, B., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 44th to 52d N. I.—C. Dec. 30.  
 Rowe, J. W., Lieut. 31st N. I., to be Capt., v. Thomson, prom.—C. Jan. 24.  
 Robinson, C., Surg., to be a Superind.-Surg. on estab., v. Williams, on furl.—C. Jan. 24.  
 Rainey, A. C., Ens., to do duty with 29th N. I.  
 Richardson, C. J., Ens. 57th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Holroyd, prom.—C. Jan. 31.  
 Ramsay, P. R., Ens., to do duty with 43d N. I.—C. Jan. 14.  
 Ross, R., Capt., 18th N. I., to comm. Agra prov. batt.—C. Feb. 5.  
 Robinson, C., Surg., returned to duty.—C. Jan. 23.  
 Robertson, John, Ens., to do duty with 9th N. I.—M. Jan. 15.

- Reynolds, J., Capt., Second Assist.-Commis.-Gen., to be First Assist., v. Snodgrass, dec.—B. Jan. 15.
- Rickards, R. H., Cornet 3d L. Cav., on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. Jan. 28.
- Rowley, W., Sen. Capt. 11th N. I., to be Maj., v. Field invalid.—M. Jan. 13.
- Robertson, W. S., Ens., rem. from 4th to do duty with 39th N. I.—M. Feb. 10.
- Royes, S. H., Assist.-Surg., rem. from 3d L. Inf. to 21st N. I.—M. Feb. 6.
- Stein, Robt., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Jan. 13.
- Sampson, Lieut., 22d N. I., app. to charge of Inval. proceeding to Eur.—C. Jan. 13.
- Sissmore, Ens. 35th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Hay, prom.—C. Jan. 24.
- Short, G., Ens. 45th N. I., to act as Adj. to 5th Loc. Horse, v. Hamilton, on leave.—C. Jan. 21.
- Sturt, H. A., Ens., to do duty with 48th N. I.—C. Jan. 8.
- Steel, C. E., Ens., to do duty with 43d N. I.—C. Jan. 14.
- Stephen, H. V., Ens., to do duty with 19th N. I.—C. Jan. 14.
- Showers, E. H., Ens., to do duty with 72d N. I.—C. Jan. 11.
- Spurgeon, A. C., Assist.-Surg., placed under order of Superintend.-Surg. at Cawnpore.—C. Jan. 11.
- Sleigh, J. W., Brig., re-app. to Cawnpore.—C. Jan. 14.
- Stewart, W., Brig., app. to Meerut.—C. Jan. 15.
- Stoneham, H., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 69th to 53d N. I.—C. Jan. 21.
- Spry, E. T., Lieut., to act as Adj. to 21th N. I., v. Singer.—C. Jan. 21.
- Stoneham, A., Lieut.-Col. 29th N. I., returned to duty.—C. Jan. 23.
- Sampson, T. E., Lieut. 42d N. I., on furl. to Eur.—C. Jan. 13.
- Sissmore, B., Maj. 1st N. I., on furl. to Eur.—C. Feb. 5.
- Stokoe, W., Capt. 10th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. Jan. 15.
- Stock, R., Lieut., to be 3d Assist.-Commis.-Gen., v. Payne, prom.—B. Jan. 15.
- Soppit, W., Capt. 26th N. I., to assume command of troops at Satara, v. Smith, on sick certif.—B. Jan. 17.
- Sandwith, H., Capt. 8th N. I., to act as Dep.-Assist.-Qu.-Mas.-Gen. to Malwa Force, v. Campbell.—B. Jan. 17.
- Scriven, W. T. C., Lieut. 5th N. I., returned to duty.—B. Feb. 3.
- Smith, F. C., Mr., to be Commissioner of Land Revenue, &c., at Dinagepoor.—C. Jan. 1.
- Scott, D. M., Sen., to be Commis. of Land Revenue, &c., at Assam.—C. Jan. 1.
- Smith, F. C., Mr., to officiate as Commis. of Revenue, &c., for Sarun, &c.—C. Feb. 6.
- Spring, F., the Rev. (B. A.), to be Chap. at Poonamallee.—M. Jan. 12.
- Starpool, T., Sen. Ens. 40th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Baker, prom.—M. Jan. 27.
- Shairp, W., Lieut. 3d Nat. Vet. Bat., transf. to Pens. List.—M. Jan. 30.
- Scotland, D., Lieut. 7th N. I., to be Cantonm. Adj. and Dep.-Postnas. at Moulmein.—M. Feb. 3.
- Spicer, Capt., to be Acting-Dep.-Adv.-Gen. to Tenasserim coast.—M. Feb. 3.
- Silver, T. G., Lieut. 20th N. I., on furl. to Eur.—M. Jan. 27.
- Thomson, John, Capt. 31st N. I., to be Major, v. Heptinstall, dec.—C. Jan. 24.
- Taylor, C., Cornet 5th L. Cav., rem. from 5th to 6th L. Cav.—C. Jan. 12.
- Tulloch, John, Capt. 43d N. I., to be Maj., v. Maxwell.—C. Jan. 31.
- Taylor, W. A., Lieut. 1st Beng. Eur. reg., placed at disposal of Comm.-in-Chief at Madras.—C. Jan. 31.
- Twining, W., Assist.-Surg., to be First Assist. to Presid. Gen. Hospital, and to have Med. charge of prisoners in Calcutta jail.—C. Feb. 5.
- Thomson, J. C., Ens., to do duty with 63d N. I.—C. Jan. 20.
- Timings, H., Lieut. 1st Troop 1st Brig. Horse Artill., to be Adj. to Malwa Div.—C. Jan. 21.
- Thomas, C. H., Lieut. 11th N. I., on furl. to Eur.—C. Jan. 9.

- Thompson, J. A., Capt. 2d Eur. reg., on furl. to Eur.—C. Jan. 15.  
 Turner, A., Major, rem. from 2d to 4th Nat. Vet. Batt.—M. Jan. 15.  
 Taylor, D. G., Cornet, to do duty with Cav. in detail.—M. Jan. 15.  
 Taylor, H., Lieut. 2d L. Cav., on furl. for health.—M. Jan. 15.  
 Tanner, Thos., Capt. Hon. Company's Marine, to be Capt. of Mazagon dock-yard.—B. Feb. 1.  
 Thomson, J., Mr., to be Dep.-Regis. of Courts of Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut, Adawlut, and Preparer of Reports.—C. Feb. 17.  
 Thornton, John, Mr., to be Assist. to Collector of Land Revenue and Magis. of Goruckpore.—C. Feb. 20.  
 Tighman, R. M., Mr., to be Sen. Sec. to Sudder Board of Rev.—C. Jan. 1.  
 Tucker, C., Mr., to be Commis. of Land Revenue, &c., at Dacca, &c.—C. Jan. 1.  
 Turquand, W. J., Mr., to be Magis. and Collector of Sylhet.—C. Feb. 6.  
 Trewman, F. R., Sen. Ensign 13th N. I., v. Fladgate, prom.—M. Feb. 10.  
 Trewman, J. T., Lieut.-Col., removed from 5th to 17th N. I.—M. Feb. 13.  
 Taylor, G. P., Ens. 32d N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—M. Feb. 10.  
 Udny, R., Mr., to be Dep.-Account. and Auditor of Civ. Accounts.—C. Feb. 6.  
 Venour, W. A., Surg., appointed to officiate as Super. Surg. to Troops in Meywar and Rajpootanah, &c.—C. Jan. 20.  
 Vincent, E., Mr., admitted Assistant-Surgeon.—M. Jan. 23.  
 Walker, T. C., Ens. 26th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Le Feuvre, dec.—C. Jan. 13.  
 Webster, W. B., Mr., admitted Assist.-Surg.—C. Jan. 13.  
 Wade, E. S. A. W. W., Lieut., appointed to act as Quarter-Master and Adjutant to Benares Div. of Artill., v. Dallas, rem. to 2d Batt.—C. Dec. 30.  
 Wilson, T., Lieut.-Col., removed from 28th to 59th N. I.—C. Jan. 12.  
 Weston, F. A., Lieut.-Col. Invalid Establishment, appointed to Comm. of Delhi Prov. Batt.—C. Feb. 5.  
 Williamson, Geo., Major 69th N. I., returned to duty.—C. Jan. 23.  
 Watt, Alexander, Lieut. 27th N. I., returned to duty.—C. Jan. 23.  
 Wilson, Alex., Lieut. 61th N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—C. Jan. 21.  
 Ward, T., Assistant-Surgeon, posted to 35th N. I.—M. Jan. 11.  
 Woulfe, J., Lieutenant-Colonel, removed from 52d to 24th N. I.—M. Jan. 15.  
 Willoughby, E., Captain, to act as Assistant-Quarter-Master-General in Poonah Div., v. Roe.—B. Jan. 28.  
 Walpole, R., Mr., to be Special Commis. for investig. of Suits.—C. Jan. 1.  
 Warner, E. L., Mr., to be Commis. of Land Rev. of Bhagnulpore.—C. Jan. 1.  
 Wroughton, J. C., Esq., to be Sub-Collector and Joint Magistrate of Tinnevely.—M. Feb. 13.  
 Wilder, C. P., Cornet 6th L. Cav., to be Adjutant, v. Byng.—M. Jan. 16.  
 Wood, Alexander, Cadet, promoted to Ensign.—M. Jan. 20.  
 Welland, Fred., Captain 23d Light Infantry, to be Dep.-Judge-Adv.-General to ceded districts.—M. Feb. 3.  
 Woodburn, Arch., Capt. 40th N. I., to be Dep.-Judge-Adv.-Gen. at Hyderabad Subsid.—M. Feb. 3.  
 Webster, T., Lieut.-Col. 49th N. I., returned to duty.—M. Feb. 13.  
 Whittock, G. C., Lieut. 36th N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—M. Jan. 27.  
 Webster, T., Lieut.-Col. 49th N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—M. Jan. 30.  
 Young, W. R., Mr., to be First Assist. to Collector of Sea Customs.—C. Feb. 6.  
 Younghusband, O. J., Ensign, to do duty with 24th N. I.—C. Jan. 14.  
 Young, S. A. G., Assist.-Surg., to enter on gen. duties, perm. to place services at disposal of resid. at Hyderabad.—M. Feb. 13.



## BIRTHS.

- Archer, the lady of Lieutenant, 20th N. I., of a daughter, at Quilon, Jan. 17.  
 Anderson, the lady of Captain F., Engineers, of a son, at Madras, Feb. 15.
- Bax, the lady of John, Esq., Civil-Service, of a son, at Sans Souci, Feb. 4.  
 Barlow, the lady of R. sen., Esq., of a daughter, at Allahabad, Jan. 20.  
 Blair, the lady of Lieutenant C. D., 10th Light Cavalry, of a daughter, at Nusseerabad, January 26.  
 Barwell, the lady of C. R., Esq., of a son, at Allipore, February 5.  
 Brownrigg, the lady of Lieutenant and Adjutant W. M., 13th Foot, of a son, at Dinapore, February 16.
- Chester, the lady of Geo., Esq. Civ.-Serv., of a daughter, at Choueringhee, Jan. 30.  
 Clayton, the lady of Lieutenant, Benares Div., of a son, at Calcutta, Jan. 11.  
 Campbell, the lady of Lieut. K., 46th N. I., of a daughter, at Benares, Feb. 12.  
 Campbell, the lady of the Rev. W., of a son, at Bangalore, January 31.  
 Campbell, the lady of Lieutenant D., 47th foot, of a son, Calcutta.
- Dick, the lady of W. F., Esq., Civil Service, of a daughter, at Meerut, Feb. 7.  
 Emin, the lady, of J. E., Esq., of a son, at Calcutta, January 29.
- Griffiths, the lady of Lieutenant Col. H., of a daughter, at Serampore, January 13.  
 Glasgow, the lady of Lieutenant Wm., 61st N. I., of a son, at Cawnpore, Jan. 7.
- Hobson, the lady of J. H., Esq., 1st Eur. Regt., of a daughter, at Bombay, Jan. 14.  
 Hay, the lady of W. R., Esq., Assistant-Surgeon, at Dharwar, February 1.
- Kerakoose, the lady of A., Esq., of a son, at Madras, February 11.
- Laughton, the lady of R., Esq., Assistant-Surgeon, of a daughter, at Allahabad, January 20.  
 Lamb, the lady of Lieutenant Y., 51st N. I., of a son, at Cawnpore, February, 12.  
 Limond, the lady of R., Esq. Super.-Surg., of a daughter, at Benares, Feb. 20.
- Mosley, the lady of Captain G. W., of a daughter, Jynghur, in Terhoot, Jan.  
 Martin, the lady of J. R., Esq., of a son, at Fort William, February 10.  
 Matthews, the lady of A., Esq., of a son, at Calcutta, February, 17.
- Robertson, the lady of Captain H. D., Collec. of Poonah, of a son, at Octacmund, January 2.  
 Ricketts, the lady of M. Esq., of a daughter, at Leirknow, January 23.  
 Reid, the lady of L. R., Esq., Civ.-Serv., of a son at Rutnagirce, February 9.  
 Robinson, the lady of Captain H., of a son, at Ellichpoor, February 2.
- Tulloch, the lady of Major John, Com. 43d. N. I., of a son, at Benares, Jan. 23.  
 Tayler, the lady of B., Esq., Civ.-Serv., of a daughter, at Mirzapore, February 3.
- Woodcock, the lady of W. H., Esq., Civ.-Serv., of a daughter, at Tirhoot, Jan. 24.
- Ximines, the lady of Colonel, 16th Foot, of a son, at Fort William, Feb. 17.

MARRIAGES.

- Andrew, W. E., Esq., Civ.-Serv., to Eliza L., third daughter of George Taylor, Esq. of Badderley-house, Hants, at Surat, January 12.
- Barber, G. A., Lieutenant and Adjutant, 8th L. Cav., to Harriette Eliza, second daughter of Captain Pereira, of Artill., at Nusseerabad, January 12.
- Burnard, R. A., Esq., Civ. Assist.-Surg., to Miss Eliza Read, at Benares, January 24.
- Bell, Alex., Esq., Civ.-Serv., second son of Lieut.-Gen. Bell, to Anna Maria, only daughter of the late D. C. Ramsay, Esq., at Bombay, Jan. 8.
- Carter, H., Captain, to Helen, youngest daughter of Charles Gray, Esq. of the Carse Forfarshire, at Ghazepore, January 19.
- Defries, John, Esq., eldest son, of A. Defries, Esq., to L. Clemons, widow, daughter of the late Lieut.-Colonel A. M'Cleod, at Madras, February 2.
- Dunlop, A. C., Esq., to Mrs. Jane Ann Bracken, at Calcutta, January 17.
- Fleming, T. F., Lieutenant, 36th N. I., to Charlotte, third daughter of J. Tritton, Esq. late Captain 24th Dragoons, at Cawnpore, January 9.
- Farmer, Charles, Lieutenant and Adjutant, 21st N. I., to Miss Eliza Gillanders, at Agra, January 22.
- Hovelock, H. Lieutenant, 13th L. Inf., to Hannah S., youngest daughter of the Rev. Dr. Marshman, at Serampore, February 9.
- Jennings, W. R., Esq., Civ.-Serv., to Henrietta Maria, eldest daughter of Capt Jerome, Bengal Army, at Patna, February 16.
- Key, Thomas, Esq., Surgeon, to Emily Ure, third daughter of John Adams, Esq., Forfar. N. B., at Bombay, January 14.
- Oakes, H. G., Esq., Civ.-Serv., second son of Lieutenant-General Sir H. Oakes, Bart., to Miss Isabella Aston, at Bombay, January 20.
- Prinsep, Thomas, Captain Engineers, to Lucy Ann, second daughter of the late R. Campbell, Esq., at Calcutta, February 18.
- Thomason, James, Esq., Civ. Maynard, to the eldest daughter of G. W. Grant, Esq., at Malda, Feb. 18.

DEATHS.

- Balcom, William, Esq. Colonial Treasurer at N. S. Wales, March 18.
- Burford, G., Lieutenant and Adjutant, 27th N. I., at Benares, February 15.
- Davidson, W., Captain, 1st regt. Eur. Inf., at sea, January 15.
- Drew, John, Esq., Beng. Civ.-Serv., at Dacca, January 30.
- Edison, Charles, Esq., Bombay Civ.-Serv., at Rutnagherrie, January 1.
- Evans, the Rev. John, Chap. of the ship *Java*, at Madras, January 4.
- Gardiner, Mary Ann, wife of Captain Charles, at Calcutta, January 18.
- George, the Rev. D., at Calcutta, January 23.

Heptinstall, D. H., Maj. 31st N. I., at Burtport.

Handley, R. G., Esq., of Bom. Civil Serv. at Taptee, Jan. 18.

Hilton, Maj., Comm. 45th foot on the Tenasserimo coast, Feb. 2.

Kindlinger, the Rev. G., Church Missionary, Madras, Feb. 14.

Mac Queen, John, Esq., at N. S. Wales, March 18.

McMurdo, A. E., Lieut. 33d N. I. at Cawnpore, Jan. 25.

Oakley, Chas., Comm. of Ship *Alexander*, Madras, Jan. 30.

Rogers, Edw., Capt. 13th N. I. at Secunderabad, Feb. 2.

Sheridan, Geo. King, only son of M., Esq., 13th foot, at Dinapore.

Stewart, A., Capt. 89th foot at Trechinopoly, Jan. 13.

Smith, F. C., wife of Major H., 1st. N. I., at Trechinopoly, Jan. 29.

Templer, Mary, daughter of Lieut. and Adj. Henry, 7th N. I., at Midnapore Jan. 30.

## SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

### ARRIVALS FROM EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Place of Depart.	Date.
1829.					1829.
June 27	Portsmouth .	Malcolm ..	Eyles ..	Bengal	Jan. 6
June 27	Weymouth..	George Canning	Bulley ..	N.S.Wales	March 22
June 27	Plymouth ..	Lanark ..	Noakes ..	Bengal	
June 27	Scilly ..	Lady Blackwood	Dibbs ..	N.S.Wales	Feb. 26
June 29	Portsmouth	Flushing ..	Lee ..	Bombay	Feb. 11
June 29	Portsmouth	Agnes ..	Mollens ..	Mauritius	April 1
June 29	Downs ..	Sophia ..	Dawsou ..	Bengal	Feb. 8
June 29	Gravesend..	Britannia ..	Whitchello	N.S.Wales	Feb. 8
June 29	Gravesend..	Sarah ..	King ..	V.D.Land	Feb. 17
July 4	Eastborue ..	John Bigger ..	Shaw ..	Bengal	Feb. 20
					1828.
July 4	Dover ..	Margaret ..	Johnson ..	Sowerby	Nov. 28
					1829.
July 8	Downs ..	Matq. Cambden	Larkins ..	China	Feb. 16
July 8	Downs ..	Peter Proctor ..	Terry ..	Cape	April 21
July 8	Greenock ..	Tamerlane ..	Miller ..	Bombay .	Feb. 28
July 8	Downs ..	Orwell ..	Farrer ..	China	Feb. 28
July 8	Downs ..	Sprightly ..	Distant ..	S. Seas	
July 9	Downs ..	Magnet ..	Johnstone	N.S.Wales	Feb. 2
July 9	Liverpool ..	Byrou ..	Andrew ..	Bengal	Feb. 17
July 9	Dungeness..	Ceylon ..	Davison ..	Ceylon	March 6
July 10	Plymouth ..	Olinda ..	Robertson	Cape	May 9
July 13	Cowes ..	London ..	Fotheringham	Sumatra	
July 15	Downs ..	Vansittart ..	Barney ..	S. Seas	
July 18	Downs ..	Adams ..	Franklin	N.S.Wales	Jan. 2
July 20	Downs ..	Cesar ..	Watt ..	Bengal	Feb. 21
July 23	Downs ..	Dunvegan Castle	Findlay ..	Ceylon	March 1

## ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Depart.
1829.				
Jan. 9	V. D. Land ..	Lady Rowena ..	Russell ..	London
Jan. 16	N. S. Wales ..	Hunter ..	Aiken ..	Glasgow
Jan. 16	N. S. Wales ..	Governor Ready..	Young ..	Cork
Jan. 16	N. S. Wales ..	Sophia ..	Elley ..	Dublin
Jan. 17	N. S. Wales ..	Victoria ..	Smith ..	London
Feb. 5	N. S. Wales ..	Persian ..	Plunkett ..	London
Feb. 8	N. S. Wales ..	Comet ..	Fraser ..	Greenock
Feb. 9	N. S. Wales ..	Harriett ..	Knaggs ..	London
Feb. 9	Bombay ..	Wm. Glenanderson	MacMullan ..	Clyde
Feb. 12	Bombay ..	Sesosthis ..	Yates ..	London
Feb. 22	N. S. Wales ..	William ..	Hannington	London
Feb. 22	N. S. Wales ..	Jupiter ..	Welby ..	London
Feb. 26	N. S. Wales ..	Tigress ..	Rodgers ..	London
Mar. 14	N. S. Wales ..	City of Edinburgh	Mackellar ..	Leith
Mar. 14	N. S. Wales ..	Harmony ..	Ireland ..	Leith
Mar. 14	N. S. Wales ..	Caroline ..		London
Mar. 15	N. S. Wales ..	Fairfield ..	Booth ..	London

## DEPARTURES FROM EUROPE.

Date.	Port of Depart.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
1829.				
June 27	Downs ..	Dart ..	Hastings ..	South Seas
June 29	Downs ..	Harriet ..	Buckler ..	N. S. Wales
July 4	Torbay ..	Diamond ..	Clark ..	Bengal
July 4	Torbay ..	Olive Branch ..	Anderson ..	Cape
July 5	Portsmouth ..	Bolton ..	Clarkson ..	Bombay
July 8	Cork ..	Medway ..	Wight ..	N. S. Wales
July 9	Downs ..	John Craig ..	Harvey ..	Ceylon
July 9	Downs ..	Freelands ..	Jones ..	Singapore
July 9	Downs ..	Fawn ..	Dale ..	South Seas
July 9	Downs ..	Ganges ..	Boulbee ..	Bengal
July 9	Liverpool ..	Columbia ..	Kirkwood ..	Bengal
July 10	Downs ..	James and Thomas	Ashbridge ..	Bombay
July 12	Liverpool ..	Warwick ..	Gibson ..	Bengal
July 14	Portsmouth ..	Mt. St. Elphinstone		Bombay
July 14	Portsmouth ..	Lady Nugent ..	Wimble ..	Bengal
July 17	Clyde ..	Retrench ..	Cooper ..	Cape
July 17	Liverpool ..	Aquila ..	Taylor ..	Cape
July 18	Clyde ..	Harmony ..	Ewing ..	Bengal
July 19	Portsmouth ..	Upton Castle ..	Thacker ..	Bombay
July 20	Downs ..	Charles Kerr ..	Brodie ..	Bombay
July 21	Plymouth ..	Eliza ..	Sutton ..	Bengal
July 21	Plymouth ..	Madeline ..	Cochlan ..	Singapore
July 23	Downs ..	Fairy Queen ..	Havside ..	Bombay
July 23	Downs ..	Devereux ..	Nichols ..	N. S. Wales
July 24	Gravesend ..	Lavinia ..	Brooks ..	Mauritius
July 26	Downs ..	Lady Flora ..	Fayrer ..	Bengal
July 26	Plymouth ..	William ..	Young ..	N. S. Wales
July 27	Gravesend ..	Gilmore ..	Geary ..	Swan River

## GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

Per *Cæsar* from Bengal. Major-Gen. Sir A. Campbell (K. C. B.); Col. Smith, Beng. N. I.; Capts. Campbell and Sands; Lieut. Scott, 44th foot; Wilson and Beresford, Beng. N. I.; Ensign Hutchins, 47th foot; Mr. Balane, Collector of Customs; Mr. Calmer Symes; Masters (2) Richardson and Hutchins; Sergeant Greatrix; Lady Campbell; Mesdames Richardson, Beresford, and Hutchins; Misses Campbell (2); Hiltens (2); Watsons (2); Hutchins; Richardsons; and (4) Grahams; 46 men of the 47th foot.

Per *Lord Cochrane* from Ceylon. Capt. Mac Donald, 16th reg.; Lieuts. Hough (R. N.); Pausey, 78th reg.; Emsley, Ceylon reg.; Austine, 97th reg.; and Rayson, 83d reg.; Assist.-Surg. Hunter; Messdames Mac Donald and 4 children; and Hough and child.

Per *Ceylon* from Ceylon. Lieut. Keough, Ceylon reg.

Per *Katherine Stewart* from Bombay. Col. Morse; Capts. Wilson, Beng. Artill. and Maughan, Bombay Marine; Lieut. Knox, Mad. Cav. Cornet; Richard's Bombay Cav. Superintending Surg.; Williams, Beng. Estab. and Assist.-Surg.; Armstrong, Bombay Estab.; Lady Chambers and three children; Messdames Morse, Maughan, Wilson, and Morgan; Miss Williams.

Per *Marquis of Camden* from China. Capts. Martin, Lindsay, 79th foot, and John Pillon, 54th foot; James Guerson, Esq. Civilian, David Neilson died at sea, March 12; Mrs. Lindsay and 2 Misses Lindsay.

From the same ship John Jackson, R. Hudleston, and H. H. Lindsay, Esqrs., and 3 servants, landed at Batavia to make a tour of the Island of Java.

Per *Sarah* from Hobartstown. Messdames Grimstone, and Savory, and child.

Per *Lady Blackwood* from N. S. Wales. Rev. R. Bourne; Messrs. Robert Campbell; D. G. Thomson, Surg., (R. N.); J. Henderson and 4 children; Plaistow, Preston, Steerage, John Hunter, and J. Westbrooke; Master Appleton, Messdames Bourne and 7 children, and Jones and son.

Per *Dublin* from Bombay. Mr. Williams; Messdames Williams and child, and Hanly and child.

Per *Hastings* from Bombay. Capts. Simpson and Rollins; Lieuts. Campbell, and Candy; Dr. Morgan; Mrs. Captain Lee.

Per *Harmonie* from Bengal. Lieut.-Col. Heard and Mr. A. Amanica.

Per *Caroline* from Sydney. Deputy Commissary-Gen. Wymss; Messrs. Dunn (R. N.); W. Brinen; Charles Robinson, and J. Osbaldiston; Mrs. Wymss and Miss Wilson.

Per *Atlas* from Madras. Ensign Mariton; Rev. J. Mowatt, and Master Lenares.

Per *Hercules* from Bengal. Capt. Forbes; Lieuts. Carr, 17th Dragoons; and Fennell; Ensigns Roper, Taylor, and Mariton; J. Baker, Esq.; Dr. Thomas Evans; Masters Keymer and Brady; Messrs. J. Faynton, and Surgeon Key; Messdames Kerr, Forbes, Key, and 2 children.

Per *Thalia* from Bengal. Major Cust, 59th foot; Capts. Gorden, 59th foot; and Monteith of the Lancers; Lieuts. Fuller, and Barrow, both of the 59th foot; Adj. Calder, 59th foot; Quarter-Master Ellery, 59th foot; and Assist. Surg. Mac Kinlow, 59th foot; Masters R. Briscoe, Ellery, and Warden.

# THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

No. 69.—SEPTEMBER, 1829.—Vol. 22.

\* SISMONDI ON INDIA.—MR. RICKARDS'S WORK.

ENGLAND, not long ago, possessed an influence over the destinies of the world, altogether disproportioned to the extent of her territory and population. Taking her place among the powers of the first rank in Europe, availing herself of fortunate circumstances, of her riches, the ability of her statesmen, and the energetic character communicated by free institutions to her people, she aspired to direct the policy of Europe, and exerted a sort of dictatorship over the coalitions formed against France. Betrayed, at length, by her ambition, and the facilities which her unbounded credit afforded, intoxicated by the brilliant part she had performed, and continually engaging in more gigantic enterprises, she was overcome by her own efforts, and supported, with difficulty, the burthen she had voluntarily assumed. The restoration of peace deprived her of the consideration she had acquired during the war; the monarchs, who had received her wages, disdained her councils, delighted in all that could humble or annoy her, and left her without hope of any durable alliance, except with her ancient enemy, France.

On several occasions, and more particularly on that of the recent war in the Levant, England has displayed the remnants of her former greatness and wealth; she has employed the language familiar to her in the time of her power, and vainly endeavoured to impose an illusion upon others, by which she was not herself

\* This paper is taken from the 'Revue Encyclopédique,' a work, on the merits of which, it were superfluous to expatiate. In the course of our endeavours to ameliorate the condition of our East Indian fellow-subjects, we have often been animated and encouraged by the approbation of M. de Sismondi. From the calumnies of the interested monopolists, who are perpetually seeking occasions to discredit our motives, we appeal with confidence to the coincidence of our principles with the views and opinions of this able and enlightened foreigner. He, at least, has no resentments to gratify, no injuries to avenge.

deceived. But she soon learned, from intimations at home and abroad, that the days of her prosperity were gone; that she had lost all pretensions to domineer; that her menaces excited no terror. The enormity of her public debt, the decline of her foreign commerce, the depression of her domestic industry, the revolting luxury of her nobles, and the misery of her labouring classes, all indicated the rapidity of her approach to decrepitude and decay.

There was one circumstance which seemed, in a particular manner, to denote that England must return to the rank of a secondary state. The conquests of other nations increase their strength; those of England add to her weakness. When the French had extended their empire from Hamburgh to Rome, they admitted all the conquered people to the rights of French citizens. The Austrians and the Russians, when victory has been favourable to their arms, have extended to their new countrymen privileges, of which the actual value is not great, but which rescued the vanquished from the continual humiliation of conscious inferiority. The English, on the contrary, have always been ignorant of the process of forming one people of the various nations over whom they have acquired dominion, by inheritance, by treaty, or by arms. Even in their own islands, the people of Jersey and of Guernsey retain the characteristics of their Norman origin; and the distinctions between the English, the Scotch, and the Irish, are as fresh and vivid as if they had never been united. The people of Hanover are as much foreigners in England, as the people of Denmark. Gibraltar, Malta, the Ionian Islands, America, the West Indies, the South of Africa, the immense Empire of India, and Australasia, receive citizens from England, but add not to their number. The power of England is universally extended; her associations are no where to be found.

Such has been, in every age, the false policy of aristocracies; and the constitution of England approaches nearer to an aristocracy, than to any other form of government. In the middle ages, Venice, governed by an opulent oligarchy, had extended her conquests over a vast and rich territory, which had long contributed to her grandeur without being incorporated to her State. Dalmatia, and its islands, the Morca, and part of the Archipelago, Candia, and half of Lombardy, obeyed the republic. To ensure indemnity for its tyranny at home, the senate connived at the oppression of the tributary states. Having destroyed the liberty of the citizens of Venice, it allowed the nobles to tyrannize over the gentry of the continent: the latter imitated the conduct of their superiors; and every Italian subject of Venice claimed the privilege of oppressing the natives of Istria, Dalmatia, and Greece. When Holland had extended her empire and her commerce in both the Indies, she, too, might have founded a great nation, by admitting the conquered people to the privileges of Dutch subjects; but, preferring to send petty tyrants to Curaçao, to Surinam Batavia, and the Moluccas, every new

acquisition confirmed her weakness, by a constant drain on her population, necessary to retain in dependance and in fear, her negro slaves, or her Indian subjects. Other aristocracies, less celebrated and less powerful, have committed similar errors. Berne always distrusted the Pays de Vaud, and Genoa the two Rivieri. The power of Venice, Genoa, Berne, and Holland, yielded to the first shock, because the number of their citizens bore no proportion to the extent of their dominion; and the same fate may perhaps be the destiny of England.

There is, however, this difference between the aristocracy of England, and the aristocracies of Venice, of Holland, and of Berne, that while the abuses of the latter were involved in darkness, the former is enlightened by publicity. The English people have become sensible of their danger, they have triumphed over their own prejudices, and forced the ministry, and part of the aristocracy, into a new career. The first step has been already taken by the emancipation of Ireland. It is only necessary to proceed with courage, to incorporate all the dependencies of Great Britain by an intimate union of their people with the English, and the British Empire will not only regain the eminence which it has occupied for twenty years, but be raised to a much higher rank and become at once the most vast, flourishing, and populous empire of the world. The emancipation of Ireland is accomplished, that of India has already commenced. This second fusion of two people into one will be of infinitely more importance than the first. By the first, eight millions of citizens were gained by England, a hundred millions will be gained by the second, men who are civilized, industrious, and brave, and inhabiting the finest country on the earth. The India question must be discussed in our days in all its extent. Already the contest has commenced between the tyrants and the advocates of the people of India. The former will, perhaps, maintain the abuses by which they profit with the same desperation, the same outrages against their opponents, and the same disregard of the interests of their country, which characterized the conduct of those who resisted the emancipation of Ireland. They, on the other hand, who demand freedom for India, at the expiration of the charter, in 1833, have hitherto announced their objects, with reserve, and are, perhaps, not quite sensible of their full extent. New light, however, continually bursts upon the question; the advocates of Indian emancipation at first thought only of extending the freedom of trade, they have begun to think of the liberty of man, to direct their efforts to the improvement of their species, and every day adds to their success. If appeals are more frequently made to the domestic and pecuniary interests of the people of England, than to their conscience, or their patriotism, it is merely to ensure attention. The progress of Reform is in all countries slow, particularly in England. For this reason we are not quite



sure that the absurd and odious government of the Company will be abolished in 1833, or the people of India raised to an equal participation of rights and privileges with the English, but of this we are confident, that a great effort will be made to extend to them an effective protection, and to assert in their persons the dignity of human nature.

If other nations of Europe were actuated by the base and narrow selfishness which the greater part of the English Journalists have avowed in discussing the affairs of the Levant, they would certainly have the same interest, and consequently the same right, to prevent the improvement of India, which the English claim to prevent the improvement of Turkey. It might be said with reason, that the incorporation of India with England is much more dangerous to the independence of Europe, than the incorporation of Turkey with Russia. The increase of power to the former, would be greater and more available. The powers of Europe might declare that they would not permit the abolition of the Company's sovereignty, as we are told by the 'Times,' that the people of England will resist the dismemberment of Turkey. So prodigious an accession of population, riches, industry, and territory, an accession which would add a hundred millions of subjects to the British empire, is surely of a nature to alarm the greatest nations of Europe. We reject, for our part, with indignation, a policy, cruel, jealous, and immoral, and opposed to the progress of humanity in every part of the world. Wherever good can be done we ardently desire its consummation; if any government can increase its resources by increasing the knowledge, the virtue, the security, the liberty, the rights of its subjects, we applaud its efforts; and if other states are alarmed for the balance of power, let them emulate the example and add to their own strength by extending the happiness of their people. With this view we have endeavoured, and shall continue our exertions to interest the people of France, in the great question of Indian freedom, which must soon be discussed in England. The work of which the title is prefixed to this article, is one of the ablest and most instructive of those which have recently appeared in favour of the Natives. The manner in which it is executed justifies the motto which the author has taken from the *Essays* of Bacon. "I take goodness in this sense—the seeking the weal of men, which is, what the Grecians call philanthropia. This, of all virtues and dignities of the mind, is the greatest, being the character of the Deity, and without it, man is a busy, mischievous, wretched thing—no better than a kind of vermin.\*

Mr. Rickards dedicates his work to the Natives of India, as a pledge of his grateful remembrance, esteem, and regard, and in the hope that the discussions which must shortly take place in Parliament regarding India, their interests, prosperity, and happiness, will be deemed of paramount importance in the measures to

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\* *Essays*, vol. ii. p. 230.

be adopted for the future government of their own country. 'Having lived,' says Mr. Rickards, 'twenty-three years in India, and passed much of that time in intimate intercourse with various Natives, I have a different opinion of their character to that given in several printed works. I have constantly seen, in their acts and conduct, the practice of the most amiable virtues; I have experienced from many the most grateful attachment; I believe them capable of all the qualities that can adorn the human mind; and though I allow many of their imputed faults (where is the individual or nation without them?) I must still ascribe those faults more to the rigour of the despotism under which they have so long groaned, and which unhappily we have but slenderly alleviated, than to natural depravity of disposition, or to any institutions peculiar to themselves.'

The East India Company, in order to induce a belief that their exclusive privileges were the only means of conducting the government and commerce of India, have constantly endeavoured to confirm an opinion, already very generally received, that the condition of the Hindoos was stationary and unalterable, because every thing in the state of society in which they exist is regulated by the peculiar dogmas of their religion. We were told, that the people were divided into four castes, among whom all intermixture was impossible, that children were brought up invariably in the profession of their parents, unable either to retrograde or advance, and continued to make the same things in the same fashion, without being permitted to conform to the taste or the wants of the consumers. Their food was represented to be entirely vegetable, their clothing a cotton rag, furnished by the industry of their own country, and in both, all alteration or addition were strictly prohibited by their religion. A people, said the advocates of the Company, whose productions can neither vary nor improve, and who are forbidden to purchase articles of a different quality from those to which they are habituated, encourage but slight hopes of commercial profit to the merchant, or of intellectual improvement to the moralist; they would consider themselves polluted by association with strangers; the settlement of Europeans in the interior, would drive them to revolt; and England, in vain attempts to effect their civilization, would lose the sovereignty of India. It is curious to learn from the statements of Mr. Rickards, the extent to which the English government, and all Europe, were deceived, by these false representations. India, in truth, approaches nearer to the civilization of England and of France, than Spain, or Poland, or Hungary. The misery and ignorance of the Natives is attributable not to themselves, but to their Rulers, to their Mussulman conquerors, and to the oppressive government of the East India Company.

In the Gentoo code the human race is divided into four classes. 1st. The Brahmins, or priests; 2. The Chhatrya, or soldiers; 3. The Vaysia, or industrious classes, engaged in agriculture, com-

merce or manufactures. These three first classes are considered noble, and are designated twice-born, or regenerated. The fourth class, the Sudras, are destined to be the servants of the preceding, and to them the precepts of the legislator are not addressed. The introduction to the Gentoo code and the laws of Menu, son of Brahma, published at least 880 years before Christ, teach us, that even at that epoch the corruption of manners had so confused the four races, that a new class had sprung up called Barrun-sunker, composed of an innumerable variety of castes, which had lost their original purity, and were all strangers to those rules of life which are imposed only on the regenerated, or twice-born. This mixed race enjoyed an absolute liberty of devoting themselves to any profession or occupation, excepting the priesthood, which was reserved to the Brahmins. In fact, the caste of Brahmins is the only one which continues distinct, the others having almost entirely disappeared. Among the Princes of India, the Paishwa is the only Brahmin ; the remainder are of the mixed race Barrun-sunker ; the Indian armies are composed of soldiers of all denominations ; the mixed race has also usurped the occupations originally reserved to the Vaysia and the Sudra, and are engaged in every branch of domestic service, of commerce, agriculture, and handicraft. Spite of this terrible division of castes, respecting which so much noise has been made, there has never been experienced the smallest difficulty in supplying the increasing demand for labour in all its varieties. Besides, the people of India are not exclusively Hindoos. The Mussulmans, the Native Portuguese, the Christians, the Persians, the Armenians, the Jews, constitute at least fifteen millions, who have never been subject to the institution of caste. If the mass of the population were really as much enslaved by their superstitions as they were represented to have been, these free men would speedily have engrossed all the lucrative occupations of the Country.

It is equally false that the Religion of the Hindoos prohibits the use of animal food. The mixed races are, in this respect, subject to no positive restrictions. Those who live in comparative ease, for the most part, eat meat every day, others affect the Brahminical purity, and are contented with more simple food. The Hindoo market, at Bombay, is always plentifully supplied with mutton, venison and fish ; many Hindoos employ themselves in hunting and fishing, and the cow is the only animal of whose flesh they refuse to partake. It is true that the Laws of Menu contain, in the first 56 verses of the 5th chapter, rules for the regulation of the food of the twice born. These rules require abstinence from all meat which has not been previously offered in sacrifice, but as daily sacrifices are prescribed, the inference from this fact is rather that the use of meat is enjoined, than that it is prohibited. It appears, therefore, that in the accounts which we have received respecting the restraints of the Hindoo Religion, a gross exaggeration or rather a gross imposture has been practised. That

they are not incapable of conceiving new wants, of applying themselves to new occupations, or of making advances in industry and intellectual acquirements, has been proved by the prodigious increase of the Indian Trade since the first relaxation of the Charter. In 1813 the Company annually exported merchandize to India and China of the value of a million sterling. The exports of the Free Traders to India alone have increased, from 1814 to 1826, from half a million to three millions and a-half.

Mr. Rickards appeals to the testimony of Bishop Heber, whose journal has been recently published, in proof of his assertion that the Hindoos are a civilized and improving race.

‘But to say that the Hindoos, or Mussulmans, are deficient in any essential feature of a civilized people, is an assertion which I can scarcely suppose to be made by any who have lived with them; their manners are, at least, as pleasing and courteous as those in the corresponding stations of life among ourselves; their houses are larger, and according to their wants and climate, to the full as convenient as ours;—their architecture is at least as elegant, and though the worthy Scotch divines may doubtless wish their labourers to be clad in ‘hoddie gray,’ and their gentry and merchants to wear powder and mottled stockings, like worthy Mr.—— and the other elders of his kirk-session, I really do not think that they would gain either in cleanliness, elegance, or comfort, by exchanging a white cotton robe for the completest suits of ditto—nor is it true that in the mechanic arts, they are inferior to the general run of European nations. Where they fall short of us (which is chiefly in agricultural implements, and the mechanics of common life) they are not, so far as I have understood, of Italy, and the South of France, surpassed in any great degree by the people of those countries. Their goldsmiths and weavers produce as beautiful fabrics as our own, and it is so far from true that they are obstinately wedded to their old patterns, that they shew an anxiety to imitate our models, and do imitate them very successfully. The ships built by Native artists at Bombay, are notoriously as good as any which sail from London or Liverpool. The carriages and gigs which they supply at Calcutta, are as handsome, though not as durable, as those of Long Acre. In the little town of Monghyr, 300 miles from Calcutta, I had pistols, double-barrelled guns, and different pieces of cabinet work, brought down to my boat for sale, which in outward form (for I know no further) nobody but perhaps Mr.—— could detect to be of Hindoo origin; and at Delhi, in the shop of a wealthy Native jeweller, I found brooches, ear-rings, snuff-boxes, &c. of the latest models (so far as I am a judge) and ornamented with French devices and mottos.’ (Bishop Heber’s Journal, vol. in p. 382.)

‘Nor have their (the Hindoos) religious prejudices, and the unchangeableness of their habits, been less exaggerated. Some of

the best informed of their nation, with whom I have conversed, assured me, that half their most remarkable customs of civil and domestic life are borrowed from their Mohammedan conquerors; and at present there is an obvious and increasing disposition to imitate the English in every thing, which has already led to very remarkable changes, and will, probably, to still more important. The wealthy Natives, now all affect to have their houses decorated with Corinthian pillars, and filled with English furniture; they drive the best horses and the most dashing carriages in Calcutta; many of them speak English fluently; and are tolerably read in English literature, and the children of one of our friends I saw one day dressed in jackets and trowsers, with round hats, shoes and stockings. In the Bengalee newspapers, of which there are two or three, politics are canvassed with a bias, as I am told, inclining to Whiggism; and one of their leading men gave a great dinner not long since in honour of the Spanish revolution—among the lower orders the same feeling shews itself more beneficially in a growing neglect of caste.' (Bishop Heber's Journal, vol. ii. p. 306.)

'Their general character has much which is extremely pleasing to me; they are brave, courteous, intelligent, and most eager after knowledge and improvement, with a remarkable talent for the sciences of geometry, astronomy, &c., as well as for the arts of painting, and sculpture.'

'I have been passing the last four days in the society of a Hindoo Prince, the Raja of Tanjore, who quotes Fourcroy, Lavoisier, Linnæus, and Buffon fluently, has formed a more accurate judgment of the poetical merits of Shakspeare, than that so felicitously expressed by Lord Byron, and has actually emitted English poetry very superior indeed to Rousseau's epitaph on Shenstone.'

These extracts, which might be almost indefinitely multiplied, introduce us to a people already far advanced in civilization, and capable of uniting with a European nation, at least as intimately as if they bordered on each other. Since the period when it first acquired territorial power, the Company has spared no exertions to keep the Hindoos and the English separate and distinct. Until the year 1813, every Englishman, not bound by express covenant of allegiance to the Company, was rigidly excluded. Even now, no European establishment is permitted to take root, and yet the extraordinary improvement above described has already taken place. Can any one doubt that when the same equality of laws, protection, and rights, which British subjects enjoy in Canada, for example, shall be extended to India, that the habits and usages of European life will be rapidly extended, and that a people, already so far advanced in arts, in literature, and in social organization, may soon be in a condition to enjoy some degree of political liberty?

In the second part of Mr. Rickards's work, is an account of the

wars and revolutions of India during the last eight centuries. This is an abridgment of the history of Ferishta, who lived in the Deccan in the 17th century. We do not remember to have read of such accumulated horrors and massacres in so short a space. The object of this part of Mr. Rickards's work is to show, that India has always been the victim of oppression; that even those sovereigns, whose wisdom, magnanimity, and humanity, have been most celebrated, Baber, Akbar, and Aurungzebe, have disgraced their reigns by the most monstrous and perfidious cruelties; and that to their oppressions, rather than to the character or religion of the Natives, is attributable their stationary condition. This part of the work, however, gives rise to a reflection, which the author has not even suggested: it is, that notwithstanding the vices inherent in the government and constitution of the East India Company, the people, acknowledging its rule, have been great gainers by the subjection of their Hindoo and Mussulman tyrants. Bad as the present system is, there is nothing in it which recalls those dreadful times, when the inhabitants of populous cities, and of extensive provinces, were condemned to perish by the sword; when a conqueror, who drove forty or fifty thousand captives into the deserts of Tartary, was deemed a paragon of meekness and humanity, merely because he spared their lives! The most terrible resolutions of phrenzy and despair were then of such frequent occurrence, that words, expressive of them, had become incorporated into the common language of the people. *Wulsa*, was the determination of the inhabitants of extensive tracts to take refuge from the fury of their assailants in the jungles, or the deserts; *joar*, was the indiscriminate massacre of the women and children, and the destruction of their bodies by fire, previous to the last assault upon the enemy. Since the establishment of the English power, the *wulsa* and the *joar* are alike forgotten; multitudes are no longer slaughtered; nor whole nations swept into captivity; nor trophies raised with the heads of the vanquished. If the princes and landed proprietors of the country have been ruined and dispossessed, their tenure was at all times precarious; and the confiscation of their property may have passed, for an ordinary occurrence in India. Fresh wealth has been accumulated in the cities, a new class of men have attained opulence and knowledge; and if a fatal error in the administration of the East India Company did not render this wealth unproductive, India might soon rise to the level of the most civilized and contented countries of the world.

This great error is to be found in the detestable system inherited from the Mussulman predecessors of the Company, by which the fee-simple of all the lands of India is held to be the property of the sovereign. Though India may boast many flourishing cities, Mr. Rickards is of opinion that nine-tenths of the population are employed in agriculture. This large proportion of the inhabitants are neither slaves, nor labourers, nor farmers, nor proprietors; they

are *Métayers*, (Ryots), and they share, or ought to share, in equal portions with the State, the produce of their labour. They differ, in this respect, from the *Métayers* of all other countries, that they hold of no proprietors, and have no superiors, except the farmers and agents of Government, the Zemindars, with whom they account for the share of their produce, which is the property of the State. Of Mr. Rickards's work, the third part is devoted to explain the principles of this system of territorial Revenue, its successive introduction into the conquered provinces, and the various modifications which it has undergone, in the vain hope of rendering it less oppressive to the cultivator. The Ryots are in fact reduced to a state of the most abject poverty, nothing is left to them but a bare sufficiency for existence; they are harassed, oppressed and threatened without intermission, and the least delay in their payments is punished with the utmost severity, sometimes even by torture. So great is their misery, that they can afford no outlays on their land, their husbandry is rude and slovenly, and without reserving any thing for themselves, they produce but little for their Rulers. The interest of the Zemindar is not such as to induce him to undertake improvements; besides, he is often distressed himself; the Company never give it a thought, and the consequence is, that no capital is employed to fertilize the earth. Yet, oppressive as this system is, alterations which it would not be very difficult to introduce, might convert it into a process of cultivation, of all others, the most desirable, and which in some parts of Europe is the source of great happiness to the people. It is not the Hindoos who prevent the accomplishment of this change, by clinging with ignorant obstinacy to their ancient habits: the fault is with the East India Company, which, by maintaining its inalienable property in the soil, and refusing to grant or sell any portion of it to individuals, and above all to Englishmen, afflicts its empire with sterility, its subjects with misery, and perpetuates the embarrassments of its own Revenue.

Mr. Rickards, on the authority of Parliamentary returns on the Corn Laws, asserts, that the net revenue of a country cannot exceed a fourth of the whole produce, and that the remaining three-fourths, are necessary to replace the capital of the farmer, and to the support of the labourers. This may very well be, in England, where Agriculture has reached a high state of perfection, and where large capitals are invested in land. But it is notorious, that in many parts of France, the *Métayer* lives in comfort on half of the produce of the fields which he tills, and that his condition is very far superior to that of the free peasantry of Poland and Denmark, who give half the produce of their labour, and of the Hungarians, from whom two-thirds are expected. In southern climates, where solar heat and abundant moisture combine their power, and where perennial plants are more productive, and require less attention than annuals, particularly in the vicinity of the tropics, half the har-

vest amply supplies the wants of the cultivator. In Italy, and more especially in Tuscany, the *Métayer* performs all the annual labour, and is remunerated by half the produce; the proprietor receives the remainder, and is charged with the burthen of the taxes. In the state of Lucca, the *Métayer* is entitled only to a third of the harvest; and if there are many chesnut trees or olives on his farm, he is well contented with his condition. The *Métayer* of Tuscany, is for the most part much happier, and more independent than English Cottagers, who are employed in agricultural labour. He is better fed, and on holidays better clad; though the climate does not require much clothing, and custom permits him to be meanly dressed, and bare footed on working days. His house too is more wholesome, his condition more secure, and his future prospects more encouraging. Again, he can only be dismissed for misconduct, and in this respect, the situation of the Ryot is still preferable, for what custom only has established in Tuscany, is secured to him by law. 'The Ryot,' says Mr. Rickards, 'had an hereditary right of occupancy in the lands they cultivated, and they could not be dispossessed, as long as they continued to pay their rents, according to a local rate of land, called Nirk, or Nerick, established in each pergunnah.' Although only half the harvests of Tuscany are the property of the Landlords, this portion has sufficed for the accumulation of prodigious fortunes; large capitals are invested in agriculture, and husbandry is conducted with a degree of intelligence and skill, well deserving the imitation of countries, which, like it, are favoured by the sun. The proprietor out of half the produce, pays the land tax, which never exceeds a fifth of his share, or a tenth of the gross produce of the soil, and yet this tax is much more productive than that of the East India Company, which exacts four-fifths.

The Revenue of the Bengal Presidency, with its dependencies, viz. Bahar, Orissa Benares, ceded provinces in Oude, conquered provinces, and ceded territory on the Nerbudda, produced in 1828, 9,227,683*l.* 6*s.*

Of Madras, including the Circars and Jaghire lands, Carnatic, Tanjore—ceded and conquered provinces; Mysore, Malabar—countries ceded by the Nizam, and subsidy from Mysore, Travancore and Cochin . . . . . £5,144,870 8

Of Bombay, with the provinces ceded by Guicowar and ceded by, or conquered from, the Mahrattas . . . 3,526,472 12

Total Land Revenue of India . . . . .	17,949,026	6
From other sources . . . . .	3,147,940	0

Total . . . . .	£21,096,966	6
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This, no doubt, is a very considerable revenue, but it is not more than half of that of France, or a third of that of England. It is



raised in a country infinitely more productive than either, and paid by a people, at least as industrious, and four times as numerous as the inhabitants of France. The rigour with which it is collected is so great, that nothing remains to nine-tenths of the population; a fact which alone furnishes the clearest possible proof of the incapacity and tyranny of the Company's Government. If India were treated like France it might reasonably be expected, from the character of its people, its climate, soil, industry, and commerce, that it would produce an annual revenue of 160 millions, and remain in a state of continually increasing improvement. It would be tedious to enter into minute details respecting the collection of the Indian Revenue, but it may be well to explain, how a system known in Europe as the happy means of rescuing the peasantry from slavery, and which might have diffused ease and happiness among a hundred millions in India, has become a source of oppression and misery, and often reduced them to despair. In Italy, the numerous proprietors who are scattered over the surface of the soil, grow attached to their lands, take pride in adorning and enriching them, receive their share of the produce in kind, are punctually repaid their advances to the *Métayer* during the year, and assist his experience by their scientific acquirements: In India, on the other hand, the Zemindar demands his portion in money, and values it by an arbitrary and oppressive standard, for the Ryot is by no means sure of a market at all times, and is frequently unable to dispose of his crops. Besides, as the Government requires monthly payments from the Zemindar, he also exacts them from the Ryot—and the delay of one month exposes the former to the sale of his farm, the latter to the distraint of his goods, to imprisonment, and often to torture. The inevitable consequence of this absurd severity has been an immense increase of suits, sales of confiscated land, are constantly occurring, and the security of the cultivator and his attachment to the soil are completely destroyed. The increase of revenue being the main object of the Indian Government, the judicial and financial duties are habitually confounded, and the same magistrate not unfrequently officiates as collector and judge. Add to these sources of extortion and vexation, the inevitable consequences of the concentration of the whole property in a single hand, the total destruction of all local attachments, the denial of all advances to agriculture, the absence of all skill and intelligence, to direct the operations of husbandry, and the wretched state of Indian cultivation will be easily understood, and its financial results excite no surprise. The appropriation of the whole territory has, in fact, produced less revenue to government, than a tenth of the produce would have afforded, had the property been left in the hands of individuals.

It is not our intention to enter into an examination of the various schemes of reform which have already been attempted, or to wait for the suggestion of those, which Mr. Rickards gives us reason to

expect in a later part of his work. We say to the English Government, employ no untried expedients, but consult experience, and profit by example. Among the numbers of Englishmen who fill the museums and *salons* of Italy, no doubt, some few have directed their attention to the classes who cultivate the earth. Let *them* tell their government, that in Tuscany, there are a million of active, intelligent, industrious *contadini*, resembling the ninety millions of Indian *Ryots* who are subject to the Company, that the influence of their priesthood, is at least as much opposed to their improvement as that of the Brahmins is to the improvement of the Hindoos; that their intellectual cultivation is not more advanced, and yet, though their soil is for the most part poor, they not only subsist in great comfort and abundance on half of its produce, but are often enabled to save sufficient to purchase the actual property of their lands, subject only to a small quit rent, payable to the former owner; that the remainder of the produce diffuses opulence among numerous small proprietors—maintains an ancient aristocracy in splendour—supports a wealthy clergy—supplies the expenditure of the Court—of Societies for the encouragement of literature, science and art, which are celebrated throughout Europe—and of all the civil and military machinery of Government. In India, on the contrary, the *Ryots* live on the lowest scale of possible subsistence, with the best soil and the finest climate in the world. Almost naked, and harassed by continual threats and punishments, their immediate superior is a Zemindar, as poor and wretched as themselves; their sovereign a Joint-stock Company, the members of which, buy and sell their shares for money, thoughtless and careless of their subjects, and contributing in no way to their welfare. The Government of England should reflect, that though it may sometime longer be able to retain the people of India in their present state of misery and dependance, that they have imbibed enough of English feeling to desire a change. Their subjects already rank among civilized nations; they are entitled to every degree of moral and intellectual development, and to as much liberty as they are capable of enjoying. Having already entered on the career of improvement, they will continue to advance; privileges, refused as favours, will be extorted as rights; and if the time should ever arrive when the immense power of India shall be turned against her, England will fall from a great eminence, with the melancholy reflection of having marred, by a narrow selfishness, her glorious destiny, and accelerated her own decline.

J. C. L. DE SISMONDI.

## THE BRITISH SWORD.

BY ALLAN CUNNINGHAM.

*From the Literary Souvenir, 1827.*

O! BRITISH SWORD! thy steel was formed  
 When thunder-bolts flew fast;  
 Thy blade was forged 'mid fire of heaven,  
 And tempered in its blast;  
 Nought living could endure thy stroke  
 Below the sun or moon,—  
 All sank beneath thy sheer descent,  
 Napoleon or Mahoun.  
 I see thee gleaming in the air  
 Like God's avenging fire,—  
 The fiercest hearts are struck with awe,  
 And tremble and retire.

O, British sword!—O, British sword!  
 The nations hailed thy gleam,  
 From savage Nieper's frozen banks  
 To Seine's romantic stream;  
 Ye struck the tyrant in his strength,  
 And with his chosen band,  
 Heaped Catalonia's caverned shore,  
 And Ebro's silver sand.  
 Upon the shore ye shone a sun,  
 And on the sea a star,—  
 Bear witness, woods of Waterloo,  
 And waves of Trafalgar.

O, British sword!—O, British sword!  
 Thy name I name with awe;  
 Thy blade, nought that is base can bide,  
 Nought that's unholy draw,—  
 No tyrant e'er shall strike with thee,  
 Thy aid no gold can hire,—  
 For who may bribe the thunder-bolt,  
 Or wield eternal fire.—  
 Joy of the weak, dread of the strong,  
 Our king, the ocean-lord,  
 Has with thee freed the world from chains;—  
 Farewell thou British sword!

**AMERICAN MANUFACTURES.—CONVENTION AT HARRISBURG.—  
EAST INDIA MONOPOLY.**

HALF a century ago, while Great Britain still smarted under the loss of America, and the affairs of our Eastern Empire were in a state of embarrassment and confusion, Mr. Burke thought that all the misfortunes of the country might be traced to the single source of our not having had before our eyes, a general, comprehensive, well-connected, and well-proportioned view of the whole of our dominions, and a just sense of their true bearing and relations. What was then said of our sovereign power, is now true of our commercial supremacy. The experience of fifty years of amicable intercourse with our emancipated colonies, equally beneficial to ourselves and to them, had refuted the calculations of those who had anticipated, from their separation, the calamity and ruin of this country. The sense of its own interest and advantage, and the conviction of our mercantile pre-eminence, seemed to have imposed upon the infant nation, a state of dependance on its parent, infinitely more advantageous to the latter, than any which the acknowledgment of direct dominion, or formal respect to Acts of Parliament, could confer. This difference, however, there was between the old relations of the two countries and the new, that, under the altered state of things, our influence was only to be maintained by actual superiority. America, from the condition of subjection, rose at once into the dignity of a rival. Fettered by no prejudices, cramped by no restrictions, and full of all the energy and activity of youth, we soon found her a more formidable competitor in the race of prosperity, than any with whom our strength had previously been tried. Every year her people have approached nearer and nearer to the standard of our own improvement; all that was good in our commercial system, had been carefully selected; and all that was bad, judiciously laid aside; their connexions were gradually and cheaply, by treaty, and not by conquest, universally extended; their domestic industry was prudently encouraged; their peculiar interests accurately ascertained, until, by the slow but certain process of economy, diligence, and precaution, from being dependent upon us, they proclaim that we have become dependent upon them. Unfortunately there is more of truth in the exaggerated boast, than it is pleasant to acknowledge. Instead of maintaining our superiority, and securing their good-will, by husbanding our own resources, and rendering them equal to our wants, we have failed to improve the capabilities of the dominions which remained to us, and are outstripped, not so much by the speed of our rivals, as by our own indolence and neglect.

Of all the evils which result from the Monopoly of the East India Company, there is none so galling and injurious as the stimulus

which it has given to American competition. Since the treaty of 1793, by which the people of the United States obtained the right of unrestricted access to the ports of India, a privilege not extended to the English until 1813, they have met us in the markets of the Eastern world, on terms of incalculable advantage. While the commerce of their chartered rivals was burthened by the most exorbitant outlays, in Europe and in Asia, theirs was conducted on a system of prudential, thrifty, unostentatious economy, which insured a profit on every adventure : they had no expensive factories ; no magnificent establishments, to vie with the unwieldy splendour of the Royal Merchants ; by wise adherence to strict neutrality amidst the quarrels of Europe, their flag had become familiar to continental ports, from which ours was excluded ; the lowness of the freights, and other charges to which their trade was subject, enabled them to contest with the East India Company the supply of manufactured goods to India, China, and the Eastern Islands ; and they brought to Marseilles, Havre, Altona, and Hamburgh, varied assortments of American and Asiatic products, collected in a voyage round the world.

Such was the relative condition of the Eastern trade of the Americans, and the East India Company, at the expiration of the last Charter. Since that time, more active candidates have entered into the lists, and if the exertions of our free traders had met with moderate encouragement, or had been permitted to work their own way to prosperity, we should have little reason to regret the earlier successes of our rivals. But the concessions of 1813 were so exceedingly parsimonious, that the British merchant remained subject to many disadvantages. He could not sail in a vessel of less burthen than 500 tons ; he could only touch at three ports in India, Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay ; all traffic was prohibited to him in tea, the principal article of Asiatic export ; he was expressly forbidden to 'haunt the dominions of the Emperor of China ;' he was not allowed to enter any part of Continental Europe, and was bound to return to the Thames. Under such multiplied restraints, it could hardly be expected that our traders would have been long in a condition to cope with the vigorous emulation of their transatlantic rivals, and had it not been for the superior skill of our artisans, our immense power of machinery, and the excellence of our cotton and woollen goods, we must long since have relinquished the unequal contest. Unfortunately we relied too much on the permanence of a superiority, which, though mainly attributable to our own exertions, was not so entirely. The Americans, hurt at the exclusion of their agricultural produce from the consumption of England, have now determined to create a market for it at home. The tariffs of 1824 and 1828 indicate a determination to exclude British goods from the markets of the United States. If we threaten them with the prohibition of their cotton wool, their rice,

or their tobacco, they remind us of the inferiority of the produce of our Eastern Empire; they tell us that before the time arrives when the first step can be made to improve the cultivation of cotton in Bengal, in Guzerat, or in Cutch, their manufactures will be equal to our own; that in the mean time we must feed our looms with their cotton wool, or submit to be undersold in all the markets of Asia. If we venture to retaliate on the new American system, we not only lose the consumption of the United States, but risk an unequal contest in all the countries east of the Cape of Good Hope. Surely Mr. Huskisson was right, when he said that Parliament should come to some arrangement with the Company before the expiration of the Charter.

These remarks have been suggested by the perusal of the proceedings of the general convention of agriculturists, and manufacturers, from the several states of Connecticut, Delaware, Massachusetts, New York, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, and Virginia, convened at the capitol, in Harrisburg, July 30, 1827.\* This convention had its origin in a resolution of the Pennsylvania Society, for the encouragement of manufactures and the mechanic arts, recommending the friends of agriculture and manufactures, in the different states of the Union, to appoint delegates to consult on the state of their domestic industry. To form a correct judgment of the state of public opinion in the American Republic, before the suggestions of the Harrisburg convention received the sanction of Congress, it will be necessary to take a brief view of the various parties, the conflicting interests of which distracted the commercial policy of the American legislature. The tariff of duties, on goods imported into the United States, enacted in 1824, was not passed without much and violent opposition. The shipping and commercial interest, comprising a considerable portion of the New England states and the Atlantic coast, were opposed to it; the manufacturers of Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, and of the Eastern and Western states, urged the extension of its principle. The agriculturists were divided—Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, and Louisiana, where the principal growers of produce, such as cotton, rice, tobacco, calculated for the foreign market, reside, were all hostile to it; and the grain growers of Pennsylvania, New York, New England, and the Western States, its warm supporters. The discussions on the question in the house of Representatives, were conducted with temper and forbearance. The majorities, which at the commencement had been from twenty to thirty in favour of the several items under consideration, were, towards the conclusion, reduced to from one to twelve. A proposition for the adjournment of Congress at an early day, being an indirect attempt to arrest the further pro-

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\* Papers relative to American Tariffs, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 25th July, 1828.

gress of the bill, was negatived by the casting voice of the Speaker. The bill was carried to a third reading by a majority of only three voices, and finally passed the Lower House by a majority of five, almost every member of the House, sick or well, being present.

We have been thus particular in stating the circumstances under which the tariff of 1824 was passed, because it appears from them, that the feeling in its favour was at first almost neutralized by one of an opposite tendency, and that a little timely interference on our part would have prevented a measure, the effects of which we may yet have much reason to deplore. Had we, in 1828, by a slight relaxation of our own corn laws, mitigated the hostility of the grain growers of the United States; had the improvement of the culture of Indian cotton by European skill and enterprise, enabled us to dispense with supplies from the Carolinas and Louisiana, the supporters of the obnoxious bill would have been less numerous, its opponents much more active, and in all probability it never would have passed. Having, however, once taken root, the 'American system' grew apace, and by the Act of 1828, the most objectionable provisions of the former tariff were extended and confirmed. On the meeting of the convention at Harrisburg, several committees were appointed to inquire into the state of the manufactures of the United States, in order to ascertain how far it might be possible to carry into effect the proposed innovations. The reports of these Committees are well deserving the attention of the merchants and manufacturers of England. They claim, in an especial manner, the consideration of all who are interested in the Indian trade. From them it appears that all the manufactures which are in most request among the nations of Asia, are rapidly advancing to perfection in America—America, from whose ports so early as 1818, 214 vessels were absent on trading voyages beyond the Cape of Good Hope.—America, whose relations are extended to every part of the known world—whose merchantmen have long been laden with British goods in the Mersey and the Thames, and whose trade is free and unfettered as the winds of the immense oceans which bound her coasts.

The principal exports from England to the East Indies and China, are of steel and iron, cotton and woollen goods. Respecting these branches of manufactures in America, the following are extracts from the Reports of Committees to the Harrisburg Convention.

#### IRON.

The value of Iron and its manufactures imported into the United States, in the treasury year, 1826, was 5,514,873*l.*, from which may be judged how nearly the domestic production reaches the home supply.

‘ In respect to many articles, the imports exhibit that our manu-

factures are nearly equal to the demand. The chief things in which we are deficient are side arms, and articles of ironmongery, including cutlery, iron and steel wire, sheet and hoops, hammered bar iron, and steel, and the manufacture of some of these is increasing.

Wood screws, mill-saws, anchors, &c., will not probably be required from abroad much longer; but hammered bar iron, steel, and the manufactures included in "other articles not specified," are large in amount, and the greater part of the whole may, and will, be made as cheaply in the United States, if assured of protection against influxes of foreign production. *The chief part, indeed nearly the whole of the 5,514,873 dollars paid for the iron imported, is paid to Great Britain, except on account of hammered bar iron, of which the value of 1,398,090 dollars was received in the last year from Sweden and Russia, (three-fourths from the former), the whole value of our exports to which countries were as follows:—*

	Domestic Articles.	Foreign.	Total.
Sweden and Norway . . . . .	\$ 126,034	88,489	214,523
Russia . . . . .	11,044	163,604	174,648
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$ 137,078	252,093	389,171

' This official view of the trade which the United States carries on with Sweden and Russia, should certainly induce us to attempt the whole manufacture of *hammered bar iron* for ourselves, and not remain dependant on those nations for so large a quantity of an indispensable article, *seeing that they take so little from us in return.* To "buy cheap and sell dear," is a favourite saying with certain economists; but *how* buy at all unless we can *sell*? *Why* buy, when we can make as cheaply for ourselves?

' The following particulars are authentic and interesting, and many others of like character will be met with in different parts of this appendix.

' There are in Centre county, Pennsylvania, 7 blast furnaces, capable of producing 8,600 tons, and actually producing 7,400, and employing 275 hands; and 9 forges, capable of producing 2,490 tons, and actually producing 2,050 tons, and employing 230 hands. The annual value of these manufactures is as follows:—

7,400 tons castings at \$ 30 . . . . .	\$ 222,000
2,050 d° bar iron . 100 . . . . .	205,000

Employing 505 hands, nearly all able bodied men, and probably subsisting at least 2,000 persons.

' There are also three rolling mills in this county, but the proceeds of them are not stated; and a manufactory of "wood screws," at which was made last year 10,700 gross. A specimen exhibited to the convention, showed them to be of the first quality, and the price was said to be low.



‘The furnaces of Huntingdon county, Pennsylvania, annually make about 6,000 tons.

‘Mr. Murray, of Clinton county, New York, stated in the convention, which met at Albany on the “Woollens Bill,” &c., that Essex and Clinton counties, in that state, supplied 2,000 tons of bar iron, and were capable of making 6,000 tons; and that an investment of about \$100,000 in the iron business furnished employment that fed 600 mouths, consuming 5,000 bushels of grain, 400 barrels of pork, &c., the products of the farmers.

‘Rhode Island imports about 19,200 tons of cast and bar iron annually, from New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

‘The site of Mount Pennfurnace, near Reading, Pa. was a wilderness five months ago, and now from 20 to 25 tons of pig metal are made weekly, giving value to that which was valueless, and employing many persons in a new business.

‘The iron manufactures of Maryland are extensive. General Ridgley’s works near Baltimore, are well known because of the superior article which they supply. Ore abounds in the neighbourhood of Baltimore.

‘Vermont, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky, all abound in iron ore, and have large manufactories of it. Ore is also plenty in several other states, and is manufactured in them.

‘Inexhaustible quantities of iron ore are found in Kentucky, there are 7 or 8 furnaces and about 15 forges in operation in this state. The primary markets, after supplies of the neighbourhood, are at Pittsburgh and Cincinnati.

‘As much machinery is exported from as is imported into the United States. In the manufacture of steam engines, from 150 horse power, or upwards, if required, to the most delicate adjustment of a spindle or power loom, we rival, if we do not excel, any other people, and our artists work as cheap as any. Much of the most approved machinery used in some of our factories is also of American invention, and improvements are made upon nearly all the models imported. We are independent of foreign workmen for these things; and can give as much knowledge as we receive, in cotton and woollen and other machinery.

‘The engine of 100 horse power built in Pittsburgh, and used to raise water to supply the summit level of the Union canal, cost, with its iron pumps and machinery only \$5,000. It is capable of raising 650,000 cubic feet of water 94 feet in 24 hours.

‘Among other manufactures of iron, we may notice one of mill-saws, at Philadelphia, of such superior quality and moderate price as already nearly to have prohibited the importation from Europe.

‘ One furnace at Barrington, requires 1,200 bushels of coal daily, to keep it in operation, and nearly five tons of pig iron are made every day; 100 hands are employed. The “ Sterling Company” in the city of New York, at a late date, employed 300 workmen, assisted by three steam engines, and working up five tons of iron per day, besides large quantities of copper, brass, &c. Anchors, chain cables, steam engines, and other machinery were made here.

‘ In Lincoln county, North Carolina, there are four furnaces and ten forges, which in 1823, made about 900 tons of bar iron, and 200 tons of castings. There are also extensive works in Stokes and Surry counties. It is every way sound policy in the people of the southern states to establish and encourage manufactures for themselves. We have no local views on this subject. It will, besides, increase the exchanges between the states and promote domestic competition, for the common benefit of all consumers.

‘ At Taunton, Massachusetts, 1,200 tons of nails are made annually, and 300 tons of plates, hoops and machinery. At Pittsburgh, there are seven rolling and slitting mills, eight air foundries, six steam engine factories, one wire factory, &c. Some of these are very large establishments; one of them has two engines of 100 and 120 horse power!

‘ A rolling mill on Esopus creek, New York, is fitted to manufacture 200 tons of iron weekly.

‘ In Morris county, New Jersey, there are seven rich iron mines, several furnaces, two rolling and slitting mills, and about thirty forges. The ore of some of these mines has all the desirable qualities of the Swedish, and when the Morris canal is made, will be worked very extensively.

‘ Iron abounds in the north of Ohio. It is stated as probable that 1,000 tons of pig iron were forwarded to New York, via the Erie canal, during the past season, from Painesville, where the ore is said to be so accessible as to cost at the works no more than 150 cents per ton. Three furnaces were at work, and three others, with as many forges, were building some time ago.

‘ The manufacture of steam engines is a very large and rapidly increasing business. Many *mechanics* begin to use those of one or two horse power, the cost of which is a trifle. The cotton and rice planters will soon have them to clean their cotton and rice, and there will be thousands of them scattered through our country in a few years. Much printing will be performed by steam power.

‘ We have no means by which to arrive at the certain value of the iron manufactures of the United States. Some of the items were thus given in the returns of the marshals for 1810—

Products of furnaces	-	-	-	-	\$ 2,981,277
bloomeries	-	-	-	-	226,034
forges	-	-	-	-	2,874,063

Products of trip hammers	-	-	-	-	327,898
rolling and slitting mills	-	-	-	-	1,215,946
nailerles	-	-	-	-	2,478,139
gun-smiths	-	-	-	-	593-993
steel furnaces	-	-	-	-	144,736

'The aggregate values, as stated in 1810, were probably one half short of the real values at that time. The returns of 1820 are so defective as to be useless for any general purpose, and were rightfully suppressed.'

#### COTTON.

'The Cotton manufacture in the United States has advanced with irresistible energy, being protected by the national government, to the incalculable advantage of all parties—planters, manufacturers and farmers; the first, in supplying the material, and the last in feeding the people employed in making cloth, &c. In 1808, there were only about 8,000 spindles; all in Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, and not more than 300,000 lbs. of cotton were used in them. *In the present year the mills will use about 70,000,000lbs. and before 1830, upwards of one hundred millions, unless some suicidal policy should be adopted by Congress.* What a market is thus created!

The goods made by our own mills are the cheapest and best in the world. They have driven like British goods out of every market accessible to us as to them, though our great rival has attempted to *counterfeit* our goods, in numerous instances, to deceive the people of Mexico and South America. Some small parcels of our goods have been smuggled into England, by way of experiment, and were sold at a good profit. *A thousand bales were exported from Baltimore to foreign places in one week of the last month (August); \* large quantities are shipped to the Mediterranean, and many bales have been sent to Canton! They would*

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\* These bales contain about 700 yards, the average value may be put down at 75 dollars, and the raw cotton required for the manufacture, at 200 lbs.

Let us see the result of this ordinary operation,

1,000 bales at 75 dollars	S 75,000
Deduct the value of 20,000 lbs. of cotton at 10 cents	20,000
	<hr/> S 55,000

Leaving 55,000 dollars actual profit on domestic labour, or for capital employed, and a clear gain to that amount to the country, as not one cent's worth less of value would have been exported had these goods never been made; and there is a considerable difference on account of freight, because of the longer voyages of the vessels carrying out the goods.

It is probable that about 3,000 bales of cottons have been exported from Baltimore since the first of April last to countries beyond Cape Horn, besides many have been sent to Mexico, Brazil, &c.

'The following amount of the foreign exportation of domestic goods from the port of New York, published in the "Statesman," is highly interesting :

ports, were - - - - - 736 packages.

[illegible]

1827 viz. 8 months preceding Aug. 31	- -	2,077	d°
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‘ It is supposed that about 4 or 4½ pounds of raw cotton, is the average daily amount used for each person employed in our cotton mills, the weavers not being counted. The bale of cotton, some weighing much more and some less, may be generally taken as a quantity representing nearly 400 lbs.

\* Six hundred and twenty-five thousand lbs. of cotton are annually manufactured in Oneida county, New York. The product of labour employed in the manufactories is estimated at 300,000 dollars a year. There are many other besides those of cotton; but not much is doing in the woollen business.

' Large quantities of American manufactured cotton goods are exported from New York to Canada, and the people are supplied with cottons cheaper than they can import them from England, the import duty of 15 per cent. being honestly paid.

‘ During the year ending on the 1st October 1827, there was exported from Petersburg, Va. 36,780 bales of cotton, to wit, 16,094 coastwise, and 20,686 to foreign places. Some part of this quantity was the product of North Carolina; but not a bale of Virginia cotton was exported a little while ago.

‘ Cotton is cultivated in Indiana and Illinois, but not extensively. Its quality is said to equal that of Tennessee. Its manufacture has commenced.

‘ Fifteen thousand yards of cotton cloth are wove daily at Lowell, Massachusetts.

‘ Greece, with the islands, emancipated and under settled government, is capable of supplying cotton, perhaps, nearly equal to the usual production of the United States, and at a much lower rate, because of the more moderate cost of labour. The quality also is excellent. Large quantities were heretofore manufactured in, as well as exported from Greece. British supplies were drawn from the Levant, assisted by some from the West Indies, previous to 1790.

‘ It is asserted that the crop of cotton in the United States exceeded 900,000 bales in 1826, \* and the present year’s crop, (without accident) it is supposed will amount to 1,000,000! If the price shall yet further fall, though it does not appear to yield the planter an average of more than 8 cents, let not the Tariff be blamed for it! The more we export of this great commodity, the less it generally brings us, as may be seen by a reference to the large table of exports and imports in a previous page. The year’s crop being usually successful, and the quantity a million of bales, we fear that not more than six cents can be realized for it. The increase goes far beyond the increasing demand. Much is said in some of the cotton growing states about making bagging out of cotton, to reduce the excess, and because of the duty upon the imported article. The cost at Dundee of foreign bagging is about 14 cents; the duty is  $3\frac{3}{4}$  cents per square yard, equal to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  cents per running yard, or only at the rate of 33 per cent, an amount moderate enough for “protection.” The Natchez “Ariel,” speaking of the complaints against the present high price of bagging, because of the failure of the hemp crops in Kentucky last year, observes, “We have seen the article bring 50 cents per yard, when there was no Tariff, and again 15 cents after the first duty was imposed. It must also be recollected, that the bagging now made in Kentucky, is fully 10 cents per yard better than it was in the years previous to 1820 or 1821.

‘ The following items are particularly addressed to the consideration of the cotton planters. If we have not exceedingly mistaken

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\* The receipt at New Orleans of the crop of 1826, up to the 1st September last, was 336,000 bales, 85,000 more than in the preceding year, though in that, because of the high price, every pound was pushed to market.

the facts, they are of overwhelming importance to this great interest of our country. We request that attention may be paid to the dates.

‘ For six years previous to 1816, the average importation of East India cotton into Great Britain, was 84,148 bales.

‘ But in 1816, the price of our uplands having advanced to 28 cents, 117,000 bales of East India cotton were imported in 1817 ; and the price rising to 32 cents, the quantity was increased to 247,604 bales in 1818 ! This caused a sudden fall of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  cents per lb. in the price of our cotton in January 1819, and it further declined to 16 cents in 1820 ; and, ranging between  $10\frac{1}{2}$  and  $15\frac{1}{2}$  cents in 1821, 1822, 1823 and 1824, the importation of East India cotton was only 60,484 bales in 1825, leaving a stock on hand of 81,450 on the 1st January, 1826.

‘ During the last bubble, on the arrival of the news at Calcutta, of the high price of cotton in England, a large ship, on the point of sailing for Canton with cotton, was sent to Liverpool ; when she arrived, the bubble had burst, and the owners of the ship and cargo lost 40,000 pounds sterling, compared with what would have been a fair result had the vessel proceeded as originally destined ! And in these fluctuations, though so destructive in their effects, is one of the great causes why very large importations of East India are not oftener made, to add to the difficulties of the American planters, and re-act the ruin that followed the imports of 1818. In the long period required to send out advices and receive cargoes, the price of cotton may easily decline 50 per cent. And it is only when the price is pretty good, that great quantities of Bengal and Surat cottons are desired.

‘ But, when our cotton is worth 18 cents per lb. our own manufacturers can afford to pay three cents per lb. duty on the East India article, and use it to advantage. That is, at all those mills whose machinery is fitted to the spinning of it. The writer of this has seen a large parcel of it in one of our mills, and the proprietor told him it was (at that time) cheaper than the domestic product.

‘ The chief part of the coarse cotton goods which Great Britain had exported to the United States, and to Mexico and South America, were made out of East India cotton. We have seen several specimens of those sent to Rio Janeiro, &c. marked and stamped, or put up as American goods, the material of which, as decided by practical men, was East Indian. And when an article, in its first cost, is only nine or ten cents per yard, one cent in the yard is a large profit. This is the difference between American and East India cotton. At Liverpool, on the 25th August last, the price of uplands was from  $5\frac{1}{8}d.$  to  $7\frac{1}{4}d.$  ; of East Indian  $4\frac{1}{4}d.$  to  $4\frac{3}{4}d.$  ; average difference  $2d.$  or 4 cents per lb. or in the cost of material for one yard of cloth, one cent.

‘ Now, when these facts are duly weighed, and it is considered that the domestic manufacture of cotton is from 150,000 to 175,000 bales, does it not appear entirely reasonable to suppose, that our home supply and foreign export of cotton goods, rivalling or surpassing the British, and compelling them to improve the QUALITY of theirs, must have the effect to cause the consumption of 100 or 150,000 bales more \* of our cotton that would be used, except on account of our vigorous and bold competition with the British manufacturers ? It is not in the nature of things that positive proof of what is here suggested should be offered, but we leave it to the deliberate judgment of all parties, to determine whether there is not something like a moral certainty in our proposition. There is no manner of doubt resting upon our minds of its reality. And this great *extra* consumption is added to the security and rivalry of the home market, for the benefit of the planters. They will all see and *know* this in a few years ; and then feel the importance of domestic manufactures, as the growers of grain and of wool now regard them to be.

‘ The circular letter of Cropper, Benson & Co. of Liverpool, of the 27th September 1822, on the progress and prospects of cotton planting in the United States, is, probably, in the hands of many of our readers. The whole is of deep interest ; but we shall take only one or two of its parts.

‘ They say,—“ The bale of cotton which the planter can sell for 4*l.* 10*s.* cannot be delivered to the British manufacturer for less than 9*l.* ; and when to this the expense of manufacturing is added, the whole cannot be conveyed back to the planter without an addition of fully fifty per cent. in duty and profit. Then we may fairly say, that, in exporting cotton and importing manufactured goods, the planter pays 100 per cent. on the wages paid in England, and he would gain an advantage to this extent if he manufactured them at home. Perhaps it will be said that wages are higher ; let us examine this. The average produce of a slave's labour is 1½ bags of cotton, or 6*l.* 15*s.*, being about 5*d.* per working day. Now we think we do not over rate the earnings of a whole family in our cotton manufacturing districts, if we take them at 5*s.* per week, reckoning the whole population, whether able to work or not. Five shillings per week is 10*d.* per day ; yet the planter now gives 100 per cent, which makes 20*d.*”

‘ Let us partially apply the facts stated in this extract : British twist, N° 20, is now selling at 18*s.* for 10 lbs. say 40 cents per lb. and as good American twist for only 32 cents 3 mills per pound, a difference of nearly 20 per cent. in favour of this first manufacture of our article ; and, admitting that nothing further is gained or lost

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\* Unless the present low price be yet reduced, in not less than two cents per pound.

by the cost of weaving it, this difference itself, is equal very nearly two cents per yard in all the goods made out of N° 20 cotton yarn.

‘Cropper & Benson also say—“Next to the manufacturing, the planters are giving in some cases *forty cents* per yard for cotton bagging. This they might make themselves from cotton, as is done in the Brazils, with great advantage.” (Now be it recollected that this letter was written in 1822, before the passage of the much abused Act of 1824, which laid a specific duty upon cotton bagging, and when the price of cotton was only about 11 cents per pound.)

‘With these remarks we submit whatever relates to cotton to the judgment of our readers; and whatever may be the present opinion of the planters upon the subject, we are assured that the time is at hand when they will esteem the domestic manufacture of this commodity, as the farmers do the *new* market which they have obtained in the eastern states, because of manufactures generally, which takes off 800,000 barrels of flour, and much more of their bread stuffs than *all* foreign nations or people consume. Without these consumptions, we repeat it, flour would be worth one dollar less per barrel than it is, and cotton from 1 to 2 cents less per pound. We appeal to the *reason* of our fellow citizens for the probability of these things.’

#### WOOL AND WOOLLENS.

‘It is believed that more than eighty, and perhaps, one hundred millions of dollars, are vested in sheep and lands to feed them, and factories to make their wool into cloth, in the United States. The raising of sheep gives value to lands not suited to ordinary cultivation, and makes worn-out fields productive of profit to the farmers, if wool fetches a reasonable price.

‘Such Merino wool as sold at from 3 to 4 dollars per pound during the war, may be now bought at from 40 to 60 cents.

‘Some of the farmers near Northampton, Massachusetts, says the Gazette, have engaged to “keep yearling wethers throughout the year, and shear them, for the wool growers, at 112½ cents per head.” This is poor encouragement to the farmers.

‘Mr. Way, a dealer in wool, writes from Pittsburgh, that in 1826, he took in 50,000 lbs. weight of wool, at from 18 to 95 cents per lb.; but, in the present year, for that which he gave 18, he has only given 12½ to 13, and the fine quality, which brought 95, has been reduced to 50 cents per lb. He supposes that the stock of wool has very much increased, and that there is enough on hand to keep all the factories in full operation, without importations.

‘At a meeting of citizens of Washington county, Pa. attended, by some of the most intelligent and best practical farmers in the world, it was stated, as is believed to be within bounds, when it “is asserted, that the *grain growers* are indebted to the wool growers,



for *ten cents* on every bushel of wheat sold in that county this season." Because of a reduced supply of wheat and a greater demand for it.

' By actual enumeration there were 161,000 sheep in Washington county, Pa. last year.

' By strict examination of the consumption in 50 families in Washington county, Pa. who use *no* foreign woollens, or other cloths than what they make out of their own wool, it appears that 5 lbs. are required for each person, annually. And allowing 6 lbs. the *whole* supply of the home market would require nearly 70 millions of pounds, the product of about 30,000,000 sheep. The ability to produce this quantity of wool, and support 30 millions of sheep, cannot be questioned. At present, however, the people cannot afford to consume so much cloth as the wool of 30 millions of sheep would make; and they are, generally, compelled to do with less than is used by the well clothed and comfortable farmers of the county named.

' At the last state census there were about 350,000 sheep in Dutchess county, New York. The present number is supposed to exceed 450,000. Many are of the best breeds and finest fleeces. It is calculated that the farmers of this county in the past year, after supplying their families, had 500,000 lbs. of wool to sell, which at an average of 40 cents, produced them the sum of \$ 200,000; the household manufactures being estimated at 100,000 dollars more; and yet the number of sheep raised does not appear at all to interfere with the quantity of grain produced; indeed, rather to improve the capacity of the soil to yield more. Such seems to be the *practical* result in this county, as detailed in the Poughkeepsie Journal.

' Three towns in Maine, containing about 5,000 inhabitants, and from 75 to 100 square miles of territory, wintered last season, 11,531 sheep, producing 8 lbs. of wool each, and having 8,770 lambs this season. Some of these sheep are of the fine woolled breed. From various details, it is believed that the sheep last wintered in Maine amounted to between 800,000 and 1,000,000, and that the present stock is 1,300,000.

' Mr. Davis, in his speech in the House of Representatives, on the 31st January last, estimated that the amount of wool worked up was 32,000,000 lbs. and that 3,200,000 yards of broad, and 32,000,000 of narrow cloths were annually produced, and about 100,000 persons are directly or indirectly *employed* in this business. We gather this opinion also, that more than 100 millions of capital were vested in the growth and manufacture of wool; and he put down the sheep at fifteen millions.

' The *island* of "Rhode Island," 14 miles long and less than 3 wide, has more than 30,000 sheep upon it. There are about 200,000 in Berkshire county, Massachusetts. Many in the western

parts of Virginia; one gentleman in Ohio county has more than 3,000; he sold his crop of wool to Mr. Rapp, at Economy, for 2,400 dollars. There are in the state of New York about four millions of sheep, between two and three millions in Pennsylvania, a million in Vermont, &c.

‘It has been calculated that the manufacture of wool, (including the various mechanics and labourers employed,) in the New England states, subsists about 20,000 families, or 120,000 persons, and that these will consume the *surplus* products of 40,000 families of agriculturalists—together about 360,000 individuals. If this is thought extravagant, reduce the manufactures one half, and throw them into the production of agricultural articles, and what would be the effect? A great market would be destroyed, and an already glutted one further overloaded. Not one cent’s worth of our farmers’ produce is prevented foreign exportation because of the factories. *The value made up by these, then, is a clear gain to the nation.*

‘The home-made negro cloths are cheaper and better than the British, and *steadiness* in the market is mainly desired for them. Each slave is supposed to be allowed six yards. One establishment at Canton, in Massachusetts, has made 600,000 yards annually, and is prepared to make 1,000,000; 500 bales of coarse wool was received there from Smyrna, which had been paid for in domestic cottons exported.

‘A carpet manufactory in Jersey City, (owned in New York,) has a capital of 400,000 dollars, and employs 100 hands, making 2,500 yards weekly. The spinning and preparing the yarn employs another 100 persons.

‘Messrs. B. Wells & Co. at Steubenville, have a flock of sheep amounting to about 6,500. The fabrics manufactured by them are equal to about 50 yards of broad cloth daily, averaging 2 lbs. of wool to the yard, worth \$ 3. 50. We have tabular statements of the purchases of wool for this factory for each of the years from 1820 to 1827, from which we take the following items:—

‘In 1820, none of the 1st quality; 5,867 2d quality; 5,097 7-8ths, &c. and total 38,202 lbs. unwashed wool.

‘In 1825, 3,841 lbs. 1st quality; 20,813, 2d quality; 25,086 7-8ths, and total 90,524 lbs. unwashed wool.

‘In 1826, 3,491 lbs. 1st quality; 13,682 2d quality; 17,688 7-8ths, and total 69,673 lbs. part washed on the sheep.

‘In 1827, 2,586 lbs. 1st quality; 11,910 2d quality; 17,408 7 8ths, and total 74,669 lbs. washed on the sheep.

‘The chief value of this statement is to shew the progress made in the growth of fine wools. No common wool has been purchased for the factory since 1822; all the sorts are becoming finer, and the finest improving.

'The cotton and woollen cloths made in New York were valued last year at from 15 to 18 millions of dollars.

'A great deal has been said against even the lowest minimum [only 40 cents] proposed in the woollens bill that was before Congress at its last session, and certain persons have represented that it would operate severely on the poor. They do not state that there is already a minimum at 33 $\frac{1}{2}$  cents, and that in 1824, no less than 21 of the 24 members of the Pennsylvania delegation, then present, voted to raise the minimum to *eighty cents*.

'Many more yards of flannel are now manufactured in the United States than were imported a few years ago, according to the returns at the custom houses. In five towns in Massachusetts, within a space of 17 miles square, 2,100 persons are employed in making flannels, and operating on a capital of 950,000 dollars.

'It is supposed that all the woollen goods imported into Boston in a year, would not have laden fully one ship of 400 tons. But the neighbouring manufacturers give employment to many thousand tons of shipping, transporting articles in and out, foreign and coastwise.

'The woollen manufacture in Great Britain employs about 1,250,000 persons, and, after supplying the home demand, the export averages the value of more than six millions of pounds sterling; more than the average of all the exports of the United States, cotton excepted.

'*There are about forty millions of sheep in Great Britain and Ireland, and the annual product of wool is estimated at 140 millions of pounds. We can easily feed 50 millions of sheep, in the United States; and there is no doubt that we shall export millions of pounds of wool, raw or wrought, before many years. Our bread and meat must, in this way, obtain a market.*

Thus for the Reporters to the Harrisburg Convention. When we consider the immense population, which in England is dependent on the iron, cotton and woollen trades, this account of American industry is well calculated to excite anxiety and alarm. The workshops of America are still inadequate to the supply of their domestic and foreign demand; their manufactures are still inferior to the manufactures of Glasgow, Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds, and a large proportion of the people of the United States are discontented with the prohibition of cheaper and superior goods. That this prohibition is impolitic and unwise, no one at all acquainted with the principles of political economy, can entertain a doubt. But unless we can procure some relaxation of the laws by which it is enacted, it will be of little service to us to demonstrate its folly and inexpediency. We must look about us to ascertain what means we possess of influencing the determination of Congress, we must not only enlist the enlightened portion of the American community in our cause, but likewise stimulate the

activity of those who are already opposed to the Tariffs, by proving that we are in a condition to retaliate with energy and effect. It is mortifying to observe the confidence with which the reporter on the cotton manufacture asserts our dependance on America. His argument, in truth, amounts to this: that whereas a large portion of British cotton piece goods, hitherto imported into the United States, has been manufactured from the raw produce of the East Indies; for the future, either the competition of the Americans will drive the English from the markets, or the English must submit to use no cotton wool but of American culture. By this reasoning, it is hoped to allay the discontent of the growers of Virginia and Carolina, who apprehend, from the new tariffs, the loss of the English market; an apprehension which would be perfectly well founded, were it not for the notorious inferiority of every description of East Indian produce, an inferiority which nothing but the employment of European skill, capital, and ingenuity, in the cultivation of India, can possibly remove. *Some bales, too, of American cotton goods have been imported into Canton; and they would drive the like British or India goods out of Calcutta, if their importation were liberally allowed.* It is new to us, that the importations of the Americans at Calcutta are not liberally allowed: for as far as our experience extends, they are treated with much more liberality than the English; but respecting the imports at Canton, we know that the Company's supercargoes have long complained of the 'alarming inroads' on their trade, occasioned by American invasion, and in the traffic of the islands of the Archipelago, they had, before the establishment of the settlement at Singapore, no rivals but the Dutch. The trade with the north-west coast of America, with the emancipated colonies of Spain, and with Brazil, the carrying trade between Asia and Europe, the supply of China, and the Eastern Archipelago, of India, and even of the United States, are all, in some degree, dependant on the speedy and effectual improvement of our East Indian territories, and the abolition of the remaining privileges of the Company. If these privileges had expired in 1824, a period, beyond which, Mr. Canning, at the last renewal of the charter, contended that it was unwise to fetter the discretion of Parliament, our commercial policy might, by this time, have been framed on a general, comprehensive, well-connected view of the just bearing and relations between the interests of other countries and our own dominions; the rice, the cotton, and the tobacco of India, would have already been materially improved, and England would be in a condition to dispense with the friendship of America.

## THE DEBUTANTE.

BY MRS. CORNWELL BARON WILSON.

*From the Forget-me-Not, 1826.*

SHE stood in all that bashful tenderness  
 Which marks a maiden's entrance to the world—  
 O'er her fair forehead wav'd each raven tress,  
 And down her neck in soft luxuriance curl'd,  
 Shading its whiteness—while her full dark eye  
 (Half hidden by its silken lash from sight)  
 Beam'd with expression—yet one might descry  
 A pensive feeling mix'd with her young heart's delight  
 Soft was her cheek, and beautiful—the hue  
 Of the young rose-bud lightly rested there;  
 While many a wandering vein of deepest blue  
 Stray'd o'er her brow of purest marble—where  
 No trace of stormy passions yet was seen—  
 No with'ring marks, stamp'd by the hand of care;  
 Nought that the loveliest form might ill besecm  
 Of blight or blemish dwelt upon a shrine so fair!  
 Such was the form that, vision-like, came o'er  
 The desert pathway of the scenes I trod;  
 And many a ling'ring year must pass, before  
 (If e'er again) we trace life's thorny road  
 An hour together—time will then have chang'd  
 The bloom and freshness of that fair young brow;  
 And, more than all, that guileless mind estrang'd  
 From the pure saint-like thoughts that make it lovely now!  
 How many a form, that meets us in the gloom  
 Of this dark world, and cheers the passing hour,  
 Must fade away, and lose its sunny bloom  
 Ere we again behold it!—like the flower  
 Whose buds at morning woo the pilgrim's eyes,  
 And fill the air with sweetness—till the shower  
 Or midday sun hath touched it—then it lies,  
 A drooping, fading thing, beneath the twilight skies!  
 And such a fate is WOMAN'S. What so fair,  
 So pure and lovely, as HER morning prime—  
 Ere the heart's blight, or cankering touch of care,  
 Hath done the work of the destroyer, TIME,  
 And stol'n away her freshness—ere the hour  
 Has come, that comes to all things—when Decay  
 (The universal foe) asserts his power,  
 And sweeps with ruthless stroke youth, beauty—all away!

## VOYAGE ON THE NILE FROM CAIRO TO THE CATARACTS.

## No. VII.

[From that portion of Mr. Buckingham's Unpublished Manuscripts, from which the materials of his Lectures on Egypt are drawn.]

*Akmeem, or Panopolis—The Copts—Ptolemais—Abydos—El Araba Medfoun, or the Buried City.*

Tachta, November 13.

THE light airs of the morning enabled us to leave the boat on an early excursion on foot, which was more agreeable than even that of yesterday; and meeting her again at Shatoura, we re-embarked at ten, at which time the wind was still light.

In approaching Tachta, a town equal in extent and population to Miniet or Siout, the high bluff projections of the eastern mountains have a grand effect, and for the space of two or three miles, are excavated at different distances, in separate chambers, some of which have unusually large entrances. The strata of the soil and rock are here seen to be more horizontal than usual; and the mountains have a greater portion of sand-stone in their composition, while the scattered villages along their base, considerably relieve the picture, and make the scenery upon the whole agreeable.

On the western shore we passed a camp of unfortunate Arabs, who having embarked from Keneh with a fleet of rafts, containing water jars from the Cairo market, had been overtaken by a stronger breeze than usual, and their vessels becoming unmanageable, were wrecked upon the river's bank. They had, therefore, abandoned the idea of floating them again, though perfectly easy, and waited the abatement of the water, to cast their spars adrift and build a new flotilla. As a matter of charity, I offered to undertake the task, since it would not have detained me more than twenty-four hours, and would have saved them double the number of days; but when I began to direct the rigging of cross lashings and guys on the opposite shore, and used the two boats for floats; this simple operation, so familiar to every seaman, appeared to them so new and complicated, that they hesitated not to pronounce me insane; and the information of our Captain or Reis, that I was going across the Desert to the Red Sea, so confirmed their suspicions, that they refused to receive any assistance from such a source, and we accordingly left them to their own wise reflections on the folly of travellers going from home to see old mosques, for so they termed the temples of antiquity.

As the wind continued light throughout the day, our progress was extremely slow, and at sun-set we brought up at the village of Bouragaat.

*Oriental Herald, Vol. 22.*

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Akmeen or Panopolis, November 14.

Our mornings were almost invariably calm, and the present, from the division of the stream by small islands, and the serpentine curves of its direction, brought us so strong a current, that we stemmed it with great difficulty. For the first time since my being in Egypt, the sun was not visible until noon, and the humidity had occasioned such a fog, that the banks of the river could not be perceived from each other. It was, therefore, cold enough to induce a wish for exercise, and with this view we landed abreast of Bibbah, dispatching the boat to Akmeen, where we intended walking. We had scarcely commenced our promenade, before the mist dispersed, the sun blazed out in full splendour, and the heat was literally scorching. Not a breath of wind was yet stirring, and accustomed as I considered myself to be to the solar heat, my face was blistered severely by it.

We had partly traversed the dusty streets of Akmeen, and sought in vain for any remains of the ancient Panopolis, excepting a few granite pillars in the open mosques, and other fragments introduced into the structure of the Arab dwellings, when a voice from a closed window accosted us, 'Dove andate? Dove andate?' We could see nothing of the person who spoke, but entering a door which was immediately underneath, we found ourselves in the convent of the Copts, and the hospital of the Fide Propaganda, both occupying the same building. The superior and his attendant, both Neapolitans, came to receive us, and the Coptic fathers saluted our cheeks, obliging us to break the bread of faith with them.

We ascended with them to take pipes and coffee, and to answer the thousand questions they proposed to us, on the state of affairs in Europe, of which they were entirely ignorant, from the interruption of all communication, and the extreme rarity of finding strangers to inform them. They had not long heard of the Spanish revolution, and the Russian war was perfectly new to them! so that uninformed as I was myself on recent transactions, I was as much esteemed as if I had only yesterday left a conference with the Cabinet Council.

The Congregations were assembled in the court below, and they would have left us to enjoy our repast during the service, had I not hinted a wish to attend it, with which they expressed themselves flattered, and we were accordingly numbered among the flock.

The house of worship was a plain brick building of a small size, its earthen floor covered with straw, surrounded by close galleries for the females, who are not seen by the men, according to the custom of the country; and the altar placed at the eastern end, as in Europe. The body of the Chapel itself was occupied by the Catholics, while the Copts performed their devotions in a humble corner of the same room. This mixture of opposite devotional rites at the same moment, appeared extremely singular to me, and comparing

the tawdry pomp of their sacerdotal robes, the dirty finery of their altars, the wretched prints of the Catholic martyrs, and the caricature paintings of the Coptic saints, with all the mystery of prayers in a language not understood, and pantomimic actions, impossible to be interpreted, I knew not to which party to yield the palm of absurdity, although I very unluckily came in for a share of the farce. Being desired to sprinkle myself with the holy water on entering, I very readily complied, since it was fresh from the Nile this morning; a circumstance which occasioned me to be detained on departing by the kisses of all the old men and children of the congregation; but the inhabitants of the closed galleries could not dare to be so devout.

After the service was concluded, we all dined together—the religious of the party on fish from the river, and myself on some delicate dishes of birds they had prepared, but as wine is not to be found in Upper Egypt, and is besides deemed universally uncongenial with the climate, our beverage was Rakee, of which people here drink as plentifully as we should of table-beer in England. One of the Copts, particularly, who spoke much in its praise, gave us the best possible proof of the sincerity of his eulogium, by drinking three quart bottles before he rose from the table; in fact, his first draught so alarmed me, that I pleaded indisposition, and was happily excused; though my servant, benefitting by the freedom from restraint which this occasion offered him, sat at the table with the rest, and was literally drunk before leaving it.

In the heat of their enthusiasm, the Neapolitans deprecated the decay of zeal in Europe, by which they were severe sufferers. Previous to the attack on superstition by the French Revolution, they were amply paid from the funds of the Romish Church; but since the Pope had sufficient occupation in attending to his own person, and the preservation of those interests by which he was immediately surrounded and upheld, the poor propagators of the Faith, in distant lands, had been entirely forgotten. They, therefore, now subsisted solely on the charity of their flock, the fees of confession and absolution, and the payment for masses, funerals, &c. &c., with some little speculations in Indigo, grown in the neighbourhood, and other branches of commerce. Upon the whole, they appeared to me well provided for—a large house and garden free of charge, humble dresses, and cheap living—could not require extravagant expenditure; and for the misery of living among the enemies of the faith, it was a matter of choice rather than necessity. If it were indeed zeal, and not interest, which first induced the enterprise, it should have been warmed by suffering and persecution; but the secret of its abatement was sufficiently explained by their want of pay from Rome.

As they walked with us round the environs of the town, I was desirous of seeing the state of their Indigo grounds, and informing



myself on the quality of the plant ; but unfortunately for them, as well as for myself, the unprecedented height of the present inundation having overflowed the valley in which they were situated, it was not yet drained off, and the ground was therefore waste.

Nothing remains of the celebrated temple dedicated to Pan, and consecrated to prostitution, except a few scattered stones in different directions ; yet the mysteries of Venus are so openly avowed, as to need no hallowed walls for their performance,—the public women having less restraint here than even at Melouai, or Old Cairo.

It was late when we embarked, and still calm, so that we made scarcely any progress from the town. Its situation affords a beautiful view on leaving it to the southward, from the proximity of the Mokatterm chain, the sudden curve of the river, and the wood and verdure by which it is surrounded.

The clear brilliance of the night repaid us for the morning's fog, and so perfect was the calm still reigning, that the surface of the stream was like a polished mirror, reflecting back another heaven. I could even count the constellations on its glassy plane, and perfectly distinguish the whiteness of the belting galaxy. Venus was in all her splendour, Altair beamed from the zenith with the brightness of a planet, and in the constellation of Delphinus, I could distinguish stars of the fourth magnitude. I was so borne homeward in spirit by reflections on the science of the ancients, in a climate where astronomy possesses new and peculiarly attractive beauties, that between our embarkation and the meridian at night, I passed hours as full of pleasure as pensive melancholy can possibly enjoy ; for there was scarcely an orb among the myriads that studded the glowing canopy of heaven, that did not tell me of some past pledge, and reflect the image of some dear and distant friend.

Mensheh, or Ptolemais, Monday, Nov. 15.

As it still continued calm, and I felt confinement to the boat injurious, as obliging me to remain in cramped postures without exercise, we left her four or five miles above Akmeen, on the opposite shore, and while walking afforded me healthy diversion, we reached Mensheh before noon, without fatigue, and had sufficient time to make the circuit of the village, and traverse its streets and bazaars before the boat arrived.

It was represented to us, that previous to the extension of the Turkish government in Upper Egypt, while the towns and villages of the Thebaid were under the government of the Arab princes and Sheiks, Mensheh was made the central rendezvous for all commerce between the Cataracts and Cairo, and from that circumstance alone derived some wealth and consideration ; but being successively rivalled by Gugeh, and more recently by Siout, as the residence of the governor of the province, its population had gradually been decreasing. At present, it is inferior to either of the

provincial towns in size or beauty, but enjoys a fine elevated situation on the site of the ancient Ptolemais, a Greek city of some consequence, and from its central position and relative importance, deserving to bear the name of the splendid patron of Egyptian Greece.

One can scarcely persuade one's-self of the possibility of so complete a demolition as this once powerful city has undergone—not even columns or foundations are to be seen; and nothing remains to remind the passenger of its former opulence, but some very inconsiderable fragments of a large wharf, or embanked quay, so fallen and dilapidated, that none of its masonry is perfect, and but for the size and hewn figures of its stone, it could not, at this moment, be recognised as a work of antiquity. When we passed it, several groups of Arab females were assembled in its scattered heaps, washing their blue garments in the Nile.

After our visit to the Turkish Commandant, and the partaking of refreshments were finished, we re-embarked soon after mid-day, without, however, having yet been favoured with an air of wind. In leaving the little island opposite to Mensheih, the approach to the projecting promontory of the eastern mountains is extremely grand. Forced, by the still dead calm, to tow along the shore, and stem the stream with the long poles they use here instead of sweeps, we passed immediately underneath its overhanging cliffs, so that a line from its summit would have formed a perpendicular without us, in consequence of its great projection. The base of the mountain, near the water's edge, appeared to be a hard yellow flint; but in ascending upwards, it became more and more calcareous, mixed with earth and sand, and at last terminating in the same loose, friable stone as the whole of the mountains on the same side below. A water-line along its cliff enabled me to measure the fall of the river with accuracy, which was here ten feet, ten inches and a half. Some honoured Sheik, whom they call Sheik Asharu, from the vicinity of a village of that name, enjoys an elevated spot for the repose of his soul, and there are ancient tombs and excavations in several parts, the chain continuing almost to be washed by the river, until it admits a narrow strip of cultivation abreast of Gugeh, where we arrived soon after sun-set.

El Araba Medtoun, or Abydus, Nov. 16.

As I was desirous of visiting the ancient Abydus, and seeing this part of the country, considered to be the most fertile and best cultivated of the Said, we furnished ourselves with provisions from the boat, and despatched her to the village of Sehel Badjoura, the port, or scala, of Farshout, through which we intended to pass, and after devoting an hour or two to the examination of the interior of Gugeh, we prepared for our journey.

The town, though conspicuously marked on the map, and very generally considered the capital of Upper Egypt, is one of the least

agreeable among the many others of the same size and consequence. Its Catholic monastery, dedicated to St. George, and giving name to the town itself, supports two or three Italian monks, in very poor condition, who are always glad, by attention to travellers, and speculation in illicit trade, to increase their scanty store. Built upon the very edge of the Nile, every inundation sweeps away some of their mud dwellings, and undermines others, though some of its inhabitants are always to be found, who are stupidly inconsiderate enough to replace them by others, notwithstanding the certainty of a similar fate awaiting them. 'God is great,' say they, 'whatever he has decreed will come to pass;' and this pompous declaration of confidence in heaven, is incessantly applied to the most trivial as well as the most important matters. Its bazaar is dirty and scantily supplied; its scala, or landing-place, is one of the worst we had yet seen; and though there are both mosques and baths here, and it is the station of one of the Pashas gun-boats, it is, at best, a miserable and dirty assemblage of huts.

Two asses being provided, one of their drivers was sent to purchase bread, of which we had not sufficient, with directions to follow us to El Araba, where we were going to see the antiquities, having with him the sack which contained the stock we had previously put up, as well as my map, and some papers, memorandum-book, &c. We had trotted three or four miles, looking frequently behind us, but no driver appeared in sight; and after waiting upwards of an hour with impatience, we determined on returning to take him with us. On reaching Gizeh, and enquiring at the caravanserai from which we started, we learnt that he was pursuing us, with all speed, on the road to El Birbeh, a village about two hours' distant, but unfortunately in a contrary direction to our purposed route; and this mistake had arisen from a very pardonable apprehension. He had heard we were going to see the antiquities, which in Arabia are called El Birbeh, and, confounding this with the literal name of the village to which he had gone, he was confident of finding us there. To wait his return would be idle, since he would have no means of discovering his error, and we accordingly rode after him, as the boat had already departed, and he possessed all our treasures. This diversion from our journey was not one of the most agreeable kind; but vexed as I was at such a cause of delay, I could not be angry with the panting Arab, who had ran all the way there after us; and when Giovanni attempted to reprove him, he very naturally replied, 'You wanted to see El Birbeh, and to El Birbeh you are come.'

So trifling an affair was not difficult of adjustment, and we endeavoured to recover the loss of time by additional speed, until we were again detained at Hawhemeer, a village in which was held a grand bazaar of cattle, accompanied with all the diversions of a country fair in England.

It was here that the same Assiniere, being himself a villager, had met with a number of his former comrades, and joined their holiday circle, who had been privately regaling their spirits on choice rakee, under the concealing shade of an ample cloak, or brown chemise, through which the eye of the prophet himself could not have penetrated. The meeting was a matter of such joy to all parties, that they earnestly prayed the release of the beast, for the sake of its masters, whom they had determined not to part with so easily. I remember perfectly well that the Sunday morning petition of *La Fleur* instantly occurred to my memory, and though male enjoyments are not entitled to the same sympathy which love engagements deserve, the same train of reasoning was applicable, and for so temporary an inconvenience, I could not refuse the liberty asked.

My servant could not at all comprehend how I had arranged this matter with myself, nor was I desirous of explaining it to him. But he could not comprehend how a 'Milord Inglese,' could part with his animal and its driver, and consent to walk three miles for a villainous Arab; this, he thought, was an indignity that nothing could equal. It put him dreadfully out of humour, nor was it the first instance in which I perceived that he had so incorporated his fate and feeling with mine, as to be fond of adding on all occasions to my consequence, purely for the sake of increasing his own, and felt anything like a degradation more sensibly by far than I did. There may be cases, certainly, in which such qualities are valuable in a domestic, but I began to find that in mine, they were both expensive and inconvenient.

An hour's walk brought us to the village of Courahaan, with an excellent appetite, and while we dined under the shade of a thick grove of Palms, upon a fine carpet of green turf, our guide had replaced the relinquished animal by one of equal excellence, and at an hour and a half past noon, we resumed our journey, somewhat inconvenienced by the heat, though this was tempered by the freshness of a strong northern breeze.

The crossing small canals, and making extensive circuits, to avoid the grounds from which the waters of the inundation had not yet retired, considerably retarded our progress, but I was in some measure repaid by the opportunities it furnished me of observing the mode of irrigation, and the state of their culture, in different parts.

In passing the village of Yahcoub, a crowd of half-starved and ferocious dogs rushed from a Santon's tomb, in which they had taken up their quarters, with such fury that the staffs of our guides were inadequate for defence, and even after we had shot three of the boldest, they continued to advance, and stun us with their howling. The report of the pistols brought a Turkish soldier towards us at full gallop from an adjoining village, to know the cause of the firing he had heard. When the matter was explained, he chose to be warm and angry. 'I thought at first,' said he, 'it might have been some of the obstinate

Fellabs you had shot, which would have been no matter, as it is the only way of silencing their impertinence ; but dogs fed by the saints could never deserve such a punishment.' I told him I possessed the Pasha's firman, and if he was at all displeased he might report the matter to him, but until saints fed their hungry dependants better, and lessened the danger of their devouring the unresisting passenger, I should endeavour to cure their rage, by the potion that he thought suited to the Fellah. He muttered some kind benedictions on Franks and Infidels, and we pursued our course, reaching El Araba Medfoun at five o'clock.

The Sheik of the village had come out to meet us, and learning the object of our visit, led us to a heap of rubbish, in which were scattered some fragments of red granite, and part of the base of an obelisk of the same stone, not more than three feet square, having two sides plain and the others ornamented with hieroglyphic figures, deeply cut, and well preserved, but not of remarkably good execution.

The events of war had not allowed Denon to visit El Araba ; and having no other guide, I knew not what remains there were of the ancient Abydos, so that I ought not to have been disappointed at hearing these were all ; yet it is so difficult to relinquish even the hopes of imagination, that I was divided between regret and incredulity, when a lad observed that there was a sort of hole into which one must crawl over dirt and stones, that was larger on the inside, where it was like a house. If I were disposed to see it, he said, he would conduct me, as it was not far off, and he had frequently hunted jackalls there with the other boys of the village. Of this place the Sheik knew nothing, though living here from his infancy ; so indifferent are they to every thing of the kind, but the sun being yet half an hour above the horizon, I was desirous of seeing it, and we proceeded thither together.

A walk of ten minutes over the sands of the desert, brought us to the spot which, on approaching, appeared to be only a heap of rubbish, with large stones scattered over the surface in different directions. On descending the western side, however, I could already perceive that it was a building of some magnitude, though its plan was not distinct from its being covered up to the very roof, by the loose sand and friable rock, blown into it by the western winds from the Lybian hills. Clearing away some of the principal obstructions, we could trace a roof supported by columns, of about five feet diameter, the inner frieze and ceiling full of figures, and the painting yet remaining, but it would be a work of much time and difficulty, to remove the accumulated heaps which every where cover it. Upon the architrave I observed a variety of animals well executed, amongst which the grasshopper and jackall were conspicuous, and of a large size ; the stone was of a yellow colour, friable in its nature, and the figures deeply cut, with a very shallow relief below the level of the surface. Above this fragment, twenty or thirty paces more

easterly, preserving the same line of direction in running north and south, are six arched recesses, which I at first thought to be tombs, from their figures. On entering them, however, successively, which I was enabled to do without much difficulty, I was convinced from the relative situation with the fragment in front of it to the westward, and their uniformity of space and direction, that they were a portion of the same building; their arches were a perfect semi-circle, sufficient of the walls being visible to ascertain their length, about forty feet, and breadth less than twenty, having square apertures or windows pierced perpendicularly through their roofs, for the admission of light and air. At the inner end were doors, the top of which could be seen about a foot below the centre of the circle, or the point from which the arch of the roof begins, and all of them were uniform in size and shape. Of their decorations I know not how to speak. The tombs at Lycopolis were the infancy of art compared with these; neither the figures at Hermopolis, nor those at Autæopolis, which I had so much admired, were at all equal in point of execution, and for richness of design they surpassed every thing I had thought Egyptian severity of style capable of producing.

I remember to have seen in the possession of one of my friends in England, a complete collection of the embellishments of the Vatican at Rome, yet I could call nothing to my recollection which it contained more beautiful than the ceiling which I now saw so imperfectly before me. The principal figures were vultures with extended wings, grasping a globe in each talon, and, being large as life, occupying some space on each side, beyond the centre of the roof, every interval being filled up with groups of smaller hieroglyphics, clusters of stars, &c., preserving an admirable uniformity, amidst the richest profusion. Over the door, at the inner ends, were winged globes, the wings drooping with the figure of the arch; the friezes that surrounded the inner walls were rich borders, formed of animals and hieroglyphic figures, regularly arranged, and the walls themselves were literally covered; these were executed in full relief, *above* the level of the surface; and being on a close-grained stone, the smaller figures were almost like a collection of cameos.

To describe what is visible even above the rubbish at present, would require volumes—to draw them accurately would need months; and if the whole of the building, of which I conceived this to be a portion, were executed in a style of equal profusion and magnificence, the life of any individual artist would be almost inadequate to the bare copying and finishing the drawing only of this superb pile. I was so lost in admiration of the thousand objects that pressed on me at once, that I knew not which way first to turn, and regretted when I left them, more than ever, my inability even to steal a day to range over the beauties with more pleasure.

The sun had already sunk below the hills ; I had brushed the dirt from my clothes, and we were proceeding to the Sheik's house, when the lad observed, with an air of discontent, that I had not yet seen the place he mentioned. We returned, and about the same distance easterly of the arches, as they themselves are from the first column, we found a hole, through which more than one person could not enter at a time. I pierced it with much difficulty, and seeing light before me, still crawled on ; but what was my surprise, what also was my pleasure, when, rising, I found myself amid the columns of a superb temple ! This was a gratification so much beyond every thing I had anticipated, that I could scarcely credit my good fortune, or believe that I was so suddenly transported from the exterior of a heap of sand, to the centre of a grand and majestic building—'twas like enchantment. From the shortness of twilight, it was already too dark to prolong our observations, and ordering my servant to assist in removing the obstruction of the entrance, the Sheik hastened to the village for wood and oil, to make temporary torches, and the lad remained to be our guide.

Furnished with this assistance, I was enabled to enter still further, and, gaining the extremity, which was surrounded by a solid wall, found there sufficient height to walk erect with ease. It was then I could trace a magnificent portico, of at least one hundred and fifty feet in front, by fifty in depth, composed of forty-eight columns, in four ranges, of twelve each, distant from each other about eight feet, and the central ones twelve feet ; their diameter at top not exceeding five feet, formed of a white and close-grained stone ; plain shafts, and no capitals, resembling a sort of Egyptian Doric pillar ; the only ornament I could perceive on it was an encircling border, round the upper extremity of the shaft, formed of serpents bearing globes, like the columns at Antæopolis.

The upper part of the door, or entrance to the nave, was on a level with the sand, surmounted with hieroglyphics ; the architraves were ornamented with large figures, cut deep in outline, without relief ; but the ceiling was precisely the counterpart of the arched roofs I had just left near them. I could have pronounced them designed by the same genius, and executed by the same hand. The painting that had here assisted in the embellishment, was better preserved, and showed the figures prominently on a purple ground. The extended vulture, bearing globes in his talons, was identically the same ; and even the hieroglyphic inscriptions, infinitely multiplied as they were, bore a strong resemblance, in style and arrangement, to those I had so much admired there. Yet this splendour of ornament, this richness of decoration, lavishly bestowed on every portion of the building, was so enclosed on every side, as to be completely hidden from the light of day ; and the whole had now become, by the accumulation of the desert sands, almost subterraneous ruins.

It was thus impossible to speak decisively as to its plan ; yet, after examining the interior as perfectly as the communication would permit, and traversing the ground repeatedly on the outside, I could not but be of opinion, that the temple itself, like that at Antæopolis, faced the West ; that the part at which we had entered was either the front of the grand portico, or a second assemblage of columns, connected with the six arched passages we had seen before it, and these again with the roof and pillars, still westward of them, which, in that case, would have been the grand portico itself. The solid wall met with at the western extremity, is alone a sufficient proof of the sanctuary, or body of the temple, having its connection there, but the heaps in which it is buried allow, at this moment, no traces of it to be seen ; and each succeeding year increasing, will soon overwhelm it so completely, as to be inaccessible, every western breeze even enlarging the accumulation.

Though I left its ruined darkness with a regret known only to those whose pursuit of the arts is restrained by want of time and means, who are often forced from that which they admire, and closely chained to occupations they dislike, yet it was not without self-congratulation at the good fortune of having thus made such a discovery, and by such accidental means.

Was it the temple built by Osymendyas, or the palace in which Memnon had resided ? for these were both at Abydos ; or might it not have been both in one building, since conjecture has almost amounted to proof, that temples were the residence of the great, as well as the abode of the priesthood, and that the royal power, the national treasure, and the religion of the state, were all under the jealous eye of that omnipotent body. It could have been no other, and from the portions that remain, imperfectly as they can now be seen, stamp deserved immortality on the genius that designed, and the hand that executed it. One knows not how to express the surprise and admiration excited by a single view of fragments so full of beauty and perfection ; but that surprise is increased in more than a tenfold degree, when recurring to estimates, and the minutiae of calculation ; it is here we discover the skill, the labour, the time, the perseverance, necessary for a work of infinitude—'tis like counting the stones of the Pyramids, the computation itself is a task that staggers the boldest.

When our torches were extinguished, and I sat to repose myself for a moment on the ruins themselves, the history of the last hour appeared to me like a well remembered dream. It was with difficulty I could persuade myself that I had seen objects so grand and magnificent, as those with which my memory was so strongly impressed, and the rich imagery of the countless figures I had seen floated incessantly before my imagination. If I had been entirely without companions to verify my own suggestions, I should have deemed it a vision of fancy, but all was real. How did I long for



an hour's uninterrupted solitude, I desired to be left alone, and bade my servant come to me when he had prepared our supper, but frightened himself at the long dark passages we had traversed, observing me unusually thoughtful, and terrified at the idea of leaving me in the Desert, at such an hour, nothing would prevail on him to depart, and as the Sheik himself remained, I accompanied them to the house. Egyptian taste, Egyptian skill, Egyptian wealth, Egyptian power, Egyptian splendour, were all that I could think of; a nation, the very period of whose destruction is imperfectly recorded—whose history is buried in the darkness and obscurity of fable—whose soil is peopled by the last link in the chain of civilization—whose descendants are bought and sold like the beasts of the stall, and deemed worthy only to be the slaves of the human race—yet whose eternal monuments, after having founded all the schools of succeeding art and science, laugh in their indestructible duration at the puny efforts of her barbarous destroyers, and tell to him who views their venerable ruins, a tale of greater force, than the pen of history has ever yet complied. Fatigued as I was, I could have bartered sleep to indulge the train of feeling it inspired, but even the luxury of thinking is not always to be enjoyed.

We had scarcely reached the Sheik's dwelling, before the whole of the male population came out to meet us; a mark of respect arising from the mingled motives of curiosity, hospitality, and a regard for their leader, whose guests we were. This latter being the avowed reason, I was desirous of knowing who those Sheiks were, from what origin they derived their authority, and by what means it was transmitted and preserved; when forming a circle on the ground before his door, where a clean mat had been spread for us, the Chief himself told us, that from time immemorial (even before the building of the antiquities we had seen, and according to his opinion, coeval with the Creation itself) all the countries of the Arabs had been governed by Princes, Caliphs, and Sheiks, who presided over the districts God had given them, in justice and in peace, and that as their government was a gift from Heaven, it descended regularly in their families without interruption or dispute, every one improving his own province as much as possible, without encroaching on that of his neighbour; that the Turks and Mamelukes having alternately disturbed them in their quiet possession of power, all the Princes and Caliphs were soon destroyed; but finding they could not well govern the villages without Sheiks, they had very prudently suffered them to remain in the exercise of their prerogative, which was simply this—to be the arbiter of all disputes among the peasantry—to check all disaffections, and dispositions to revolt—to preserve the peace—report criminals—and to assist the enforcement of all orders from the Government. In reward for these duties, the Government gave them the distinction of making them responsible for the conduct of all the subjects committed to their care; while they themselves paid to the Government a small contribution, amounting to less than 100 piasters per annum. Such a pre-eminence one would not

think enviable: but the honour of supporting this petty magistracy in person, and retaining it in the family of Hadjée Abdallah, was his recompense.

He would not suffer us to eat of our own provisions, though there yet remained some in our sack, but set some of the villagers to prepare a supper of the best from his own store—adding, that all the world knew the hospitality of the Arabs, and he hoped they deserved the character given them. They were in the midst of a discussion on the harvest, the production of the soil, the waters, &c., when a little girl of interesting figure and features, having dislocated her right arm from the shoulder, was brought to me in the cries of agony from the very recent fall that had occasioned it, for they believe all Franks to be either soldiers or physicians. By a happy turn of fortune, which was neither the result of skill or practice, I succeeded in replacing it in its socket, and restoring ease to the sufferer; we had her stretched on a mat with bandages to prevent its further injury. Happy as I thought myself in success, it was a most unlucky incident upon the whole, for ten minutes had scarcely elapsed, before the lame, the blind, the leprosy, and almost those who were possessed of devils, came to seek relief; in fact, those who could not of themselves find strength enough to repair hither, were absolutely brought on the shoulders of their friends, and I believe those who of old, sent out into the fields and highways, to collect together the halt, the lame, and the blind, to partake of the supper prepared for those who were bidden, and would not come, could not have brought together a more varied, or a more miserable group than I had now before me, without the power of relieving them. What was to be done? I confessed I knew nothing of the art—it was not believed. I had, according to their opinion, restored a broken limb, and it was now cruelty to refuse to relieve others. I had no medicines, and my servant attested my travelling without drugs of any description.—‘A proof of your knowing how to cure diseases without them,’ said they.—In fact, for every reason I urged, they found an answer, and it was only prolonging the exposure of the poor wretches to the night air to delay.—I therefore began to examine them with all possible gravity—the pulse of one, the tongue of another, the eyes of a third, the ribs of a fourth, and to listen to the painful history of every separate sufferer.

To one I prescribed a milk diet; to another, abstinence from salt food; to a third, the avoiding night dews; to a fourth, privation from raw vegetables; and so on, until I had numbered up all the catalogue of their errors in diet and living; so that, if any one individual had adhered to the combination of those separate prescriptions, he would soon have ceased to need the medicines of this world.

I felt a relief from something more than the fatigues of professional duties, when the audience was at an end, and the thankful

patients retired ; and as our appetites had by this time began to demand the medicine of the healthy, we withdrew to the hall of the Sheik, this honoured magistrate of the village, where our supper was prepared. Let me describe the scene : four mud walls, of nine or ten feet high, enclosing a square space of double that dimensions, without roof or window, the door-way serving the purpose of the latter, and the former being perfectly unnecessary. At one end were two oxen, an ass and its foal, and the beasts we had ridden from Gizeh, all very tranquil and happy, having supped heartily on chopped straw, and occasionally testifying their mutual congratulations, by their very significant responsive brayings.

In the centre was a fire of dried dung, on which our meal had been prepared ; and though its fumes were less fragrant than the wood of aloes, it possessed the advantage of separating our companions from the view, or at least rendering them so indistinct, that we could only perceive them in the obscurity of distance ; a visual deception that would have induced us to have imagined them far remote from us, did not the scattered spray of their streams regale our senses with its odour, and sprinkle our garments with the dew of blessing. On a straw mat, at the other end, sat the Sheik governor and myself ; and while the villagers were crowded round the fire, holding dried date branches for lights, before us were set ten pigeons, broiled on the dung, about fifty eggs, made into a sort of paste with linseed oil, and served up in the pan which fried them ; five wooden bowels of cows', goats', and camels' milk ; a large heap of roasted dourra, a bowl of yahourt, some raw sugar-canes, and a bottle of our own aqua vitæ ! I asked his worship, Hadjée Abdallah, what he thought of English appetites ? He replied, that since they were all kings that he had seen, he was certain they must live well at home ; and for that reason he had provided the best, and he hoped enough ! Giovanni thought the pigeons were delicious, after he had rubbed them with a head of garlick, which he generally carried in his pocket. The eggs and oil suited the Sheik best ; and luckily for me, they were so busily employed themselves, that I emptied one of the bowls of milk by cups into the rest, after having drank sufficiently, without their perceiving the deception. And this pleased the Arab, by the proof I had given of my valuing his hospitality, without his perceiving the stratagem.

The manners of the villages differ considerably in proportion to their distance from the river ; and this being situated on the very edge of cultivation, in the desert itself, partook of a very close approach to the Bedouin mode of living.

A long and entertaining conversation on their customs, opinions, &c., detained us up until nearly midnight, when we all lay down together, in the most perfect state of equality, the very beasts themselves being as well lodged as their masters, and their drivers snoring by our sides.

### THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S MONOPOLY.

[In our Publication of July last, we gave insertion to an Article on this subject, from a Correspondent of 'The Glasgow Chronicle,' which was introductory to a more extended Series of articles from the same pen. Having been since favoured with a sight of these, we give the most material parts of them in the following pages.—Ed.]

THE East India Company, I have shewn, had its origin at a time, and in a state of things, when maxims and opinions as injurious to commerce, as they are absurd and unreasonable in themselves, were prevalent in this and in other countries. The conclusion to which I would come is this—that these principles, having now become obsolete, the systems which have been founded on them, ought in like manner, to expire and determine.

All monopolies, it would be easy to shew, are either the relics of barbarism or the offspring of despotism. Perhaps no Sovereign, in any age or in any country, possessed a more unlimited influence over the persons and properties of his subjects than Queen Elizabeth, and certainly no Sovereign ever more effectually availed himself of his prerogative. The reign of that Princess was the golden age of monopoly. Unable from the royal treasury to reward the brilliant services of her numerous retinue of heroes and statesmen, she granted patents and monopolies, as equivalents, without limitation or reservation. In this way almost every commodity in the realm, and every foreign commodity imported into it, became appropriated to monopolists, who, in the genuine spirit of their privilege, contrived to enhance the royal boon to the utmost, by raising the price of the patent commodity from 10 to 1500 per cent. The quaint interrogatories of a member, on hearing the list of patent monopolies read over in the House of Commons, exhibit a shrewdness and versance in these affairs, that could scarcely have been expected from the age. 'Is not bread among the number?' 'Bread!' said every one with astonishment. 'Yes, I assure you,' replied he, 'if affairs go on at this rate, we shall have bread reduced to a monopoly before next Parliament.' Another Member, whose good sense and consciousness of oppression overcame that tame time-serving submission which characterised the age, gave utterance to his sentiments in the following powerful expostulation. "I cannot utter with my tongue, or conceive with my heart, the great grievances that the town and country, for which I serve, suffereth by some of these monopolies. It bringeth the general profit into a private hand, and the end of all this is beggary and bondage to the subjects. The principal commodities, both of the town and country, are engrossed into the hands of these blood-suckers of the commonwealth. If a body being let blood be left still languishing without any remedy, how can the good estate of that body still remain? Such is the state of the country: the traffic is taken away, the commo-

dities are taken away, and durst not be used without the license of these monopolitans. If these blood-suckers be still let alone to suck up the best and principal commodities, which the earth hath given us, what will become of us from whom the fruits of our own soil and the commodities of our own labour, which, with the sweat of our brows we have laboured for, shall be taken by warrant of supreme authority ?

There never was a period, since its formation, in which the East India Company were public favourites. On the contrary, they have all along been most unpopular, and at times not very ceremoniously opposed. At the expiration of their several charters, they had to come before Government in a suppliant posture, with a price in their hands, for a renewal of their privileges and powers. Nor is this all ; they have repeatedly been placed at the bar of the nation, to answer for their misdemeanours ; and convicted of bribery and injustice, many of their Directors have been justly punished with fine and imprisonment.

Placed in these critical circumstances, and under the dread of a final forfeiture of their monopoly, the Company have, very much against their will, been called on to defend themselves. The defences, thus reluctantly wrung from them, afford a display of logicism, which, if not very convincing, is at least abundantly amusing. It may not be altogether unprofitable to examine their defences a little in detail. In 1681 they urged as a plea for the continuance of their monopoly, that ' a Joint Stock, such as their's, was capable of far greater extension, both numerically as regards traders, and argumentatively as regards Stock, than any private company can be, because noblemen, gentlemen, shopkeepers, widows, and orphans, may be traders, and employ their capital in a Joint Stock.' The first position in this plausible argument is manifestly incorrect. For although it may be true that a Joint Stock, as such, may include a greater number of individuals than one private copartnership, yet it is not true that one Joint Stock Company can embrace a greater range of individuals than an indefinite number of private companies. The argument as to the comparative number of individuals, and the comparative amount of capital in a Joint Stock, then, goes for nothing. The next thing to be considered is, the rank and quality of the partners admissible into the two descriptions of partnership—private and Joint Stock. On this point the advocates for Joint Stock monopoly have bolstered up their paramount advantages, by a pathetic appeal on behalf of those unfortunate classes, who are inadmissible to the benefits of private trading, viz. the nobleman, the widow, and the orphan. The strange connection in which ranks so very different are here placed, must provoke a smile—the nobleman and the orphan ! Admirable company ! which at one and the same moment ministers to the aggrandisement of an English nobility—provides for the orphan, and pleads for the widow. It is not necessary to unwind this web of sophistry.

A second argument was drawn from the events that occurred betwixt 1653 and 57, when the trade was partially opened to, and successfully cultivated by, private adventurers, viz., that 'during these years, those who had skill ran away with the trade.' Perhaps in the whole dictionary of corporation phrases, no expression could have been found so significantly expressive of the sordid, selfish fears of the monopolist, or so complimentary to the superior skill and success of the private merchant, as that which the Old Company so unintentionally here employed. Whatever sophistry they may have used on other occasions, the Company told nothing but the simple and unadorned truth here; and a most important truth it is to the country at large, however unpalatable it may be to them,—a truth which has lost none of its importance by the lapse of a century,—a truth, in short, which is so apposite and so much in point, that it may with advantage be repeated once more—and it is without paraphrase, simply this, that if the trade with China and the East Indies were opened up and rendered free, merchants and private traders would so completely run away with it and with the Company too, that some thousands per annum would be saved to the Government, and the luxuries and commodities of the East would be forced upon the good-natured people of this country, at a price one-third, or from that to one-half lower than they are now doled out to them.

It may also be noticed that the Dutch East India Company coincided so completely with the views of their brother monopolists in England, as to take alarm at the proposals then made to throw open the India market to private British adventurers; for they not only foresaw the consequences of free and unshackled competition, but began to feel its effects when, during that period, our private merchants actually undersold them in their own market. The Dutch and English Companies seemed to vie with one another in acts of illiberality; but in all cases in which their mutual interests happened to coincide, they did not fail to unite their joint efforts in putting down the common enemy. The Ostend Company, under the auspices of Austria, was formed in 1714, on the principles of free trade. Thither the relentless monopolists turned a jealous eye, and by threat and remonstrance, combined for its destruction. The sanguinary commercial code of the Venetians, has already been alluded to; but scarcely less sanguinary were the enactments by which Dutch and English monopolists aimed at the demolition of the Ostend Company; the former by annexing the punishment of death, the latter, of fine, flogging, and imprisonment, to all their subjects who should countenance or engage in it.

The East India Company are not only commercial monopolists, but civil rulers, uniting in one corporate body the two-fold character of merchant and sovereign. History records more than one instance of the merchant being grafted on the stock of royalty, but history has yet to find a parallel, if the Tyrians and Medici are not

exceptions, of the twig of royalty being grafted on the stem of commerce. But however anomalous the latter of these processes may be, it can hardly be stigmatised as unreasonable. For if crowned heads, like the Pharaohs of modern times, lured by the love of gain, will so far lose their sense of dignity, as to descend from the throne to the shop, it must certainly be regarded as only an equitable retaliation, if, prompted by ambition, the merchant shall mount from the shop to the throne. But it so happens, that the two-fold office of merchant and sovereign, are pluralities which cannot, with propriety or advantage, be united; at least the history of the Company substantiates the observation as regards them. In the character of sovereign, they are seen swaying the sceptre of despotical authority, administering arbitrary laws, with uncompromising and unbending severity, and wielding the sword of reckless and causeless devastation; whilst, as merchant monopolists, they seem more anxiously desirous to hem in and circumscribe the advantages of others, than to extend or improve their own.

A third argument which, on these occasions, the Company employed to induce Government to continue them in possession of their exclusive privileges, was, that the opening of the trade to private adventurers, so far from being a boon, was only granting them a legislative 'permission to ruin themselves.' Now, it really requires somewhat more than ordinary charity, to give the Company credit for that sympathy towards private merchants, which that affected argument implies; more especially when it is urged by the identical persons who, so lately before, confess and complain that private adventurers had been 'running away with the India trade.' Absurd as the sentence may seem to sound, I am persuaded that the Company could not confer a greater boon on this country, nor do a more particular favour to those individuals who are so pertinaciously seeking their own destruction, than to allow them freely to follow their fate by ruining themselves in this way. That kind of ruin which would aggrandize the merchant, enrich the country, and fill the public treasury, is a species of infatuation with which every class of persons in the country, and out of the Company, would, in the process of time, come to be reconciled. But if merchants and manufacturers, and tradesmen of all crafts and devices, came thus to be inundated by the overflowing tide of eastern wealth and luxury, what would become of the poor 'noblemen, widows, and orphans?' Surely these would be left to pine and starve amidst the universal abundance and prosperity.

There remain two other pleas of the Company's to be shortly disposed of. In 1762, the Government, as well as the country, had become heartily tired of the Company, and were upon the point of bringing their powers and privileges to a final termination. Convicted of malversation, and unable to institute a claim to future favour on better grounds, they pleaded their poverty, and compli-

cated embarrassments, and obtained time to redeem their debts. These embarrassments, induced in a great measure by corruption at home, and extravagance abroad, went on thereafter, increasing, in place of diminishing.

The second plea was the amount of revenue which Government received directly from the Company, and the expensive establishments abroad, which were supported by the latter, for the loss of which, it was contended, that Government never could indemnify itself, if the trade were to be thrown open. I have already shown that free trade with India, in place of circumscribing its commercial enterprises, would have enlarged and expanded these to a very great degree; and consequently, with their increase and extension, would have kept pace the augmentation of the public revenue. This obvious truth annihilates the first part of the objection; and as for the second, the duty and interest of Government plainly had been, instead of continuing the Company any longer, vested with powers and privileges which they had forfeited by misdemeanour, to have assumed the charge of all the establishments connected with Indian commerce, the forts, factories, &c., into their own hands; and thus qualified, to have dispensed fearlessly, magnanimously, and impartially, to all classes of British subjects, that even-handed justice, and to have extended alike over all, that shield of protection, which is the strength and ornament of our Constitution.

Had the management of India affairs been thus vested in, and placed under, the auspices of Government, the advantages resulting to private traders, and to the country generally, would have been immense. Instead of being oppressed by imposts, and excluded by prohibitory enactments, our merchants, under the kindly and fostering influence of a powerful and benignant public administration, would, with perfect security, and the most signal advantage, have pushed their discoveries, and pursued their commerce, into the remotest and hitherto unexplored districts of that extensive and populous country. Competition would thus have excited demand; demand would have created supply; and the abundance of supply, thus generated, would have lowered the price of every commodity. On this controverted point, let Dr. Smith once more decide. 'The increase of demand, though in the beginning it may sometimes raise the price of goods, never fails to lower it in the long run. It encourages production, and thereby excites the competition of the producers, who, in order to undersell one another, have recourse to new divisions of labour, which might never otherwise have been thought of.' The Hindoo, the Bengalee, or the Chinese, may be content, like the beaver or the bee, without changing their instinctive habits, to plod on for centuries, and without the slightest progress, or desire to make any effort at improvement, so long as there exists neither stimulus nor inducement to improve; but fix a value on his free labour, and hold out the prospect of remuneration proportioned



to his deserts, and you give a mighty impulse to his exertions ; he begins to break off his slothful and unprofitable habits, and eagerly embraces every means of amelioration.

Add to this, the accession of productive capacity which would be given, by the regular and permanent investment of British capital in the Native manufactures of India. At present, the amount of capital invested in the domestic manufactures of India, is very limited ; and that capital, limited as it is, the Natives hold on the discouraging and precarious tenure of a loan from their sovereigns, the Company, who can, by recalling it, destroy in the bud their jejune and incipient enterprises.

The value and importance of the British possessions in the East, have never as yet been properly estimated, because, under the system that has prevailed, these were not, and could not, be fully ascertained or fairly developed. Under a system of oppression, mismanagement, and exclusion, no country ever has flourished, or ever will prosper. If India is to be regenerated, if she is one day destined to take a position amongst the elevated ranks of civilized nations, she must be regenerated and elevated in the same way, and by the same means, as other nations in past periods, and in the present times, have been enlightened and elevated. But the civilization and improvement of India are the very objects which, above all others, the Company are interested, or deem themselves interested, to prevent. They fear lest the progress of knowledge and improvement should teach their vassals the folly of any longer tamely submitting to that grievous oppression, and to those unjust restrictions which have broken their spirits, and destroyed their infant energies.

The soil of India, as well as her manufactures, presents a rich field for culture and improvement. The wide boundaries of our Indian territories comprehend every variety of soil and of climate which a tropical region affords. There are few productions, indeed, if any, belonging to Eastern countries, that are not either indigenous to India and China, or may be successfully and abundantly cultivated there. Cotton, the material of what may, without exaggeration, be styled the staple manufacture of this country, grows there in abundance, and almost without cultivation. Notwithstanding the expense of freight, arising from the bulk of the commodity, and length of the voyage, it can be imported and sold in this country for two-thirds of the price of American cotton ; and nothing but the stimulus of free competition and vested capital are wanting, so to improve the quality and increase the supply, as not only to provide therewith for our whole domestic consumption, but to place us completely beyond the reach of American retaliation.

The effect of British culture, and of British competition, in improving, increasing, and cheapening the supplies of sugar, indigo, silk, spices, &c., would be as great and as important as in the

article first mentioned. The advantages arising from British culture in the production of cotton and indigo, have already become manifest; but the amount of the benefit to be expected can never be fully realized, till every unjust and impolitic restriction has been completely and permanently abolished. It is unnecessary to prosecute, into any lengthened or detailed illustration, the public advantages which would result to all classes in this country, from the great reduction of price in every eastern commodity, by the united operation of free trade and unlimited competition in the India and home markets. A single glance at the comparative prices of these commodities in England, Holland, and America, affording a practical and pointed illustration, will serve much better to convince all classes of the vast benefits from which they are illiberally and unjustly excluded, than any arguments that can be drawn from history, or from abstract principles, however just these may be in themselves, or however well established. Tea, which constitutes an article of comfort and refinement to every family in the country, would be saleable at one half its present exorbitant price.

Let it not be said that the India trade is incapable of great extension or improvement. Since the partial opening of some of the ports to private merchants in 1813, the trade with India has gone on progressively and rapidly increasing, enriching at once the parent and the tributary country—the commercial and the shipping interests. The trade of Singapore, during the thirteen subsequent years, increased upwards of eighty fold; and, limited as has been the intercourse, the cities of Glasgow and Liverpool owe much of their eminence and opulence to the assiduity with which their enterprising merchants have cultivated this trade. Of how much further extension East India and Chinese commerce would be susceptible under the fostering influence of a liberal and enlightened system, divested of the dead weight of an oppressive monopoly, time alone can, and time sooner or later will show.

The only remaining argument that can be adduced in favour of confining the East India trade to a chartered Company, is the danger apprehended, from the remote and critical position of these distant territories, of their being wrested from us by foreign aggression, if left to the unaided enterprise of private speculators. The objection is certainly by no means complimentary to the energy and vigilance of the British Government. Whether would our merchants and merchandise be safer under the tutelage of the East India Directors, or under the safeguard of the British flag? The Government of Britain is able and willing, too, to protect its subjects and its commerce, over the whole world. What is there in the distance of the India market which should proscribe private speculation, or render individual enterprise impossible? Are the productive powers of this country too limited? or are our merchants deficient in capital or enterprise? If the remoteness of the Chinese

and India markets be a disadvantage, whether is the evil increased or diminished by legislative restraint and interference? The only result that would follow from opening the trade with India to all, would be, that the market, instead of being frequented by houses of limited capital, would be cultivated by those whose enterprise and resources enabled them to sustain the competition with advantage. Nor can the objection derive any weight from the commercial convulsions that have taken place amongst those who have embarked in this trade, as these failures can, in most instances, be traced to causes of a domestic nature. If any inference can be drawn from this circumstance, it must be the ruinous tendency of that system of favouritism on the one hand, and oppression on the other, to which they are chiefly attributable. So far from the India being a losing trade, many of the houses that have been rendered bankrupt from other causes, labouring, as they were, under disadvantages, vast beyond proportion, when compared with those that are to be met with in any other market in the world, were actually making money, or what amounts to the same thing, were redeeming debt for several years previous to failure. And although the reverse of this had been the case, it surely would be with a bad grace indeed, that the Company should plead, in their defence, the misfortunes and losses of private companies, towards which their monopolous privileges and usurious duties have so signally contributed.

The East India Company, I have already said, was first incorporated by Royal Charter in 1600, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The reign of that princess I have described as the golden age of monopoly. Almost every commodity in the realm, and every commodity imported into it, from the most trilling article of ornament to the most essential articles of life, were made the subjects of the royal patent; being either bartered for equivalents required to meet the public exigencies, or bestowed by the sovereign as tokens of the royal favour. Had the handful of merchant adventurers, who first claimed the merit of equipping for their own private advantage, a few ships for the Indian seas, been overlooked in this exuberant distribution of the royal partiality, however little reason these might have had for complaint, they certainly could not have wanted ground for wonder. In these times, when trade and science were in their infancy, the man who had the courage to adventure himself in a ship, and perform a voyage, at which the steam-boat navigators of modern days would smile, was reckoned a very prodigy, and no reward was esteemed too brilliant for his still more brilliant public services. Their incorporation into an exclusive Company therefore was not sued for as a boon, but demanded as a meed justly due by the nation, to those individuals whose meritorious love of gain prompted them to embark in a trade with India.

If the merit of the discovery of the passage to India by the Cape,

belonged to any modern European nation, that merit was due to the Portuguese, and to them alone, although the merit of this discovery belonged to nations that existed before the naval superiority of the Portuguese enabled Gama, and his predecessors, to perfect and apply this discovery, is pretty evident, from the well authenticated records of the voyages performed by Euodoxus and others, under the ancient Egyptian monarchs. But granting, what really is the case, that the Portuguese are entitled to the credit of applying this wonderful discovery, they surely had a right to a national monopoly to which the English could lay no claim; and by a parity of reasoning, those Portuguese mariners, who first made and successfully applied the discovery to the India trade, had a much clearer claim to be incorporated into an exclusive Company, than those English adventurers, who, to the disgrace of government, and to the prejudice of the country, came so to be incorporated. Yet no such pretension was ever instituted by the magnanimous Portuguese adventurers, and no such exclusive privileges were ever conferred on any order of men by the Portuguese Government. Portugal aimed, and she aimed unsuccessfully, at the establishment of a national monopoly of the India trade by the Cape; but although defeated in this over sanguine project, she never once dreamed of instituting a monopoly, whose only tendency would have been to militate against herself.

The policy of national monopolies—viz. the attempt of one country to engross the trade of another country, to the exclusion of all other countries, has been questioned by the most approved writers, and in my estimation, has been satisfactorily proved to be disadvantageous, even to the monopolizing country. But the arguments by which a partial monopoly enjoyed by an exclusive Company may be shewn to be hurtful to all the other classes of the community, and to the country abroad, where the monopoly has been established, are much more palpable and plain. This position, however, I reserve for after discussion, and proceed to glance at the history of the Company.

In 1600, when the Company were incorporated by royal patent, their capital stock amounted to about 70,000*l.*; four ships were fitted out for the first adventure, which proving fortunate in the extreme, enabled them to increase their Stock, and encouraged them to extend the scale of their operations. James I. gave a death-blow to the numerous patents of his predecessor; but the exclusive Companies which had in a few years become rich and powerful, at the expense of the country, contrived to elude or to resist a species of innovation, which would have brought them to an equitable level with their oppressed countrymen. Thus, for the contemptible equivalent of a little temporary advantage to the Sovereign, were sacrificed the rights and interests of a great commercial nation. The injurious influence of these monopolies may be ascertained by

the simple fact that, in London, the seat of these exclusive Companies, centered five-sixths of the trade of the Kingdom, and that this vast proportion of the trade was engrossed by about two hundred individuals, who formed a Court of inquisition, with power to fix whatever price they pleased on every article of import or export. In the same reign, a Bill was passed, declaring all monopolies as contrary to law, and to the known liberties of the people; but from the causes already mentioned, the Company found golden reasons to convince Government that their monopoly was an exception to this good general rule. The long period of strife and discord that preceded the Revolution, leaves a blank in the history of the Company's affairs. This period, however, was not misimproved, for in proportion as the public mind was diverted from commercial to political subjects, the Company had the better opportunity of prosecuting their nefarious schemes of national plunder and spoliation. In these times commerce was almost wholly militant—one nation contending with another, and one Company contending with another for an ascendancy that could only be obtained and defended by bloodshed. The mutual acts of violence and of cruelty of which the English and Dutch East India Companies were guilty towards one another, shock the feelings of all who have been accustomed to consider commerce as the handmaid of peace, the benefactor of mankind. The impotent threats of the Venetians and Portuguese against intruders, derived an awful realization in the numerous acts of rapine and cold-blooded murder which were perpetrated, not only with the cognizance, but by the immediate direction of these two rival companies.

Under this system of atrocity and of abuse, the affairs of India continued to be conducted till the year 1653, when for four successive years the trade was thrown open to private adventurers, who cultivated it so successfully as to extort from the Company the unintentional yet most important compliment to the superiority of the zeal and talents of private merchants, alluded to in a former letter, viz. that these 'had run away with the whole India trade.' The truth is, the private British merchant had, during this short period of indulgence, to contend against the united opposition of the English East India Company at home, and of the Dutch and other foreign rivals abroad; and, in the face of all this united and malignant opposition, so far from being driven from the India market or ruined in the European market, they actually undersold both the Dutch and English companies in these great markets, of which they had held the undivided monopoly for half a century. In proof of this assertion it need only be stated, that on the rumoured intention of the Protector to dissolve the English Company, the Dutch officially remonstrated against such a measure, as ruinous to their own East India Company. So true is it that the most ferocious animals can at times forget their mutual antipathies, in order to co-operate against a common enemy.

I have had occasion in some of my former letters, to exhibit specimens of the logic which the Company have at times employed in vindication of their monopoly, and in deprecation of that dreaded foe to monopoly—free trade. In more instances than one, the advocacy of the Directors, and of the hireling Swiss amanuenses whom they are known to have employed, resembles very much the pleadings of an eminent barrister, who has lately enhanced his notoriety, from a new practice he has introduced into the English bar, of arguing in favour of his opponent, and against his own client. For their imprudent, although most candid and correct admissions, nay, the arguments gravely drawn by themselves from the statements thus laid down, if they go to prove any thing at all, must be held to prove a great deal more than the Company, or their hireling scribes, ever intended that Government or the country should believe. In 1681, the Company, *inter alia*, aver that a free trade would afford an unlimited vent for British manufactures of all kinds, and diminish, to an unprecedented degree, the price of every Indian commodity; positions which no man of ordinary intelligence will attempt to controvert, however much he may be disposed to question the inference absurdly drawn from these premises, namely, that such a state of things would tend to the injury of the kingdom's interest. Such has ever been the policy of the Company, artfully to associate the common weal of the country with their own private interests, and carefully to conceal a truth which has all along been legibly inscribed upon the whole of their proceedings, that their private selfish interests are not only different from, but at direct variance with, all the other classes and departments of the country.

Soon after the Revolution which established in this country a liberality of sentiment and an efficiency of public administration, hitherto unknown, the Company were destined to encounter an opposition to the renewal of their charter, which, but for the consummate address and the most flagrant corruption, which history, perhaps, ever recorded, then practised, must have proved successful. The villanous proceedings of the Directors in buying up opposition, bribing members of Parliament, and tampering with Government, in which not a less sum than 170,000*l.* was expended, are fully authenticated by Parliamentary documents, and can only be compared with similar villanous proceedings in 1720, and at subsequent renewals of their charter. So deeply sensible were the corrupt and profligate Directors of the advantages of their monopoly, and so resolutely were they determined to maintain it by whatever means and whatever hazards, that they frequently brought themselves to the verge of bankruptcy by the liberality of their bribes, and more particularly in 1708, by a bonus of corruption, by which they contrived to buy over to their interests a new Company which threatened their ruin.

The leading motive which animated the Directors, to contest so strenuously, and to encounter so many sacrifices in defence of their monopoly, was the immense gains which, as individuals under the cover of the Company, they derived from the maladministration of its affairs; for at the same moment that they had by their largesses and bribes reduced their constituents to a state of financial distress, bordering on bankruptcy, they themselves were revelling in the profusion of an iniquitous prosperity. It was a sense of remediless oppression, occasioned by these shameful proceedings, that gave rise to the formation of the Ostend Company in 1714, under the auspices of the Emperor. This Company, which was destined to be but of short duration, was formed by the united capital and enterprise of English and Dutch merchants, who were excluded by the prohibitory statutes of their own countries from any share or advantage arising from the India trade. So beneficial were the consequences of this liberal establishment during the few years that it was suffered to exist, that the supply of every Indian commodity was unprecedentedly increased and cheapened, and the exclusive Companies were compelled to reduce by one-fourth the amount of their exorbitant dividends. The fate of the Ostend Company is known—it died, not a natural, but a violent death, by the hands of its envious and monopolous rivals.

A strong analogy may be traced betwixt the character of the East India and that of the South Sea Company, or bubble as it has more properly been designated—in both, the interests of the people were sacrificed to the necessities or profligacy of the state; in both the arts of dissimulation, the most flagrant corruption, and the deepest villany were practised, with this solitary feature of difference that, whilst imprudence led to discovery in the one case, an artful policy continued to elude detection in the other, till it was too late to administer a remedy.

In 1730, the Company's exclusive charter again expired. On this occasion, a great body of the most considerable merchants in the kingdom came forward with an application to be incorporated into a trading Company, but without any exclusive privileges, thus opening up the India trade to all classes of British subjects. This magnanimous proposal was enforced by the offer of three millions sterling, as a price or equivalent for the great public blessing thereby to be obtained. But the golden arguments of the old Company once more prevailed to secure to them the peaceable and exclusive possession of their lucrative monopoly for thirty-six years longer. The leading argument which the Company on this occasion employed to dissuade Government from dissolving their rotten corporation, was the immense sums which their Directors at home, and factors abroad, contrived to squander: in order to have rendered the argument complete, they ought to have added to the catalogue of expenditure the still greater sums that were squandered in buying up votes and bribing members of Parliament.

From this period down to 1766, and 1785, the history of the Company is interesting only as affording an example of gross and flagrant mismanagement. More than once their Directors, as individuals, or in their representative capacity, were placed at the bar of the nation as criminals and delinquents; some of them were committed to the Tower, others visited with fine and forfeiture, and others, like the dangerous peace-breaker, bound over under strong though inadequate securities, for their future good behaviour. Antiquity had by this time begun to cast around this anomalous Establishment her venerable shade. Defeated in every effort to obtain public justice, an excluded and oppressed community seem to have at length settled down into a kind of acquiescent despair, and thus to have established in favour of the Phoenix of monopoly a prescriptive and immutable right in all time coming, to sport with the national resources, and to squander their own.

The Company's Charter again expired in March, 1811. By a provision in this act, the debt of the Company was to have been reduced to two millions, and their capital stock to have been increased to twelve millions. When the time for count and reckoning, however, arrived, it was found that the India debt, instead of being reduced to two millions, had risen to thirty! So much for the golden dreams fostered by the golden arguments of the Company. India, hitherto to use the words of Dr. Smith, has been 'not a gold mine, but the project of a gold mine.'

The circumstances and aspect of the times afford the strongest grounds to believe, that the abolition of the East India Company's chartered privileges is at hand, whether we consider the character of the present administration, the present state of the country and its foreign and colonial relations viewed absolutely, or viewed in connection with the posture of affairs, in 1814, when the present charter was granted. From the present administration, if there remain but the vestige of consistency, the country has every thing, the Company have nothing to expect. The Premier's brother, Lord Wellesley, who governed India with credit to himself, and honour to the country, has more than once given the verdict of his sound and enlightend judgment, against the illiberality and narrow policy of the Company. In a letter to the Court of Directors in 1800, he tells them that 'beneficial consequences of the utmost importance, would certainly result to the British Empire in India from any increase of its active capital, which is known not to bear a just proportion to the productive powers of the country.' And what have the Company done in deference to the salutary advice from this high quarter? Positively nothing; but on the contrary, with a contumely commensurate with their illiberality, they have exerted themselves to the utmost to exclude capital from vesting itself in India. Sir Robert Peel, also, who may well be considered a competent judge in affairs relating to commerce, in a letter to the same



body in 1797, accuses them of 'a positive breach of contract, in refusing themselves, and denying permission to others, to bring home cotton at a reasonable freight, which had caused a rise in the price of cotton of 100 per cent.' It is not to be doubted that these high authorities will have some weight in the settlement of that question which is now second to none that affects the interests of this great commercial country. The present Government is one that can neither be tampered with on the one hand, nor intimidated on the other; and if even-handed justice has already been dealt out to one class of British subjects, it cannot, and will not, be withheld from another. If ever there was a time more favourable than another, when the India question could be dispassionately and equitably settled, that time is the present, when Britain is at peace with all the world—when, by a magnanimous act of national justice, the discontented millions of Ireland have been bound by the ties of common allegiance, and when the half-famished millions of our manufacturing population loudly demand an extension of our commercial enterprise and relations. What was the state of the country when the India question was last brought under the eye of the legislature? A foreign power overawed our armies on the Continent, and our fleets on the remotest parts of the ocean; our allies were intimidated; our colonies invaded, our national existence endangered. Was that the fittest time for the calm and deliberate consideration of a question which more nearly concerned our commercial than our political welfare? But now that peace has been restored, peace at home, and tranquillity abroad, what is there now that should prevent an impartial and equitable settlement of a question that concerns not our welfare only, but our very existence as a commercial country?

A liberal line of policy in regard to trade and commerce is gaining ground over the world. In most countries, and in most departments of commerce in every country, the exclusive and prohibitory system, in its most obnoxious form, has vanished, and given place to the introduction of liberal and more enlightened views, on the great subjects of commercial economy. We now search in vain for those numerous strong holds of exclusion and monopoly, which so long impeded the progress of European improvement. One port after another, and one market after another, has been declared free. Cadiz under the reign of a monarch, who is little liable to be charged with an excess of that spirit of liberality, or love of innovation, which it has become so fashionable to decry, has been declared a free port. The principal ports of Europe and of America, with their numerous markets and extensive commerce, have long been declared free; and what is still more worthy of notice, from the striking proof which it affords of the growth of a liberal spirit in commerce, Venice, proud exclusive monopolising Venice, once the mistress of the ocean, the commercial lawgiver of Europe, has, by

a late edict of the Emperor, been declared a free port. Let not then the friends of free trade with India despair.

The genius of Britain is decidedly commercial—its laws, customs, institutions, all partake more or less of this character, and the great majority of its whole population have derived their wealth and importance, and still depend for their maintenance upon one or other of the numerous and diversified avocations which commerce affords. Even the landed interest, as it is distinctively styled, that powerful interest which preponderates so exclusively in the cabinet and councils of the nation, derives its elevation and influence directly or more remotely from the accessions of wealth and power, which commerce through her thousand channels, has infused into the country. Let internal industry decay—let commerce bid adieu to our shores, and the value of land and produce become nominal and unimportant.

It has become too much the fashion (for there are fashions in politics as well as in attire) to laud the wisdom and benignity of the British Constitution, as if it had reached the maximum, the utmost possible point of perfection in its domestic affairs, foreign relations and colonial dependencies. Commerce in this country may have attained an unrivalled growth; but to whom has it been indebted for its prosperity? To the monopolist and his abettors? No; solely to the industry, spirit, intelligence, and enterprise of the British merchant. Commerce has grown up and flourished amongst us, not by dint of legislation, but in spite of legislation; not by dint of monopoly, but in spite of monopoly. Does any one doubt the truth of the position? 'Go Sceptic,' we would say, 'to India, search the records of her commercial history—peruse the black annals of corruption at home, and cruelty abroad, and read in characters engraven by the iron hand of oppression, the foredooming lessons of approaching retribution, which modern maladministration has caused to resound from the banks of the Ganges to the banks of the Thames; and if sturdiness strangles conviction, let not your scepticism be set down to the want of evidence.' Can that be styled legislative wisdom, which chartered and which perpetuates the East India Company's monopoly? Can that claim the title of legislative benignity, which tolerates and encourages a system under which British subjects are persecuted, the sable Natives of India enslaved, idolatry patronised, inhumanity rewarded? Shame to the boasted age of civilization and refinement in which we live—shame to an enlightened government, under whose auspices the idolatrous rites of Hindooism are openly supported, the Hindoo widow immolated, the helpless infant sacrificed!

There can be little doubt that the prevalence of ignorance and of superstition in India, notwithstanding all that has been done by the missionary and the philanthropist, in that ill-fated region, is mainly attributable to the exclusive and monopolous privileges and authority of the East India Company. Their aim, I have formerly shewn,

has always been to exclude knowledge, extinguish inquiry, retard improvement, and obstruct the progress of missions. For whilst British commerce has diffused knowledge, and extended improvement from pole to pole, India has remained for centuries the impregnable fortress and stronghold of idolatry, and all its accompanying evils. The natural tendency of commerce to promote the comfort and happiness of mankind, is beautifully described in the just, though poetic, language of our townsman, the poet Campbell.

‘That man can have little patriotism in his heart, and little knowledge of English history in his head, in whose estimation the mercantile interests and character of our empire holds not a proud niche. What has emancipated England? What has made the remotest ocean the element of her native intrepidity? What has spread her language, and intellect, and colonies, to the end of the earth? It is her merchandise; commerce conquers the world without guilt, and enriches it without plunder. Let those mistaken men who have declaimed against commerce, go back to their historical studies, and they will find, in the history of the whole world, from that of ancient Greece to Great Britain, that commerce has been the constant parent of public spirit, intelligence, liberty and civilization.’

This poetic, though no less just and splendid tribute to the value and excellence of British commerce, derives illustration from numerous passages of our history. But the rule is not without its exceptions. There is a commerce which ought not to hold a proud niche in the estimation of the patriot—there is a commerce which has not emancipated this country—which has not spread her language, her intellect, or her religion to the ends of the earth. Do we again encounter the sceptic? We would tell him to go back to his historical studies, and he will find in the whole history of monopoly, from that of the Venetians down to that of the English East India Company, that monopoly in commerce has been the constant enemy of public spirit, intelligence, liberty, and civilization.

Apart from every commercial or political consideration, the state of Society in India, caused by the absurd constitution of the Company and their Government, may forcibly be pleaded as an argument for the measures now contemplated. Liberty is a blessing of no ordinary kind—it is dearer to every Briton, who deserves the name, than any other temporal consideration. It is a certain fact, that no British subject can change his residence in this country, for a location in India, without foregoing, to a very great extent, this invaluable blessing. It is, therefore, no ordinary consideration, that can induce any individual to make India his home, even for a limited period. And in order to overcome this strong and natural disinclination, the Company are obliged to hold out to their servants the golden prize of high present remuneration, and the prospect of higher future preferment. Their clerks, cadets, surgeons, and other retainers, enjoy before they reach the maturity of manhood,

posts of honour and places of emolument. There is no individual who, from choice, would in present circumstances, make India his home—the majority of adventurers, and of those who go out in the service of the Company, go out with the settled purpose of returning to their native land whenever the term of their servitude shall have expired ; and the majority of those who survive the maturity of their engagements, return, or desire to return thither, if it were but to relinquish for ever a service of which they entertain the utmost abhorrence, and to lay their bones beside the ashes of their fathers. What kind of a country must that be, or rather what must be the state of Society in that country, of which no man will consent to become a denizen, until his soul has become absorbed by the sordid desire of amassing a fortune, at the hazard of liberty and life,—in which no man who has not, by the sufferance and practice of idolatry, himself become an idolater, will remain one moment longer than he is obliged—a country which the man who has at length safely embarked himself and his fortunes in the vessel which is to convey him to Europe, cares not, so far as he is concerned, although an earthquake or volcano were next moment to swallow up for ever. In India there is no kindness, no reciprocity of that feeling which softens the asperities of society, in less tropical countries. Mammon is the deity which all ranks and classes worship, and selfishness the point in which all intercourse centres. Each class as pertinaciously centinels his order and dignity, as if the whole were an automaton army of officers and subalterns—whilst the frankness and affability of the military profession is wholly wanting.

It has long been the mistaken policy of our Government, to cultivate with assiduity, and to maintain at an immense expense, the most useless and unproductive settlements, whilst other districts of our foreign possessions, which present not only boundless facilities, but incalculable advantages, have either been left uncultivated, or sacrificed to the private interests of exclusive companies. India has scarcely yet felt the kindling beams of civilization—comparatively few colonies have been located in a country which combines the inducements of soil, climate, marketable produce, and an unlimited market. Whilst on the other hand, immense sums have been expended, and the national resources drained by a fictitious cultivation of our poor and unproductive colonies in North America, the Cape, and New South Wales. It is worthy of remark also, as a proof of the hurtful tendency of exclusive Companies, to the welfare of the colony where the exclusion has been established, that from the moment that the Company acquired their exclusive monopoly and territorial sovereignty, down almost to the present day, their settlements in India have been on the decrease. Where an exception to this remark occurs, the circumstance may be traced, not to the operation of the Company, but to the impetus of improvement which, in spite of partiality and of opposition, free trade has effected.

After all that has been said about the injustice and injurious tendency

of the East India Company's monopoly, it may very naturally still be asked, does there exist a remedy for these evils? Can the monopoly, after all, be abolished? As to the possibility of the case, no one can entertain a doubt, who reflects for a moment on the extent of Parliamentary power, and on the Parliamentary origin of the powers and privileges of the Company. To suppose that there is a power in the British Empire, independent of and irresponsible to Parliament, would be a stretch of radicalism too gross to be tolerated. No; the East India Company's Directory's servants, and retainers, are British subjects, and as such are placed on an equal and equitable footing with every other class of British subjects. They are under the protection of the same laws, bound by allegiance to the same crown, and subject to the constitutional acts of the same legislature. Indemnity is the only return to which the British subject is entitled from the legislature of his country, and by indemnity the sovereignty, and other privileges connected with India, may be resumed by that legislature which conferred them on the Company.

Granting, then, (and the Company themselves have never pretended to dispute the fact) that the British Legislature has the power and the right, on certain equitable conditions, to denude that Corporation of its territorial Sovereignty and exclusive privileges, what is to become of the Company, and the whole machinery of their intricate and expensive Establishments? And how is the chaos of an abolished system to be new created and re-modelled? Various schemes have been proposed to meet what is supposed to be a difficulty of the first magnitude; and the high pretensions of the Company to equivalents and rewards, has been advocated with a zeal which they ill deserve at the hands of their opponents—such as to leave them in undisturbed possession of some of their exclusive privileges, or their incorporation into public organs of finance or of government. The fate and ulterior destination of the Company, may be subjects of very great importance to them, but they are subjects with which, in my estimation, the public of this country have very little to do. What they are chiefly concerned about is the abolition of the unjust monopoly and odious sovereignty; and if they can only succeed in proving this monopoly of the Company to be unjust, and their sovereignty oppressive, they are not to be arrested in the career of reformation by any of those obstacles which the pride, the selfishness or avarice of that Corporation may choose to throw across their path. Let a case of aggravated injustice and oppression only be made out, and the legislature are bound not only to prosecute the inquiry to the utmost, but to provide and apply a proper remedy, let the consequences to the Company be what they may. It will be time enough to talk of equivalents, after the public of this country shall have been compensated for a tithe of the losses and grievances which they have suffered from the Company for upwards of two centuries.

## THE PERI ISLE.

' Ott in my fancy's wanderings,  
I've thought that little Isle had wings,  
And we beneath its fairy bowers.'

MOORE.

Oh, beautiful were they and bright—  
Descended from immortal bowers—  
Dwelling amid the fadeless light  
Of summer things and summer flowers,  
That circled with a golden band,  
The blessed haunts of Peri land !  
Tho' many an age away hath roll'd,  
Since scenes like these did man behold ;  
Or mortal trod within the pale,  
Where Allah's glory fill'd the gale !—  
Tho' now, no longer o'er his soul,  
The soft blue eyes of spirits roll,  
Their *housied* glances beaming yet,  
More nobly than the Jewels shone,  
Within the crown of Kingdoms set,  
That girt the brows of Solomon !—  
Still shall the shadow of these things,  
Live in the mind's most secret springs,  
Luring the heart with scenes of bliss,  
It cannot hope to share *within* !  
While man remains what now he is,  
The child—the slave—of Earth and sin !—  
Oh ! God ! Oh, God ! when Love's young fire,  
First flash'd its feeling o'er my soul,  
And *urged* by the wild desire  
Of youth, my blood began to roll,  
Thro' all its channels, with the strife  
Of Nature calling out for life !—  
Ye Peri bow'rs, ye Peri bow'rs,  
My dreams were thine, my longing heart  
But lingered thro' the passing hours,  
Stay'd by the thought of what thou wert !  
When Man and Spirits dwelt akin,  
And lived and lov'd beneath the boughs,  
Ere love had taught itself the sin  
Of Breaking hearts and broken vows.  
There was an Isle—the Peri's land,  
And Peri streams were flowing round it,  
And on its shores the Golden sand  
Like gums lay o'er the rocks that bound it ;  
And gentle was the Peri breeze,  
That wanton'd o'er this happy land,  
Giving a life to all its trees,  
To ev'ry plant a helping hand,  
To spread a blossom to the day,  
Pale with the damps of no cold night,  
But fresh with dews whose fragrance lay,  
Blushing above the Petals bright,  
While music, such as angels bring,  
From harps of tone so pure and high,

That never mortal touched a string  
 Who lived and heard its melody,  
 In one soft, sweet, and gentle strain,  
 Rose on the current of the air,  
 That of its heav'nly burthen vain,  
 Seem'd fixed in moveless wonder there.

## SONG OF AN ISLAND PERI.

Oh, the bliss it is ours, to dwell among bowers,  
 Whose verdure fadeth never,  
 While our hearts are light, as a summer night,  
 Where summer reigns for ever ;  
 And the songs we sing, from bosoms spring,  
 A tide of joy that cherish,  
 And the paths we tread, with roses spread,  
 That bloom, but do not perish.  
 There's a spell in the deep, where the wild waves sleep,  
 And not a tide is flowing,  
 There's a spell in the sky, so blue and high,  
 Where not a cloud is growing ;  
 There's a spell in the Gale, thro' Ether's veil,  
 Where not a shadow lieth,  
 And a spell in the air, for the music there,  
 Oh, never, never dieth '  
 Oh, we were the first, by heaven nurst,  
 With milk from angels flowing,  
 And our forms are fair, as children of air,  
 And our eyes are bright and glowing  
 Our king is the king of a magic ring,  
 On that ring is the jewel of heaven,  
 And his will is the might of a power bright,  
 To whom our song is given.

The music ceas'd, whose echoes falling round,  
 Again repeated its harmonious sound ;  
 I heard it in a vision of the night,  
 My soul still lingering through a dream of light,  
 And wandered thro' a mystic joyous scene,  
 Such as on earth, alas ! hath never been -  
 It floated on my senses for a while,  
 Dimly, but grievously,—this Peri Isle,  
 With all its verdant plains and myrtle bowers,  
 And cypress trees, and ever blooming flowers,  
 And streams whose currents never slack'd their course,  
 And birds of joy whose throats were never hoarse,—  
 And groves whose echo's not a moment dumb,  
 Were fill'd with music's never-ceasing hum.  
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Now all have fled—the vision comes no more,  
 With my youth's strength, the spell, the dream is o'er :  
 By passion nurst, in mystic silence pent,  
 It came and overpower'd me, and it went.  
 Dreams of another age, a long farewell,  
 Where boyhood laugh'd and wonder loved to dwell ;  
 Where fancy ro' d, and pride gave fancy strength,  
 Of many years the veil hath fallen at length ;  
 Woe and a world of cares its train pursue,  
 And dreams of Peri Isles no more I view.

## VOYAGE FROM BOMBAY TO MADRAS AND CALCUTTA.

## No. II.

*First Landing of Europeans at Calicut—Description of the Town—its varied Inhabitants, Commerce, &c.—Visit to Bepour.*

*March 30.*—As our supply of water was not yet filled up for the ship's use, we were detained here for another day, which was devoted to an examination of the town, and a ride to some of the most agreeable spots, and most commanding views in the neighbourhood.

Calicut will be remembered as the place at which the Portuguese made their first landing in India, when it was visited by the celebrated Vasco de Gama, in 1498. At that period it was governed by a Chief of the Nyers, under the title of the Zamorin, to whom nearly the whole coast of Malabar, and all the plain country beneath the Ghauts, was then subject. The jealousy of the Arabs, who were then the principal foreign merchants here, at the arrival of Europeans, whom they had been accustomed to supply by way of Egypt and the Red Sea, and the bravery and firmness of De Gama, in his resistance of their influence with the Zamorin, are very eloquently described by the Abbé Raynal, in his History of the European Establishments in the East and West Indies.

The Portuguese Historian of Asia, Manuel de Faria y Sousa, says, "About 600 years before the arrival of the Portuguese in India, there reigned in Malabar a powerful monarch, from whose reign the people begin their era or historical computations, as they did afterwards from our arrival. This king was persuaded by the Moors, who traded to his port, to turn Mohammedan, and gave them liberty to build houses at Calicut. When he grew old he divided his kingdom among his kindred, giving Coulans to the chief, where he placed the principal seat of his religion of the Bramins, and gave him the title of Cobritim, which signifies High Priest. To his nephew he gave Calicut, with the title of Zamorin, which signifies Emperor. This dignity continues in the Sovereign of Calicut, but the other has been removed to Cochin. Having disposed of his dominions, he resolved to die at Mecca, but was drowned by the way." \*

The Portuguese found this place at the period of their visit powerful in arms, and wealthy by commerce, and it is said, indeed, that at this period it was the greatest trading mart on all the western coast of India.

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\* Portuguese Discovery and Conquest of India, in Kerr's Collection.—vol. vi. p. 87.



In the year 1509, when the Portuguese made their attack on the island of Diu, on the coast of Guzerat, under their celebrated leader Almeyda, they were opposed by a large fleet of praos, manned by the Moors of Calicut, as they were called, acting as much perhaps from enmity to the invaders, as in the light of mercenaries to the governors of that Island.

It was in the same year that Albuquerque prepared an expedition against Calicut, which sailed from Cochin with thirty vessels of various sizes, 1800 land troops, and several boats crowded with the natives of Malabar, who followed in hopes of plunder. They arrived at Calicut, says De Faria, on the 2d of January, 1510. Every one, he adds, strove to be so posted as to land first, and the men were so eager for landing, that they were under arms all night, and so tired in the morning, that they were fitter for sleep than fighting,—yet soon recovered when the signal was given, and the cannon began to roar. The attack that was made on the bulwark or bastion of Ceram, by De Cunna and De Sousa, though bravely repelled by about 600 men, was seconded so well on the coming up of Albuquerque himself, that the defenders fled, and left the Portuguese in possession of the fortress.

A saying of Fernando Coutinho, who acted in conjunction with Albuquerque on this expedition, is recorded by his historian, as a proof of a high military spirit, and deserves to be repeated. Albuquerque, it is said, being fearful of some disastrous event from the confusion of his men, sent notice to Coutinho, who came with all speed to his assistance. On seeing the Portuguese colours flying on the bulwark, Coutinho believed he had been called back by a contrivance of the Viceroy, to prevent him from acquiring honour, and addressed him in the following terms:—"Were you ambitious, Sir, that the rabble of Lisbon should report you to have been the first in storming Calicut, that you thus recal me? I shall tell the king that I could have entered it with only this cane in my hand, and since I find no one to fight with, I am resolved to proceed to the palace of the Zamorin." Without waiting any reply from Albuquerque, he actually marched there, and storming the palace at the head of his men, drove all its defenders from it. But the Indians having procured a reinforcement, fell upon the Portuguese while they were loaded with the plunder of the place, and after killing and wounding many, effectually drove them back again.

Albuquerque had in the mean time possessed himself of the city of Calicut, which he set on fire and afterwards abandoned, while he marched off to the palace in search of Coutinho. He found this Chief in great danger, and in attempting to relieve him had many of his men killed by the enemy, and was himself so severely wounded by a dart in the throat, and a stone on the head, that he was carried senseless to the shore. Coutinho and almost all his division were slain, on their way from the palace to the shore, being op-

pressed, as the historian says, by the multitude of the enemy, spent with labour and heat, and almost stifled by the great dust. There was now as keen a contest about who should get first on board, as there had been about landing first, not considering that all their misfortunes had been occasioned by hurry and confusion. At length they got on board, and sailed on their return to Cochin, having lost 800 men, or nearly half their original number, in this ill-conducted enterprise, among whom too were Continno and many other persons of note. \*

Notwithstanding this signal defeat of the Portuguese, it was only twelve years afterwards that the terror of their name had been raised by repeated victories to such a pitch, as to strike dismay into all who went to oppose them. In the year 1521, the Zamorin of Calicut made war against Cochin, at the head of 200,000 men, and although only forty Portuguese were in the army of Cochin, and but thirty of these were armed with muskets, the enemy retired in dismay. †

The Portuguese had by this time obtained sufficient footing at Calicut to have a garrison of their own there, for De Faria, in describing the events of the year 1524, the year in which the renowned Don Vasco de Gama came out as Viceroy to India, and died on the eve of Christmas at Goa, says, "The fort at Calicut was at this time much straitened by the Naynes, yet the small garrison of fifty Portuguese, maintained their post with much honour." ‡ Shortly after this, he adds, the Zamorin of Calicut besieged the Portuguese fort at that place, with an army of 12,000 men, and surrounded it with a broad and deep trench. Don Juan de Lima commanded in the fort with 200 men, and did every thing in his power to obstruct the besiegers in the construction of their lines, but they were at last finished and planted with a vast number of cannon, some of which were so large as to carry balls of two spans diameter. On receiving advice of the siege, Don Enrique sent a reinforcement of 150 men, in two caravels, commanded by Christopher Jusante and Duarte Forseca. They succeeded in forcing their way into the fort, in spite of a violent opposition by sea and land. Immediately afterwards the enemy endeavoured to take the fort by escalade, but were repulsed with great slaughter.

A further reinforcement of 500 men from Cochin, being unable to reach Calicut, Don Enrique went there with all the naval force he could collect, being unwilling that his government should suffer the disgrace of allowing this fortress to be taken by the enemy. Having thrown some strong reinforcements into the fort, Don Enrique landed with the remainder of his troops, after clearing the shore of the enemy, by means of his guns, assisted by grenadoes and other fire-works. All the intrenchments and redoubts of the

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\* Kerr's Collection, vol. vi. pp. 127, 128. † Ibid, p. 190. ‡ Ibid, 201.

besiegers were successively carried, with prodigious slaughter of the Moors and Naynes, of whom above 2,000 were slain, besides many others burnt in their wooden forts and bulwarks. In this engagement, Don George de Menezes made great slaughter of the enemy, with a two-handed sword, till losing his right hand, he took a smaller sword in his left, and continued to fight with great valour. Don Enrique remained master of the field in which he encamped, for four days; but as the fort was not considered important in proportion to its expense, it was stripped of every thing of value with great care and privacy, and mines and trains were laid to blow it up, after which the whole army retired to the ships. On seeing the fort evacuated, the Moors rushed in to plunder in vast numbers; but the mines suddenly taking fire, blew up the whole fabric with a vast explosion, in which great numbers of the enemy miserably perished. \*

Calicut continues to be incidentally mentioned in the Portuguese annals long after this, but chiefly as a place of commerce at which their vessels touched, and it continued at intervals to be visited by and to belong to them, until the arrival of the Dutch in India, when the Zamorin, who had long been tired of such troublesome guests, assisted the Dutch to expel and to replace them.

Since that period most of the European nations who have traded to India, have had factories at Calicut, and it has invariably preserved its consequence as a commercial port, from its fertility and the valuable productions of the surrounding country, as well as for its central situation among the ports on the coast of Malabar.

Calicut was at a still later period invested by Hyder Ali, to whom the Zamorin voluntarily surrendered it; but Hyder subsequently restored to him his possessions, exacting only a small annual tribute.

In 1782 it was taken by the English, when the Moguls were driven from the country, and the Zamorin exempted from his tribute to them. It now *nominally* belongs to the Zamorin, who goes through the farce of being crowned, and is attended by a court equipage; but the East India Company have him completely in their power: as the collection of the revenue by land and sea, the disposition of the forces, and indeed all the economy of his dominions is in their hands, and managed by the military and civil officers of the Madras Establishment, while this pageant of an Emperor is supported by an annual pension from the Company's funds! The town of Calicut extends along the sea beach for upwards of a mile in length, and may be about half a mile in general breadth from the sea shore inward. It is not seated on a river, as some authorities describe it to be, for the river of Calicut is considerably to the southward of the town, and not to the northward, as Mr. Milburn has placed it. Some of the principal streets are long, wide, and spa-

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\* Kerr's Collection, pp. 201—203.

cious, and have others crossing them at right angles, but the greater number of them are narrow and irregular. The houses are in general more solidly built than is usually seen in dwellings of the lower order of people in India, and except in the bazars or other continued streets, the dwellings are mostly isolated from each other, ascended to by a flight of steps, surrounded by a stone wall, and placed in the centre of an open space of ground within, so that they might easily be defended by a few against many.

Among the public buildings there are several pagodas belonging to the Hindoo part of the population. And mosques of the Mohammedan portion of the people, with numerous tanks, or reservoirs of water respectively attached to each. Of the pagodas, the principal one that we saw was composed of several low square buildings included within a large walled court. The court itself was paved with flat stones, and kept clean by women who were sweeping it at the time of our visit, and sprinkling it with perfumed and consecrated water. The buildings within were constructed of an open frame work of wood, like cages, the cross-bars and upright pieces of it being little more than an inch in thickness, and the intervals left between them about a foot square. Along these bars were continued lines of small brass lamps, one being fixed at each junction or crossing of the frame work; and on great festivals it was said that all these lamps were lighted up, which gave an appearance of singular beauty as well as of great brilliancy to the buildings thus illuminated. We saw no idols of their gods, as these were probably in the innermost part of the temple.

The mosques of the Mohammedans are all of a very mean kind; most of them are small rooms, sometimes surmounted by a dome, but we remarked one which was of a totally different description. This was a large building near the centre of the town, standing on elevated ground, and occupying a square of at least 200 feet. It rose to a height of four or five stories, and was then crowned by a sloping roof; but the greatest peculiarity of its structure was that the base of every succeeding story extended beyond the one below it, and then the walls going in an inclined slope outward, extended so as to make each upper story project over the lower one, while the space left between the upper part of one story, and the base of the following one, its receding inward, was covered by a species of sloping roof or shed to carry off the water. In each of the stories were regular lines of windows, but there were no doors excepting in the ground-floor. It was, altogether, the most singular building that I ever remember to have seen, and seemed to me to be constructed in such direct opposition to all the established principles of architecture, that it was a wonder how it held together at all. I could not ascertain whether the stories were divided by corresponding floors on the inside, or whether the building was open all the way to the top; for as the Mohammedans here are a bigotted race,

we did not wish to give them offence by asking permission to examine it. The building is at present used as a mosque. And the people have no tradition of its ever having served any another purpose ; but it struck me, as not improbable, that at the period of Mohammedanism being propagated here, it might have served as a college for learned Moollahs, or as a school for the education of youth in the principles of their religion. Excepting the singularity of its architecture, which I could in no way account for ; its size and form was more fitted for a college than a mosque, but it was indeed totally unlike either, judging from the edifices of this nature in Mohammedan countries. The tanks are large and well built, and so numerous, as to be found in every quarter of the town. They are generally, though not invariably attached to pagodas or mosques, and the respective devotees of each adjoining temple, bathe, and supply themselves with water for their domestic consumption from it. These tanks have been in some instances the works of pious individuals, who have in most cases left a fund for their repair,—others were the works of former governors, and there being now no funds for keeping them in order, they are repaired, when necessary, by the East India Company. Some of these are from 2 to 300 feet square, of an unbroken form all round ; others have piers jutting out from their sides with small recesses, as if for bathing in privacy, and all are descended to by broad flights of steps leading from the upper edge nearly to the bottom, to render the water accessible at all periods of the year, the tanks being full after the rainy monsoon, and continuing to sink gradually till they are nearly empty, at the end of the rainy season. In some of these tanks there are large alligators, but they do not appear to have been placed there out of veneration, as was the case with the crocodiles in the lakes and reservoirs of Egypt : on the contrary, the people instead of cherishing and worshipping them, are glad to have them shot by the European gentlemen, who frequently do this service to the visitors of the tank. It is originally rain water with which these reservoirs are filled ; and being exposed during many months of the year to the full influence of the sun, and receiving into them all light substances floating about in the air, the water may be thought to be sufficiently impure towards the end of the season. If to this be added the almost hourly ablutions of worshippers, who leave all the impurities of their bodies behind them, and frequently too the washing of dirty clothes, and the visits of cows, buffaloes, and other animals ; one cannot wonder at seeing, as is often the case, the surface of the water covered with a green substance, offensive both to the sight and smell.

There are some few Portuguese churches, which should be classed perhaps among the public buildings, but they have nothing to distinguish them from the common Christian churches in other parts of India. The exterior front is, in general, narrow and lofty, and decorated with some ornaments in sculpture, the pediment being

surmounted by a cross. The interior is adorned with common pictures imported from Portugal, and great care is lavished on the embellishment of the altars, but the ornaments are often so paltry and grotesque, as to excite any feeling but that of reverence in an European beholder. In the centre of a small court, in front of one of the principal churches here, we noticed a solid circular mass crowned with a dome at the top, exactly like the supposed tombs of the Buddhites at the caves of Kennerly, in Salsette. All around this were two or three rows of small niches, similar to those so frequently seen in Hindoo temples; and in these niches, as is the practice among the Hindoos also, the Christians of Calicut placed lighted lamps, to burn in honour of the Virgin, or some other tutelary Saint of their adoption.

Of the public buildings erected by or belonging to the English Government at Calicut, little can be said. The Custom-house is little more than a mean shed, quite unworthy the name it bears, and entirely disproportionate to the commerce of the place. The Court-house, the Office of the Collector of the Revenues, and the Public Treasury, are all inferior to many of the residencies of the Natives. The town-gaol, inasmuch as it is spacious, secure, and well adapted to the purpose to which it is applied, is certainly among the best of the government establishments. Among other things, we went to visit a sort of mausoleum erected to the memory of a man belonging to the Police Corps, by the Resident Judge in the name of the East India Company. This building is an oblong edifice of about 30 feet by 10, consisting of a single room; it is built in the European manner, with a pediment and sloping roof, and is railed round on the outside, and closed by a gate, which is locked. Over the door of entrance is a device of arms, in which muskets, swords, &c. are displayed, being raised in relief and painted black, while the walls of the building are of the purest white. On entering, the side walls are seen to have each a large oblong mirror facing each other, and in the end wall fronting to the entrance, is the description of the event which this is intended to commemorate. After a small flight of steps there is a railway, and within this, a tablet is affixed to the wall. The lower part of this contains a representation of the Hindoo God Shiva, with the Crescent moon in his forehead, as indicating the caste to which the deceased belonged. Above this, surrounded by other devices, is a large plate of brass, on which is inscribed in the Sanscrit, Malabar, and English languages, the history and virtues of the individual to whose memory it was erected. After a most exemplary and faithful discharge of his duty for a long series of years, as a private of the Police Corps, he had risen by his own merit to be the Chief of it, and while attending in this capacity at the head of his body, the funeral obsequies of the late Rajah of the district, he was killed by an explosion of gunpowder.

The inscription, after stating that his exemplary conduct for so

long a period was the motive which induced the East India Company to pay this public testimony to his memory, added, that his remains were placed with those of the Rajah, and benevolently and charitably concluded by expressing this hope 'with whom may his soul be now at rest in heaven !'—It was quite gratifying to witness this display of patronage to humble merit, and the tolerant spirit with which it was executed and expressed towards one of so opposite a religion as the Hindoo is to the Christian; and though the native Indians who crowded round us as we entered, were much flattered by our visit, no one among them could have been more pleased than myself\*.

The dwelling-houses of the English families at Calicut, are mostly to the northward of the town, and stand at some distance from each other, having gardens and grounds attached to them. Some indeed are several miles in the country, and stand on elevated situations from whence the finest views are commanded, and where the purest air is breathed. The house of the Collector at which we dined on Sunday, was of this description, and the friend with whom I was staying, had lately constructed a bungalow,—on a still more elevated site, from which a scene was displayed, that whether for extent or beauty could scarcely be surpassed perhaps in any part of India. The houses themselves had nothing peculiar in their construction, but resemble those common to European residences in India, being contrived for comfort rather than for show; and being considered perfect in the degree in which they ensured shade, and a cool and free circulation of air.

The country surrounding Calicut is exceedingly beautiful; from the plain near the sea, which is fertile and well wooded, the ascent to the uplands is easy and gentle, and admits of good roads over hill and dale. Behind this the same degrees of acclivity and descent are preserved in undulating ridges, which here and there interrupt the monotony of the plain, till at length the hills begin to rise higher and higher in successive beds, and the horizon of the east is at last intercepted by the towering range of the Ghauts, 'on whose broken summits the clouds themselves repose. At sun-rise, and particularly when the atmosphere has been purified and rendered transparent by a night-shower, nothing can surpass the magnificence of this prospect to the eastward; while at evening, on turning to the west, from the same point of observation the sun may be seen retiring beneath the ocean, and giving by the reflection of its last rays, a more sober glow

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\* The site of the old fort is still to be traced in the northern part of the town, with its ditches, which are now crossed by one of the public roads, on each side of which are portions of this site converted into fields and gardens. The two portions and the architrave of the original gate-way of this fort, still remain erect, though every other vestige of building that was within it is demolished,—and it is beneath this frame-work, which more resembles a gallows than the gate of a fortress, that the Zamorins are crowned, and most other ceremonials of state performed.

to the very scenes which its early beams brightened into life, until the solemn veil of twilight mingles colours, shades, and forms into one dim haze of neither darkness nor light.

The soil is, throughout, a red mould, excepting immediately on the line of the coast where the land of the sea-beach mixes considerably with it. The lands are parcelled out into small divisions; each individual renter having a cottage and a portion of ground attached to it, which is found to ensure greater attention to its cultivation; and, as the soil is naturally fertile, and tanks of water are numerous, the country is, on the whole, exceedingly productive. Some of the roads are singularly constructed; and I was told, on enquiry, that this was a method peculiar to the Naynes, who inhabit this part of the coast. Instead of the roads going along on a level with the ground on each side, or being somewhat higher, as we generally make them, these are sunk to a depth of at least six or eight feet below the common level of the soil. To support the bank, on each side, it is faced with a wall of brick, which is built of a convex form from the bottom, swelling out towards the centre of its height, and retiring in again at the top, where it is crowned by a strait moulding or torus, carried along its whole length. We passed through one of these roads, at the northern entrance into the town, and the surface of the soil was just even with the top of the wall, on each side, and nearly as high as our heads, though we rode by it. This was evidently one of the oldest parts of the town; and it was here that we principally observed the dwellings of the Naynes, which were ascended to by flights of steps, receding in beyond the wall; we then entered by a strong outer gate, which led into a walled court, in the centre of which, the house stood upon a level with the soil above, but from six to ten feet above the road below, which made every house as defensible as a fort. In another road, either of more modern formation or repair, the banks on each side were supported by large masses of clayey earth, made in the shape of bricks, and placed edgewise, so as to form a wall on an inclined slope, giving to the road the appearance of a trench; as in both cases, the bottom of the road was equally below the general level of the soil. There was one positive inconvenience arising from this; namely, that, in the rainy monsoon, the water lodged in these sunken roads in such quantities as to render them almost impassable; but I could not learn, on enquiry, any benefit which was supposed to result from it, nor any other reason why such a practice was still continued, but in conformity to custom.

In the country about Calicut, and within a short distance of the town, there are seen a number of tumuli, very similar in form and size to those on the plain of Troy, as well as to others so frequently seen in different parts of Greece and Asia Minor. They appear to have been, like these also, the tombs of heroes and distinguished men; for, on opening several of them, there have been found in all



large masses of rock, of a most unwieldy size, covering the entrance to a hollow beneath, in which hollows there have been found human bones, armour, weapons of war, idols, and sometimes ornaments of dress. It is said, that the most distinguished classes of the Natives have not even a tradition regarding these tumuli; and that they, consequently, look upon them as more ancient than even the Braminical legends, and belonging to a race of people who lived here before their present annals were begun.

The population of Calicut, confining it to the town alone, is said to be upwards of 20,000. These are divided into five principal classes—the Nyens, the Teers, the Maplas, the Muckwas, and the Christians; each of whom live apart and distinct from each other.

De Faria, the Portuguese historian, in describing the Natives of Calicut in his time, says, ‘The inhabitants are wonderfully superstitious; and do not suffer those of one trade or profession to marry with those of a different occupation, or to put their children to any other trade but that of their fathers. The Naynes, who are their nobles, if they chance to touch any of the common people, purify themselves by ablution, as was done by the Jews and Samaritans. The women among the Naynes are common to all, but chiefly those of the Bramin cast; so that no one knows his father, nor is any one bound to maintain the children. These Naynes are wonderfully expert in the use of their weapons, in which they begin to exercise themselves at seven years of age. They are prone to all the ancient superstitions of augury and divination,\* excepting only the fact of their women being common to all. This description will apply, as far as it goes, to the Naynes of the present day; and what is said of their superstition, and their scrupulous separation from each other, will apply to all the other classes with almost equal force.

The Nyers (for so their name is pronounced here) have among them a legend, that their god descended, in one of his incarnations, into their country, under the form of a shepherd, and fed his flocks on their plains. In this disguise he ventured to solicit from Brahma as much ground for his own portion, as an arrow shot from his bow should go over, from west to east, and from south to north. His request was granted; and the supposed shepherd, assuming immediately the strength and agility of the god, placed himself on the sea shore, and shot his arrow to the very feet of the Ghauts. He did the same from north to south, and his bow covered a range of country of equal extent, and including all the finest parts of the low lands, beneath the mountains. Some believe that both the ocean, on the one side, and the hills, on the other, retired to give place to the flight of the arrow; but be that as it may, all agree that the country here was thus obtained by the God. It is added that, during the incarnation, he married, and the Nyers look upon them-

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\* Keri's Collection, vol. vi. p. 87.

selves as the children of this union. They consider themselves, therefore, as the lords paramount of the country, and hold every other caste to be inferior to their own. This distinction is carried so far, between them and some of the very inferior classes, that if one of these last should perceive a Nyer approaching him, he runs off the road, climbs into a tree, and gives warning to the Nyer that he may not approach so near as to defile himself. Should this precaution not have been taken, and a Nyer should come suddenly upon one of these people in his path, it is said that the laws of the country admit of his killing him on the spot for such a crime. These Nyers are almost the sole landholders; and some live upon the interests of their money lent out to others; while some again, engage manually in agricultural labours. None of them, however, are found to degrade themselves by following mechanical trades: and even commercial enterprizes, of the highest order, are in as much disrepute among these nobles of Malabar, as they are among the nobility of Spain; and the pride of both would probably make them suffer any degree of poverty, rather than debase themselves by such plebeian occupation.

The Nyers are Hindoos by religion, though I do not remember seeing any of them marked with the sectarial mark so common among the worshippers of Vishnu and Shiva. They are reputed to be men of higher principles and more incorruptible integrity than any race of Indians known, and their scrupulous regard to their engagements, and their general observance of ties that are hourly broken by all other classes, were topics of frequent conversation, among the English who had resided longest among them at Calicut. In stature and appearance they are a handsome race, their features being well formed and their complexion not so black as many other classes in the same country. The women are, indisputably, by far the finest that I had yet seen in India, and besides having always interesting and often beautiful faces, the graceful display of their forms, and a sort of conscious superiority which showed itself in the dignity of their gait and carriage, gave to them attractions which I had never before witnessed in any of the natives of this country.

The dress of the men consists simply of a white cotton cloth girt around the loins, and the most noble and high born among them are said to consider themselves in greatest state when they approach the nearest to the condition of Nature. It is certain that the richest among those that I saw wore only the girdle described. The women too confine themselves to this simple garment of white cotton, which reaches from the lower part of the loins to a little above the knees. The whole of the body except that which is covered by this girdle, is perfectly exposed; and it is thought to be so indecent and disrespectful to hide the bosom in particular, that if a light muslin cloth should be thrown over the upper part of the body to shelter it from the cold air of the morning, or from the scorching

sun of the day, it is instantly pulled off on meeting an equal or a superior in the road, whether male or female, Indian or European; as it is a mark of respect among them to expose the bosom, and of disrespect to cover it, without reference to caste, sect, or nation.

The effect of this costume is very striking when spreading through so large a part of the population as it does here; but that which at first excites feelings not easily described, soon ceases from the frequency of its occurrence to produce its original impression; proving, indeed, how artificial most of our feelings are, and how entirely the effect of association. In Turkey, in Arabia, and in Persia, no man can behold the face of a woman, without sensations not to be expressed. In Europe we do it with indifference, but this unreserved display of the bosom would produce nearly the same effect. Here among the Nyers, this is seen and disregarded as a matter of perfect indifference. The reason of the proverb that 'stolen waters are sweet, and bread eaten in secret is pleasant,' is that whatever is habitually concealed inflames by its exposure; and that whatever is habitually exposed, excites no sensation by being seen. It is a colloquial saying here, and is literally true, that 'Chaste women need no covering, and prostitutes only require to cover themselves.' It is remarkable that in the days of the patriarchs it was the same, as may be seen in the story of Judah's incest with his daughter-in-law, detailed in Genesis (c. 38) where it is said that 'Tamar covered herself with a veil, and wrapped herself, and sat in an open place by the way side, and when Judah saw her he thought her to be an harlot because she had covered her face.'

The males among the Nyers wear no turbans or head coverings of any kind, but having the hair cut short upon the head, they leave a lock growing from the crown of it, which is brought over the forehead, and made to hang there in a knot in a very graceful way. They wear too, a small knife thrust in, either behind or before, beneath the upper edge of their loin-cloth; but they wear no ornaments of any description, as far as I perceived: this weapon being much more for use than for show. The females wear their hair, which is black and silky, either in long tresses falling over the shoulders, or, more commonly, turned up on the back of the head, not very different from the European manner; and among all those that I saw, I do not remember to have observed a single ornament on their persons, which furnishes a very singular contrast to the other classes of Indian women, who are generally loaded with the weight of their nose rings, ear rings, necklaces, bracelets, toe bells, anklets, and bangles.

Inheritance, among the Nyers, is still said to descend in a female line; and, in some cases, it is asserted that, instead of the sons and daughters, the nephews and nieces become heirs to the property left. Some people insist upon the fact of the Nyer women having the liberty of taking to themselves four husbands; but this is a privi-

lege which is certainly but rarely, if ever, practised ; and, for myself, I could obtain no satisfactory proofs of such a privilege really existing among their race : though all authorities are agreed that an indefinite plurality of husbands was lawfully allowed, and indulged in among the Nyers in their original condition ; that females of distinction changed them as often as they pleased ; and that all honors and titles, as well as property, descended in the female line—the males being made of no account whatever. This presents a striking contrast to the plurality of wives, and inferior condition of women among the Mohammedans : some, indeed, may only think it a fair balance of account ; but, as the sexes are nearly equal in numbers at the birth, it would be for the happiness of each, if both these practices were to be superseded by the practice of Europe—in confining the union to one individual of each sex only.

The Teers are a class of Hindoos so nearly resembling the Nyers, in appearance and manners, that some look upon them as merely a division of these last ; others consider them as a sect separated from the Nyers by some slight distinctions ; and others again, go so far as to say that they are only the inferior order of the Nyers themselves. The more general opinion, however, is, that they are more closely connected, though I met with no one who could inform me in what particulars they agreed, and wherein they differed. This, however, is certain, that their appearance and occupations are so nearly alike, that it is difficult for any but an experienced person to point out the one from the other when casually seen. They are, upon the whole, more numerous than the Nyers, and are almost equally respectable ; and it is an advantage of immense importance to the English here, that, from the utter contempt in which both the Nyers and Teers hold the Maplas, who are of the Mohammedan religion, they are always ready to strengthen the hands of the government, and assist in keeping these unruly Moslems in order.

The Maplas are these Mohammedans, and a most unprincipled race they are. Their name is derived from *Ma*, Mother, and *pla*, Son, literally ‘ Sons of their Mothers ;’ a name which is perfectly appropriate, their fathers being generally unknown. During the flourishing period of the Arab trade with this part of the coast, almost every one who came from Arabia, either to reside or to make a temporary stay here, took an Indian woman as a concubine for that period, and the offspring of these connections were often so soon and so suddenly abandoned, as scarcely to have any knowledge of their fathers. They became, therefore, ‘ Sons of their Mothers,’ in a very peculiar sense, and were entirely dependent on them for support. As it is an acknowledged maxim, among Mohammedans of all classes, that no child of a true believer should be suffered to grow up as an infidel, the body of Arab merchants, traders, and seamen, to whom these women in some manner belonged, took it upon themselves to have the children, even of those who knew nothing more of their

fathers than that they were Mussulmans, educated in the faith. Moollahs and teachers were even brought from Arabia for that purpose; and as mosques for public worship had been long before established, colleges or schools soon followed; and these fatherless children grew at length into a community, which is now extended along the whole length of Canara and Malabar, and into some parts of Travancore also. They ultimately intermarried among each other; and they are now as numerous and distinct a race as any in this part of India.

The most striking peculiarity of this people, or at least that which first attracted my notice, was their inheriting the Arab physiognomy from their original ancestors in so unchanged a state, as to be of itself a sufficient indication of the stock from whence they sprung. They are in general of darker colour, however, and not of such lean and meagre forms; the first arising from the mixture of Indian blood, and the last from their living in a more fertile and more abundant country. Their dress consists generally of a long and deep cotton cloth, which they wind round their loins and draw up between their legs; the folds descending to the ankle and covering all the lower parts of the body, while over the shoulder is thrown a full loose scarf that sufficiently wraps the upper part, and a white cotton cap of a peculiar manufacture is their covering for the head.

The occupations of these Maplas are chiefly as merchants, shopkeepers, and mechanics, in all of which capacities they are people of such bad faith, that their reputation is hardly on a par with that of professed pick-pockets in England. Every one in the country believes that a Mapla would violate his sister and cut his brother's throat for the most trifling gain; and in money matters among themselves, they scarcely trust their neighbour beyond their sight. This opinion of their character is not peculiar to the Nyers, the Teers, or the Portuguese Christians, but is equally entertained by the English settled among them, who have the best possible opportunity of knowing the comparative merits of each, and are less likely to be misled than any others in their decisions, from their having neither predilections nor prejudices regarding castes or sects.

One of the strongest proofs of their immorality is, however, that there are more murders, thefts, rapes, and acts of violence and injustice committed by the Maplas in one month, than by all the other classes of the community together in a year; and nine-tenths of the number of those confined in the town gaol are always Mapla offenders. It was not long since that these prisoners were so numerous, as to make preparations for an escape in open day. The attempt was discovered and reported by the guards, and they were told that if they dared to stir beyond the prison wall, every man of them who did so should be shot. They disregarded this threat, and continued their efforts to work a hole in the prison wall. All the

sepoys then in the town, to the number of about 100, were drawn up in a line before the intended point of sortie, and the whole of the police corps to a still greater number, composed of a particular caste of men whose lives are devoted to that service, and who are considered equal to the best troops, were ranged here also in aid. The prisoners in the inside, to the number of about 1000 it is said, having completed the hole, and being furnished some with weapons and others with the chains which they had knocked off their legs, prepared to rush out. There were about forty or fifty poor debtors of Teers, Muckwas, and other classes, whom they forcibly brought into a body to form a forlorn hope, when pushing these unfortunate wretches through the hole to receive the first volley of the fire, they rushed out in the smoke behind them. The sepoys were prepared, and the police guard supported them manfully. A dreadful conflict ensued at the point of the bayonet, and five or six of the sepoys were killed, and twenty or thirty wounded. Among the police corps there were still more sufferers, but among the prisoners the slaughter was beyond all expectation. About half the number only lived to return to their confinement, but these were soon secured, and the victory over them was complete.

The Portuguese Christians here are few in number, and are mostly intelligent and well behaved men, who are either engaged as writers in the service of government, or as traders on their own account, and in both cases live peaceably and without offence.

The Muckwas are a low caste of Hindoos, who are employed in the meanest capacities as fishermen, boatmen, porters, and servants, and from their insignificance little curiosity is excited to know their peculiarities.

The trade of Calicut is similar to that at Mangalore and Tellicherry. The Arab ships bring down horses, which are sometimes purchased for the Company's cavalry, with dates and such other productions of their own country as may be saleable here, but these are always in very small quantities, and specie forms the principal importation by them. With these resources they purchase timber and spars for ship-building, rice, pepper, cardamums, and other spices, as well as coir cordage, which is made here in great quantities from the bark of the cocoa-nut brought from the Laccadive Islands. They supply themselves occasionally with canvas made at Beypour, a place only five miles from hence, so that except their iron and copper, which they get from Bengal and Bombay, they may be said to draw all their materials for marine equipment from the coast of Malabar; and indeed it is from this very port that these materials are drawn for the construction of all the pirate vessels in the Gulf. - The small Native craft in their coasting trade transport the articles already enumerated from one port to another, and the larger English ships that call here, either take teak building timber to Bombay and Bengal, rice to Ceylon, or pepper and spices

to England. The anchorage duty along the coast is  $17\frac{1}{2}$  rupees at each port at which the ship may discharge or receive cargo. The price of water if sent off in the ship's casks, but in the master attendant's boats, is two rupees per butt, or leager. The duties on goods are mostly *ad valorem*, and are generally paid by the shipper, who has a price to cover this. All that comes under the head of Port expenses here, may be considered on the whole, however, as very light, though the duties on merchandise are thought to be rather heavy.

March 31st.—We intended to have sailed from Calicut this morning, but the surgeon reporting that one of our passengers was not in a fit state to be brought on board with safety, our departure was postponed until to-morrow, and having another day before us, we fixed on an excursion to the manufactories and timber-yards at Beypour.

It was proposed that we should go down by water and return by land, and we accordingly embarked on board the *Eliza* yacht, a schooner rigged pleasure boat, and weighed and made sail for Beypour soon after noon.

In passing down along shore, we went inside of the range of rocks which lie about three miles south-easterly of Calicut, and more than a mile in a direct line off shore from the nearest part. They are apparently about half a mile in length, from N.N.W. to S.S.E., and show their black points amid the breakers. There is a clear passage within them for small craft; but large ships should not attempt it.

As the breeze was light, it was nearly two hours, after quitting Calicut, when we came a-breast of the entrance to the River of Beypour. The bar here is guarded by a high surf on each side, and the channel through which we passed was very narrow, with about ten feet water in the deepest part. We had a small rocky islet on our right, or to the southward of us, covered with sea birds, and we kept closer to this than to the opposite side, from the water being deeper there. We came at length into the smooth stream of the river, and anchored in three fathoms, within a few yards of the northern shore.

After landing, we first went to see the stores of teak timber collected here for ship-building, and sent from this place to Bombay, and even to Bengal, for that purpose. This tree, the wood of which stands so pre-eminently high above all others in the estimation of naval architects, is found in the forests of Malabar and Coromandel, as well as in Pegu, and at Java and Sumatra, to the eastward. That of Malabar, however, is considered the finest. The Coromandel timber ranks next, and afterwards that of Pegu and the Eastern Islands. Many of these trees grow to a sufficient height and size to furnish a working log of fifty feet in length, from which

planks of two feet in breadth can be cut all the length throughout ; and it is not uncommon to see shorter slabs, of fifteen and twenty feet, from the lower part of the trunk, furnishing planks of four and five feet in breadth. Ribs, beams, and knees, with all other description of timbers, may be had from this tree, of a size equal to that required for the largest ship that was ever yet built ; and with the advantage of being more easily worked than oak, it is quite equal in strength, and of four-fold durability. In the course of one year only, 1799, there were 10,000 teak trees floated down the river of Beypour, from the interior to the sea ; and although this was an extraordinary year, yet the Natives here say that half that number might be constantly procured as an annual supply from the forests of Malabar, by this river only. From the forests being formerly thought to be inexhaustible, the wood-cutters had grown into the habit of cutting down whatever stood in their way, and studied their own convenience rather than the fitness of age in the tree, or the quality of the timber. A representation being made of this practice to the Bengal Government, and the probable evil consequences of it pointed out, officers were appointed in different parts of the country, as conservators of the forests, whose duty it became to regulate and remedy these abuses : and one of these gentlemen, who resides at Calicut, has charge of the timber which we had come here to see.

We next went to see the remains of a saw-mill, that had been erected here by the East India Company, at a time when it was thought that Beypour would become the chief point of issue for all the timber of Malabar. This edifice, which is constructed as a wind-mill, cost upwards of a lac of rupees (or 10,000*l.* sterling) in the erection. The whole of the iron-work used in the machinery, as well as the sets of saws, were made in England and sent out, and one of the Company's engineers superintended the putting it together. The wood work used in this mill is on an immense scale ; and though it is exceedingly strong, yet the whole is subdivided into so many minute parts, all acting on each other, as to give it the appearance of being very complicate. When the machinery was set in motion by the sails of the mill from without, the number of logs that could be sawn into planks in a day, as assured us by our informer, who had himself witnessed it, was incredibly great ; and if, as was expected, Beypour had become the point of supply for teak timber, the advantages of this saw-mill would have been immense. At present, however, it lies neglected, with no establishment of men belonging to it, and the machinery, in a great measure, dismantled ; nor is there at present any probability of its ever being called into use again.

From the summit of this edifice, which stands on the northern bank of the river, and within a few yards of the sea, we enjoyed a fine and extensive view of the surrounding country. The appear<sup>2</sup>



ance of the river, which divides itself into several channels in its course, and forms, by one of its arms, a backwater near its mouth, is particularly interesting; and the fertility of its wooded banks, with the varied landscape of the country between the sea and the Ghauts, as overlooked distinctly from hence, all tend to make the scene as beautiful as it is grand. It is said that Tippoo Saib had fixed on Beypour as his depôt of building materials and naval stores, and that he had already begun the work of an arsenal and dock-yard here, for which certainly no place could be more admirably calculated. The spot was pointed out to us from hence, on an elevated site a few miles to the eastward of us, on which he had actually began to build a city, to which he gave the name of Ferrakh-abad, signifying the 'City of Gladness,' or the 'Abode of Joy.' The plan of this, it was said, was laid down with all the uniform regularity of a European city, and a population was collected to inhabit it: but the overthrow and death of this chief defeated his plans, and the 'Abode of Gladness' was changed to the 'City of Desolation.' Our being confined to time for our return to Calicut, was the only reason of our not visiting it.

On leaving this extensive and beautiful prospect, which we quitted with great regret, we next paid a visit to the sail-cloth manufactory of a Mr. Shephard, who, from a serjeant in an English regiment, had become the conductor and proprietor of an establishment which employed upwards of five hundred men. There were people of all ages, from ten years to sixty, engaged in different branches of labour, from bruising the hemp and spinning the thread, to preparing the bolts of cloth for packing. The workmen, who were all Indians, could not, we were told, go through one-third the actual labour which a European would perform of the same kind, and this chiefly from want of physical strength, but partly also from want of the same intelligence and agility. A bolt of canvas, of thirty-eight yards, would be finished by an expert weaver in England in a long day's work, and the price of this would be about five shillings for his labour. A bolt of canvas, of the same size, was often four, and sometimes six, days in being finished by one Indian; but the shortest possible time in which he could finish it, would be three days, and the price of this bolt was two rupees, or about five shillings also for his labour. The Indian weaver was paid therefore actually as much as the European for the same quantity of work; but being unable to execute this in so short a time, his gains were really less. The canvas made here at Beypour, is very highly superior to any of the Bengal sail-cloth that I have seen, and differs so little both in texture, weight, and appearance, from English canvas, that none but persons conversant with the qualities of this article would be able to distinguish the one from the other. Contracts to the East India Company were supplied at twenty-two rupees per bolt, and to private purchasers it was sold at twenty-

three rupees, which is nearly 100 per cent. above the price of the Bengal canvas.

From the sail-cloth manufactory we were taken to see a smaller one for the weaving of table-cloths, towels, and cotton cloth's, of any size or pattern that might be required. We were equally pleased with this as with the other, and made some purchases here to compensate the proprietor for the pains he had taken to gratify our wishes.

We saw as much of the town of Beypour as remains, in our way from the banks of the river thus far. There are not more than about 100 dwellings of every kind included, and these are of the poorest description, inhabited chiefly by the people employed in the manufactory, and by the few fishermen and cultivators, who contribute their supplies to those who are so engaged.

Carriages having been sent down for our return to Calicut by land, we left Beypour about five o'clock, and after a most agreeable ride, through a fine road, shaded with trees on each side, and passing the river of Calicut to the southward of the town, by a wooden bridge in our way, we reached home before sun-set, the distance being only six miles.

#### FINANCES OF THE UNITED STATES.

WE have extracted from one of the American papers, the following statement relative to the public debt of the United States :

	Dollars.	
In 1791	75,169,974	{ There are some increase of debt in each of the six years, except 1794, in which there was a reduction of it.
1796	81,642,272	
1799	77,399,909	{ The debt was increased in consequence of the military preparations against France, to 1801, when Mr. Jefferson's administration commenced.
1801	82,000,167	
1803	74,731,922	
1804	85,353,613	{ Increased in 1801, by the purchase of Louisiana. Mr. Jefferson's administration ended 4th March, 1809.
1809	56,732,379	
1810	53,156,532	{ The debt was at its lowest amount in 1812, in Mr. Madison's administration, and preceding the war.
1812	45,035,123	
1813	55,907,452	{ War and war debts. Highest amount in 1816.
1816	123,016,375	
1817	115,807,805	{ Mr. Monroe's administration. Rapid reductions since 1816, the receipts from the customs, and other sources being large.
1820	91,015,566	
1821	89,987,427	{ Increase because of the purchase of Florida, and short receipts from the customs, &c. in 1820-21, &c. Mr. Monroe's administration ends.
1822	93,546,676	
1825	83,788,432	
1826	81,054,059	{ Mr. Adams' administration commences 4th March, 1825, and ends 3d March, 1829.
1828	67,475,622	
1829	58,362,135	

In the four last years there was applied to the public debt,

For Interest	14,930,464
Principal	30,373,188

\* \$45,303,652 dollars—(11,325,910 dollars annually.)

The standing appropriation for the payment of principal and interest is only ten millions a year; but, at the end of Mr. Monroe's administration, the treasury was in arrears with the sinking fund, its operations having been suspended by the pressure on the treasury in 1820 and 1821.

The average payment of interest in the last four years, was, . . . 3,732,500  
Of principal, . . . 7,593,250

But the reduction of interest, because of the extinguishment of principal in the last four years, will, for the next four, allow an annual average of two millions more for the payment of principal. And, as 30,373,188 dollars of principal were paid off in 1825, 1826, 1827, and 1828; so, at the same rate, 38 millions may be paid in 1829, 1830, 1831, and 1832. But it is not probable that so large a sum can be used.

The debt, as it stood on the 1st of January last, may be thus briefly stated:—

Three per cent. stock, (revolutionary debt) redeemable at pleasure,	13,296,219
Six per cents. of 1814 and 1815, ditto.	16,279,822
Five per cent. stock, (sub. to bank of U. S.) ditto	7,000,000
Ditto of 1820, redeemable in 1832, . . . . .	999,999
Ditto of 1821, . . . . . 1835, . . . . .	4,735,296
Ditto exchanged, . . . . . 1832, . . . . .	56,704
Four and half per cents. of 1824, . . . . . 1832, . . . . .	10,000,000
Ditto exchanged 1821 . . . . . 1833 and 1834 . . . . .	4,454,727
Ditto ditto 1825, . . . . . 1829 and 1830 . . . . .	1,539,348
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	58,362,135
 Total at three per cent. . . . .	13,296,219
at four and half ditto . . . . .	15,994,064
at five ditto . . . . .	12,792,000
at six ditto . . . . .	16,279,822
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	58,362,135
Deduct the five per cents. payable in 1835, . . . . .	4,735,296
the four and half ditto, 1833 and 1834, . . . . .	4,454,727
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	9,190,023
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	Dollars 49,172,112

The expediency of paying off the three per cents, will only be considered if the treasury shall overflow, even when the taxes shall be much reduced; and the stock that forms a part of the capital of the bank of the United States, can hardly be regarded as a debt, the bank stock being worth upwards of a million more than the United States stock issued for it. These together make 20,296,249 dollars, leaving for probable operations in the current four years, rather less than 29,000,000 of capital, to redeem which, at the ratio of the last four years, we shall have about 38,000,000, or an apparent excess of 9,000,000 dollars.

## ANGLO-INDIAN MANNERS.\*

IN a former number of 'The Oriental Herald,' we inserted a short notice of a work, from the perusal of which we had derived great pleasure, intitled, 'The Bengalee, or Sketches of Society in India.' A press of matter more important, with reference to the main object of our labours, prevented us at that time from selecting passages, confirmatory of the high opinion we expressed of its merits, and of the principles and talents of its author. Like most other productions, illustrative of the state and condition of India, 'The Bengalee' is an anonymous publication. In this instance, however, the concealment of the writer's name must, we imagine, have been suggested more by whim than precaution. There surely can be no party, either in England or India, who could possibly take offence at the good humoured criticism of Eastern manners, by which this Asiatic 'Spectator' is distinguished, and there is no more reason why 'The Bengalee' should appear in mask, than there was for the incognito of the author of 'Waverley.' We promise him golden opinions from all who read his instructive and entertaining sketches; whether they be proprietors of India stock, or profligate interlopers; and though by no means anxious to disparage the utility and interest of enquiries into the Zemindarry and Ryotwarry tenures; the policy of European colonization, or the tea, opium, and salt monopolies, we must candidly acknowledge that a few Indian reminiscences and reflections, from which these, no doubt, very important topics are altogether excluded, are to us peculiarly animating and refreshing.

Indeed, when we reflect on the extraordinary relation which exists between English society and Indian associations, we are inclined to consider 'The Bengalee' as a much more important character, than the mere narrator of interesting tales. Among these, whom birth or accident have placed within the spheres of competence or affluence, who can read a description of life in India, its hopes and pleasures, its dangers and disappointments, without awakening the remembrance of the associates of early youth, the more intimate connections of kindred, the friends of mature age, or the companions in peril and adventure? Life in India is, for the most part, an honourable retreat, in which the pride and luxury of the superior ranks, seek for their dependent relatives, a refuge from the hard struggle of life in England. To India, numbers are taught to look as to a certain provision, for the attainment of which, childhood, if not infancy, is to be for ever severed from the closest and most endearing ties. Whole families grow up, reconciled to distant separation, by the prospect of early fortune, and the delusive hope of

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\* 'The Bengalee, or Sketches of Society and Manners in the East. London: Smith and Elder. 1824.'

speedy return. Every resource of influence and patronage, is exerted to obtain appointments to a service, which secures mediocrity from the contingency of want, in which the eager rivalry of competitors is unknown, and talent and industry may expect munificent reward; but how few there are who admit into their calculations, the dangers of inexperience, the probabilities of happiness, the chances of health; or who venture into one calm, deliberate inquiry into the real recommendations of a career, in which the first step is solicited with so much eagerness, and conferred with such parade and ostentation.

It certainly is desirable that correct notions should prevail on a subject, in which so many are interested, and that the actual advantages of 'going out' and 'staying at home,' should be accurately understood. Reference being had to the chance of gaining Indian preferment, and of living to enjoy its fruits, to the privations to be undergone in the pursuit, and the actual value when obtained, is a writership, or a cadetship, really so eligible a provision as is commonly supposed? Is the power of disposing of them a reasonable object of the highest ambition? What proportion of the young men at Addiscombe and Haileybury, would remain in Europe, if they knew what they must encounter when they arrive in Asia? Would it not be better that a class of emigrants, more moderate in their hopes, expecting less, and therefore less easily disappointed, should, for the future, maintain our power and influence in India? Is it desirable that all the European *employés* of the Hon. Company, should be chosen from the rank of gentlemen; or would the more fortunate orders of society have much reason to regret the sacrifice of some portion of the patronage now distributed among them? Dr. Johnson is accused of having infused too much of his own melancholy and gloom into the pages of his 'Rasselas' and 'Rambler.' This cannot be said of 'The Bengalee.' He is, beyond question, a cheerful companion; and all the agréments of life, as it is in India, will be found skilfully depicted in his book; but the temptations, annoyances, vexations, and disgusts, are also faithfully described, and we leave it to our readers to determine which preponderate.

For this purpose, we select 'Life in India,' 'Life in the Mofussil,' and 'Leaving India,' from which a very clear conception may be formed of the prospects of a youth who enters into the military or civil service of the East India Company. There are many other references in the list of 'contents,' which may lead the reader to sketches equally entertaining, and perhaps better calculated to exhibit the talent of the author; but these are more to our purpose, because in them amusement and instruction are agreeably combined.

*'Life in India.'*

"'Life in India!'"—'tis a strange misnomer; there is no life there,—it is mere existence, as we all know: but such is the title

of a chapter in more books than one, *de Nobis et Nostris*, and we must take it as it is. Many wise men of the West profess to give our friends in that part of the world a notion of our social and domestic manners, and to trace the influence which the climate and customs of the East have upon an Englishman, when submitted to that ordeal. The picture I have sometimes seen drawn in a lively, if not a very deep, manner; and at every turn I have been called upon to make allowance for errors, which are to be ascribed to prepossessions so firmly fixed, that even ocular demonstration, I fear, could not eradicate them. The general sketches necessarily exhibit some features to which we are no strangers; but they overlook traits, and commit errors, which it is a part of 'The Bengalee's' business to supply and to correct.

'Nothing can be more erroneous than the notion, once entertained at home, of "Life in India." I believe that, now-a-days, fewer errors find their way into our countrymen's estimate of the extent of comfort, happiness, and luxury, which we enjoy, who toil away in these regions of sun and superstition. The communication between England and India is now too general, and too easy and frequent, to permit many of the absurd conceptions formerly entertained, finding room for belief; and the greatness, the riches, splendour and luxuries enjoyed by us East Indians, are pretty correctly appreciated over England at large. When, indeed, a wealthy Nabob returns to his native country, and sits him down, and acts the great man in the parish, where, perhaps, he once herded sheep, he does not fail to create such conceptions as to the great fortunes to be acquired in India, and the sure road that leads to them, as conduct to some practical results very much to be deplored. The youth, just about to step into life at home, and to follow the humble occupation of his father, where he would be happy, is seized with the ambition to go to India, where he is sure to be miserable. The father remembers the Nabob, a poor man's son like his own; he argues, naturally enough, why may not my boy also obtain a carriage and a retinue of servants? He sends him to try, and soon, too soon, has to weep and wail over "Life in India."

"Life in India" is, however, fairly to be estimated, as found in the different avocations that it presents—the civil and military services of the Honourable Company, and the mere adventurer. So far as rank and consequence are concerned, the first of these holds out the great prizes of the Honourable Company, and is the great object of ambition. These prizes are necessarily limited to a few lucky sons of fortune, and they are, therefore, the higher esteemed. With a writership in his pocket, the child of the first man in England, even at this day, fancies his fortune made; looks to a short and merry "Life in India;" a long and wealthy one in England. Out he comes, always what I should call a genteel-looking boy; somewhat slightly built in general, for encountering

any of the rude blasts of the world, and having a goodly smattering of his mother's drawing-room hanging about him. His manners—I speak of the general race of young writers—always please me; there is something very English about him—by which I do not mean very rough, but a happy mixture of that independence of mind and amenity of manner, which constitute the true English character. When these embryo rulers are collected together, before merging from the Buildings, there is, no doubt, to be seen also not a few of an Englishman's peculiar faults and weaknesses; but these are such *rara aves* over the service in general, that there is nothing I enjoy more than an evening in the Buildings. “Life in India” is, then, with my old recollections and feelings, something like to what I remember was—Life in England. There are good manners, and honourable and high feeling; articles, however, which, I must warn their young possessors, require the utmost care to preserve in this climate, and which are always best just on importation. It may appear finical, when I add, that there is an English way of putting on his clothes about a young writer, before he is launched to rusticate in the Mofussil, which I like; as in the company of a dozen of these dandies, I am reminded of the respect, in this particular, which I once,—once alas! paid myself to the article of dress, when I was glad at the idea of pleasing a mother, a sister, or still dearer creature—a sweetheart. In short, the only scene in the drama of “Life in India,” that is like Old England, is to be found in the Buildings. Once out of them,—once banished to a country station, where Englishmen are scattered some hundred miles distant from each other, or where, if they congregate, it is on the artificial graduated scale of Judge, Magistrate, Collector, Register, Assistant ditto, Doctor, and all that is English, is found to be on the wane. By the time the Writer comes back to the Presidency a Judge, or something greater, he has been converted into the most anomalous of all human beings. There is still something English about him, it is true; he is generally proud enough; but it is an Asiatic, not a European, bearing of consequence. He seems to expect that all that are in his way should hurry out of it, that the path may be left for him alone. He has been so long accustomed to measure his own humanity by the standard of a conquered and degraded race around him, he fancies he has risen proportionably above every other class of mankind, with whom he may afterwards chance to come in contact, as above his Omlahs and his Chobedars; and his own countrymen are but Hindoos in his estimation, however much they may transcend him in every thing like intelligence, honour, and common sense. I remember, when I was a youngster, once encountering one of these Burra Sahibs in company; the conversation turned on the nature of landed tenure in India, and having at that time been reading Paton, Colbrooke, Rous, and a host of other writers on the subject, I fancied myself qualified to say a word on it. Accordingly

I ventured, with all the diffidence an Assistant, in the presence of a Member of the Board of Revenue, may be expected to feel, to say something in opposition to the great man's views of the matter, about the sovereign having allodial possession of the soil.

"Allodial!" exclaimed the Burra Sahib, with a look of ineffable contempt and triumph, "allodial! there is no such word in the regulations!"

'If those at home, who are so ambitious of sending out a son in the service of the Honourable Company, would look at the few who live to return to their native country, and remark the change that has come over them, I cannot help thinking that they would feel less anxious about procuring a writer-ship or a cadetship for Master Edward, and Master Tom. I was long ago a sojourner in Old England, and had an opportunity of comparing some old folks, who had started from school together,—the one to rough it through life at Home,—the other to plod his weary way through "Life in India." Comparison there was none between the manliness, contentedness, and good-humour of the home-bred Englishman, and the hauteur, restlessness, and discontented demeanour of the old Koce-Hy. Unhappy and displeased at every turn he took, the old Indian found every corner sharp enough to ruffle his temper and destroy his happiness: while the honest English Squire swore a big oath at the hinderance, brushed past it, and thought no more of it. I make all manner of allowance for bile and bad liver, which rewards the toils of a "Life in India;" but these evils would be surmounted, were it only possible to avoid the moral contamination, arising from cohabiting with a race, between whom and an Englishman there is no sympathy; and I am borne out in my theory, if it please the reader to call it so, by the fact, that this moral contamination is found to exist most unequivocally, and to the greatest extent, among those who have been most withdrawn from European society, and who have spent the greater part of their "Life in India," amidst the native population.

'I am not, however, contending that there are no exceptions to the general picture I have drawn. I have known some few men, so happily constituted, that amidst all the temptations by which they have been surrounded, they have returned to the Presidency almost, if not altogether, as much English, as when they left the Buildings. It is, therefore, possible to preserve in this country the feelings, and habits, and prejudices, if you will, without which Life in England, when "Life in India" is over, will present but a dreary blank; and as I write more especially for the benefit of my young friends in the Buildings, I hope they will keep this possibility in mind. They cannot look forward, even by the help of their pension, to getting home again very soon; but they may contrive, I think, to keep alive the habits, that are to render that home a happy one, when at length they reach it. And, I believe, there is



nothing will tend to do this more than a regard to economy, and a denial of many of those luxuries and indulgencies, which first conduct to debt in this country, and, when separated from them after a long acquaintanceship, to discontent and wretchedness in England. A regular habit of correspondence with the absent family would also, I am sure, do much to accomplish the object in view. I am afraid many of my young friends,—for as I am a great favourite with the young writers, I call them my young friends without ceremony,—too many, I fear, get careless and remiss, as to keeping up their acquaintance with home through this channel; and a connexion, which might in this manner be easily preserved, is broken so much, that, after a lapse of a few years, it is scarcely possible to renew it: and the mind becomes occupied with, and indeed solely engrossed by thoughts, which when once again on the other side of the Cape, are altogether insulated, and render their possessor equally so. Whereas, if the last letter of a friend or a relation detailed the history of a favourite old dog, old horse, or old servant, in whom we had kept up our interest, we should run to renew our acquaintance with them as soon as we landed in Old England; and the scandal of the station, the anecdotes of the hog-hunt, the details of the cutchery, or the changes in the service, would all be put to flight, as they ought to be, where better stories, and better occupations are to be taken up.

‘Let me, however, take a view of military “Life in India.” A fair-haired young lad has escaped from school, and its confinement, at the early age of sixteen; and, after the annoyances of a four months’ voyage, has reported himself at the Town Major’s Office in Fort William. He puts on his scarlet uniform, and looks round, on passing every sentry, for homage and salutation to his new military character. The first few weeks are but a series of disappointed hopes, and comfortless, pleasureless attempts at Indian enjoyment. He makes himself sick, in essaying to smoke a bad hookah, and then barely survives a pucha fever, in having tried his new double-barrelled gun, which he bought on credit, at an exorbitant sum, and with which he toiled for hours under a burning sun, in the vain hope of hitting a few snipets or sand-larks. He has a relation, perhaps, in the Buildings, and madly attempts to rival him in extravagance; and though the soldier’s means do not go beyond a second-hand buggy for his driving, and an undersized steed galloway for the saddle, yet his humble endeavours have plunged him into debts, which hang upon his Indian career for years, and make him miserable for ever!

‘He joins his corps,—he has become a man now,—wanders about in the morning without his cravat or jacket,—smokes cheroots by whole bundles,—drinks brandy-paunee, curses his own folly for more faults than one, and lingers through the early and best years of his manhood, in tasteless dislike of the little regimental

duty that falls to his share, and in gloomy despondency amidst the blighted prospects of his youth. From his brothers and young relations in Europe, he seldom hears, and their letters would be but wormwood to him. They have toils there, it is true; one is at College, another at a desk in a merchant's office, a few are tagging for professions, or existing on subaltern's fare in country quarters: but are they not at home?—aye, and in that one word,—Home, lies all the earthly happiness, which an exiled soldier sighs for, and hourly pines in vain.

‘But he has outlived his brethren in the subaltern rank around him; has followed hosts upon hosts to the scattered tombs of our up country cantonments: he is a field-officer now, and with the attainment of higher rank before him. What boots the rank or increasing pay? He is a martyr to a broken constitution, and his yellow and wasted cheek, the sunken and gleamless eye, give token not only of withered health, but accumulating care! He is alone in the world; his native country has long ceased to hold out charms for him; he is unknown there, and the circle of his friends have either ceased to exist or care for the expatriated soldier in the East! Is this a gloomy picture? ‘The Bengallee’ could point out many who might sit for it, and who, ere they give their bones to moulder beneath the sun of Hindoostan, would feelingly bear testimony to the truth of its description,—yet this is “Life in India!”

‘But the adventurer,—he surely is exempt from the evil. His sojourn in India is brief, luxurious, and profitable. He transacts the business of the day, with the punkah waving its cool breath unceasingly above his desk. He drives home from office luxuriously in his open chariot, and quaffs his iced claret, with his gay friends ever assembled around his evening table. These are his daily enjoyments; but in the glad hour of holiday release from office, he sails away in some tall pinnacle to the far retreats of Chinsurah and Hooghly. But, alas! his pleasure becomes tasteless and unblest; his eye has rested upon Serampore by the way, and he knows not how soon it may be his scene of refuge, and the dull close of his ruined adventures. He tries to remember how many of his brethren have retired to enjoy their thousands in their own country—he can soon reckon over the scanty few, and then he dwells upon the outstretched list of the disappointed, the deceased, or the bankrupt, still within the East; the number appals! and this is “Life in India!”

‘*The Mofussil.*’

‘It was resolved I should go by dāk. The visit so long promised, so often disappointed, could no longer be deferred; so, the bearers having been some days previously written for, and myself fully equipped for the trip, my petarrabs laden with a due proportion of linen, one of them, together with the netting of my Palkee, amply stored with sandwiches, biscuits, oranges, beer, and other accom-

paniments for a dāk trip, I soon adjusted myself in my silk pyjamahs, dressing-gown, and slippers, and away we started cheerily by the light of our mussals.

‘Man, after all, is the mere slave of place, as well as of time and circumstances; and like his companion of the feline species, it is truly a domesticated and home-revering animal. Far be it from me to confess that I am a prim, immoveable, old-maidish sort of a bachelor, to whom it is death to be put out of the way; and the disarrangement of the economy of daily habits, is an earthly misfortune. But still the misery of packing up, the horror of disturbing the cherished confusion, the heaped disorder of that *sanctum sanctorum*, and holy seat of slippers retirement, a bachelor’s study, was truly overwhelming; the very anticipation of the task afflicted me for days, and I sat and pondered over its difficulty, long before I could muster heart to attempt it. The old guns, the scattered fishing apparatus, every ancient and discarded hat, whip, stick, bridle, portion of old harness, broken tool, and empty medicine chest; the collection of accumulated chits, cards, newspapers, auction catalogues and pamphlets, all, all were dear to me. The very dust itself, that encased and embrowned them, enhanced the value in my affection; as the mellowing of age enriches the faded colouring of a Rembrandt or a Guido. I hallowed even the very sites where they had reposed and been enriched, as it were, in this the temple of my lounging. With what delight did I pounce upon an ancient roomy chest in one of my godowns, in which I could shut up, *en masse*, the whole of my last collection of letters, MSS., and other papers, to arrange or separate would have engaged me for months. But at last all was happily adjusted; and on the evening of the 15th October, 182—, the bearers were noisily conveying my palankeen though the northern suburbs of Calcutta, and in full pace and progress towards the Mofussil station of Sahibpore.

‘The accustomed number of hours brought me to my destination, and deposited me at the bungalow of my old friend and chum, Tom Alport, now a grave married man, with a large family, and civil surgeon at the station of Sahibpore. I would not permit a soul to be disturbed; so a servant quietly conducted me to my apartment, where a bed was invitingly ready; and most willingly did I retire to it, and repay myself with some good sound sleep; for the jolting and misery of my dāk trip.

‘By dinner-time, which, in the Mofussil, is at the rational hour of four, when no guests from the station are expected, we had settled down into a most comfortable state of sociability. Mamma had communicated to me all the chit-chat of the neighbourhood; Miss Alport had sweetly played some of her usual lessons, and gone through her hour of practice before me without ceremony; while Papa had paced me, for a couple of hours, up and down the long and well-shaded verandah, and discoursed to me regarding his many

plans for his family. Alport had been a sad wild fellow in his younger days, when concerned in several indigo factories; and was formerly one of the first sporting characters of the Mofussil. He had also dabbled a little on the turf; but my friend Tom was an indifferent disciple of Cocker after all, and but a poor arithmetician; and never could calculate, with any tolerable accuracy, the theory of weight in his various bets. He had capital cattle, but no judgment in matching them, and still less in backing others. One lucky hit, however, by fair and downright hard running, brought up a main portion of his lee-way; and, very wisely, he cut the matter short, and seceded for ever from the race-stand. His stud was immediately sold off; and at present he merely now and then attends the race ordinaries, looking knowing when a bet is proposed, tells long stories of Brown Bess, a once favourite mare of his, and is much gratified when the young hands consult him about their stables; on which subject, it must be confessed, he is somewhat of a competent judge.

‘At a Mofussil station, the usual complaint on every side, and with every member of society, is the unhappy dulness of the place. I remember a foreign lady, in the upper provinces, whose invariable remark, after the necessary commencement of all Indian conversation,—the extreme unprecedented heat of the individual and particular day,—was ever in lamentation that the station was *bien triste*. The young men had at length appended to her the title of *Madame Triste*; and she was known by no other. There is hardly a letter from an up-country cantonment, or civil station, that does not contain the expression, “we have been exceedingly dull of late.” If from an old hand, the complaint is the dearth of news, with no essential changes rumoured in the Government or high offices, to afford matter for speculation or comment: if the epistle be from a military man, it is sufficient that he has been for a few weeks at the station; then, like the sailor on shipboard, he is at once a privileged and licensed murmurer; but if a young lady be the fair inditer, she deploras the dulness, because there is but one ball, with a few dinners, in anticipation; and because the men are very stupid, or possibly there are but two eligibles in the whole vicinity.

‘As for myself, although my old friend, for the first few days, has been continually apologising about the apprehended ennui of the place, and wearying himself and his guest most unmercifully, in seeking out the supposed necessary wherewithal to amuse; yet it would be difficult, indeed, to impress me, who am just escaped from Calcutta, with the conviction, that any situation in the country, with tolerably decent friends, and without any positive bore, or disagreement in the way, could deserve the character of eternal dulness, with which the habit of talking and complaint has so stigmatised the Mofussil.

‘Time, to the larger portion of the Eastern community, is the direst opponent to their happiness; and it may not be asserting too

much to add, to their health and moral feeling. From the moment of leaving the morning couch, to the hour of again seeking its unblest and unsoothing retirement, the aim of many is not to seize, improve, or rationally enjoy the passing day, but how to drive it hurriedly away; how to destroy and obliterate its very being and existence! From breakfast to noon, there may be a few forced dispellants of the hour; a morning visit or two; an occasional attempt at the performance of an official duty; the inspection of a stable; the trimming of a horse's mane or tail; nay, the more able exercise of skill in cutting a terrier pup's ears; followed by a solemn debate and elucidation of the subject, together with an interesting discussion as to the better expediency of "foxing" or "rounding" the ear. All this, with the adjunct of billiards, cheroots, and perhaps a morning game at piquet or loo, may contrive to exterminate the enemy till tiffin; but, even then, the watch is ever in hand, amidst deep wonderment and repining that "the time passes so slow!" After tiffin, although a new edition of cheroots, and possibly the now somewhat unfashionable hookah, may afford destruction to a portion of the afternoon, while the siesta may master the remainder; yet with those to whose bilious habits is denied the luxury of the latter, how lingeringly the day lags on! How comfortlessly, how miserably they lounge about their bungalows, or wander, en deshabille, through their verandahs until the sighed-for departure of the sun enables them to dress, and creep forth languidly to enjoy the same insipid drive, on the same unvaried road, which day by day has wearied them for months with its stale and cheerless monotony.

'The asserted want of employment, impossibility under such a climate of pleasantly and profitably distributing the time, the little inducement or opportunity for the mind to seek employment in intellectual pursuits, or even amidst lighter resources, such as reading, music, or other arts,—these are the wonted and ready excuses to which people ascribe their state of listlessness and inaction in India. The climate and heat are triumphantly adduced as dampers to all exertion; and if, in reply, one might venture to suggest that, in the short history of British Hindoostan, there are brilliant instances to the contrary, we are informed that these are extraordinary examples that must have excelled anywhere; or we are then silenced by the luckless exemplar of some premature victim, and asked "how long the exertion lasted!"

'I have been led into these reflections by the odd coincidence of complaint, and the concurring identity of the observations that greeted us at almost every house we visited, when my friend Alport "took me round," as he termed it, the station of Sahibpore.

'A few mornings after my arrival, we got into his buggy, and away we drove; first to the civilians, as they resided in the imme-

diate neighbourhood. We paid our respects to two judges of the Court of Appeal; the judge and magistrate, Mr. Chillum; the collector of revenue, with his brother collector of customs; the register, and one or two of their young assistants. At some of the houses we deposited our cards only, as the gentlemen were at Cutchery, and the ladies not visible. After this, we drove into cantonments, and made a regular tour of the Bungalows; but if we except the ridiculous concurrence of all, in complaining of the dullness of the place, and which complaint came equally from the civil and military residents, there was nothing particular in our string of visits. One thing indeed struck me; my host, Tom Alport, seemed to be a mighty favourite everywhere: all were glad to see him, and he had something of goodnature, either in his greeting or subsequent communication, for every soul he met. There was a young rogue of an ensign, whom we discovered amidst a dense cloud of smoke from his cheroot; he reminded my old friend, who vainly affected to look grave before me, of some late jollification at their mess, when it would appear they detained the civil surgeon a few hours beyond midnight, and of which, by the bye, I had heard, very deplorably, from his good lady since my arrival.

‘I must make one exception to the idle and unemployed, that we met with in our various calls; it was the young subaltern, Mr. Aylmour, who was busy writing as we entered. He was evidently surprised and gratified by the visit paid him by the father of Miss Alport. After being seated for a few moments, I had leisure to look around me, and saw a decent-enough little library in one corner of the room, and an open colour box, with materials for plan or landscape drawing, and a few sketch-books, &c. On a side camp-table were Persian and Hindoostanee dictionaries, with the Nuchliad, Julistan, Muntakhabati-hindi, and one or two other books of that class, which he must have been studying in the morning; the chairs for himself and his moonshee were yet unremoved from the table. A hunting cap, frock and half hunter, which I perceived on a clothes-horse in the next room, with a few favourite billiard-cues, and a double-barrelled gun cleaning in the verandah, impressed me, however, with a conviction that my young lover could mingle field sports and other amusements with his more studious avocations. I verily believe, it was this part of his character, that prevented my friend Alport from downright cutting him; but, if he had any secret leaning toward the young gentleman on such account, its avowal was religiously suppressed in obedience to the still, but omnipotent wishes of his lady; and he assured me that he only called on the lad, as it would have been absolute rudeness to have excluded his bungalow in the general tour of our visits. There had been something of confusion in Aylmour’s manner at our first entrance, which, however, soon wore off, and he shortly evinced himself a pleasant, unaffected young fellow; perhaps his employ-

ment at the moment we dropt in, might have occasioned his embarrassment. He was writing in a lady's album, and my eyes very innocently and unconsciously caught, during our conversation, the first two lines :—

“ And if you love me, why withhold  
The one sweet word, mine ears to bless !”

He speedily shut up the book, and on a splendid gold medallion on the outside, appeared the name of Mrs. Permit, the lady of the collector. It might, of course, have been the seeming idle and unprofitable nature of his task, that brought the blush to his youthful, and, in justice to Maria's taste, I must add, very handsome features.

After quitting the Lieutenant, my good friend remarked to me, that “he was a prime hearty chap, after all;” while I secretly determined to help, aid, and abet, to the best of my humble ability, and as far as should in me lay, the very proper and anxious wishes of the young folks : and this too, as, in my opinion, the best and kindest return I could offer for the unfeigned and ceaseless hospitality of my old friends, the Alports.’

Here follows a very amusing scene, in which Mr. Peter Chillum, Mr. Aylmour, and Miss Maria Alport, sustain the principal characters. The Burra Sahib, civil judge and magistrate, comes to breakfast in his Tonjaun, attended by sixteen or eighteen spearmen, pikes, and burgondosses, and attired in the costume of the year 1800. He is described as yellow as a guinea, with an excessively stiff cravat, composed of a pad and two or three handkerchiefs, with the tie somewhat in the shape of two rosettes, primly placed at the very top of the edifice, and immediately at the point of the chin ; all this surmounted with a *well conged* modern shirt-collar, giving his neck an unusual fixedness and immobility of appearance. Mr. Chillum, after many amiable looks, and superabundantly polite things addressed to Miss Alport, for which he gets neither return or encouragement, finally takes leave, on his way to the Cutchery, to the inexpressible satisfaction of the young lady. Then comes an altercation, between Maria and Mrs. Alport, in which the latter affirms, that Aylmour is an impertinent, *ineligible*, thoughtless subaltern ; and that Mr. Chillum must be accepted. To this intimation, Miss Maria firmly, but respectfully, demurs ; avowing her insuperable objections to the Burra Sahib, and her unalterable attachment to the young Lieutenant. All this is done in a style of passion and sentimentality, which we little expected from a member of a Juwab club of disappointed suitors. It is, however, much too interesting to be here transcribed, and we only refer to it to account for the sudden departure of the Bengalee, who starts for Calcutta by dâk, in order to make Mr. Aylmour *eligible*, by getting him an appointment. This journey enables us to introduce to our readers the character of an Indigo Planter, who is described as follows :—

## 'The Indigo Planter.'

'Under all these circumstances, I suddenly remembered me of pressing business at the Presidency; and wrote forthwith to the deputy postmaster, for an early dāk. I soon found that I should have the benefit of company this time; for Mr. Neilman, described as a most hearty good fellow, an indigo planter, had ridden over to my friend, Alports, from his factory, having ordered his dāk for Calcutta on the same evening as myself. We soon found ourselves perfectly good friends; and on our way together, before we had proceeded half a dozen stages, were as mutually communicative as two old kooe-hyes, at home, in a stage-coach, or two young subalterns, in any part of the world, on a night picquet. He came out, he told me, some fifteen years before, as a Midshipman, in the Honourable Company's ship, Sir William Curtis; but not admiring his Midd's berth on board, on reaching Bengal, he fairly ran for it! Having no friends at the Presidency, he must have had an edifying sort of retirement, at a punch-house, probably, for the first few weeks of his surreptitious introduction to India. At last, he made bold to write to his maternal uncle, an indigo planter up the country, whose agents, by return of dāk, were desired to pack off the young gentleman in a small boat to the Leilpore factory. There it was that young Neilman soon became an expert assistant, and, after several years of hard fagging and galloping along the cultivation, he was enabled, by his uncle's retirement, and the aid of his agents, to become lord and master of the works themselves, with the puckah buildings, bungalows, drying-houses, vats, China-pumps, ploughs, and I know not how many biggahs of cultivation, or thousands of out-standing balances!

'For years, he told me, it was sad "deck our mihnūt;" regular "hyran" kind of work; and but for the princely kindness of a partner of one of the Calcutta houses, whom he delighted to hail as the "*unum inter omnes*," the "*spem gregis*," it would have been "ho-chuka" with him long since. It is necessary to inform my readers, that my new companion, Mr. Neilman, had adopted, in his phraseology, a most happy, or, at all events, a most unceasing admixture of Hindoostanee aids and expletives. Half his native English had now given way to bad Hindoostanee. Thus he never dines, only khana-khats; he never touches wine, it is all shraub with him, or rather beer shraub, his only beverage. When he inspects his indigo fields, he takes a dēkh at the plant, or chuls over the kates: he calls Alport his old doost; and conversing with his good lady, a little bat-cheet with the beebe-sahib! Without premising this, it would be difficult to follow Mr. Neilman through his present Eurasian, or Anglo-Asiatic illustrations in conversation. But such of my readers as may find it difficult to keep pace with him, I can safely recommend to the able exposition of that eminent eastern philologist and linguist, John Borthwick Gil-



christ, L.L.D., and author of a very opportune work—"The Orienti-occidental Tuitionary Pioneer!"

'Mr. Neilman was giving me the history of his indigo affairs, but paused to assure me he was burra khoosee, that the Judge sahib had been juwabad by the young spinster at the doctor's. "Lord, sir!" he exclaimed, "he gives more deek to the poor leilwalas of the district, than half the zillah courts of the country. Some folks say he is fond of goose, but I think its all regular zid with him. It was but last season I cut my plant at some ruyats of mine near Leilpore: it was all ready to bring in, when up came a gang of loot-wallas belonging to a cala-feringee, a low Portuguese chap in my neighbourhood; and lattees in hand, they chilled off with the whole of it! Well, sir, that bit of zuburdust work would'nt do for me; so I sent in a durcast to the judge, brought a civil suit against the fellow; lugged him also into the Foujdaree court for a mar-pect affair; and, just as every thing was mokud-dumah'd, and my vakeel announced the Diggeree in my favour, in walks my feringee friend with a host of jootah-gowahs, and I got my rooksut in grand style. I only wish I had the judge in one of my indigo vats! I'd give a tinge of blue to his biliousness, I'd warrant him."

'The next subjects of Mr. Neilman's angry complainings were the Calcutta agents, of whom, by his own shewing, however, he had as little right to complain as most men, "but he had got to the right side of the gentry, thank God! Last May's account gave himself and his works all clear, and he'd make a new sort of bunderbust for the future! Why, the year before last," continued he, "they sold my blue at arrye-sou rupeeah the maund: and I was offered elsewhere nearly pouncee teen for it all round, dust and broken, musters and all! But, never mind, my good fellow," he continued, "I've enough yet to give a bottle of prime beer shraub, with a spare hookah, a howdah, and a sporting hathee for a friend at my factory; and when you return to Sahibpore, the old doctor sahib and you shall have a few days' shikar of it."

'I only took leave of my talkative companion, as we passed the house of his agents, on reaching Calcutta. And I could well see, that, in spite of his boasting, he yet stood in awe of the "Dear Sirs," even like a big school-boy, who still looks back, with secret terror, at the birch, as it fearfully betrays itself in the well-remembered corner of the school-room! I saw no more of him in Calcutta.'

'The Bengalee, after numerous entertaining and instructive sketches of society and manners in the East, at length arrives at the period when he bethought himself of returning home, and perhaps the chapters entitled, 'Leaving India,' 'Life on Shipboard,' 'Death on Shipboard,' and 'The Bengalee at Home,' are not surpassed by any portion of the work. We conclude with some ex-

tracts of the first, in which the effect of a long residence in India, on the habit and temper of the mind, is very skilfully described.

*‘Leaving India.’*

‘For some months past, my mind has been restless and disturbed with dreams and thoughts of my native country. The necessity of revisiting it, or, at all events, of a voyage to some colder climate, was suggested to me by my medical adviser and friend, as far back as the rainy season of last year; when I slowly recovered from a severe fever, and for the first time during my lengthened residence in this land of the sun, my constitution seemed to betray the effects of too long an exposure to the baneful heat of the tropics. I then began seriously to think of a change. It is true, that I was well aware that old age was fast advancing on me, and that the finger of time was as busily employed in wrinkling my brow, as was the sickness of the climate in sallowing over my thin and sunken features. Yet the very reflection that the sand of my glass was fast running to its close, made me anxious that its few remaining grains should be allowed to fall only in the land of my fathers; and that the spot wherein I should be laid for my last long repose, should rather be the fresh grassy sod, on which I had bounded in my early days of infancy and youth, than the parched and withered soil of the East. It is true, the latter had become dear to me by many ties and pleasing recollections. There were spots on it where I had all but naturalized myself; while friendships had been cemented, and intimacies had arisen, as warm and as strong as even consanguinity itself. Yet such is the constitution of our nature, and such, perhaps, its very principle, that, as with life itself, we look upon its earthly sojourn as probationary only, and as a passport to “another and a better world,” so, in our Indian career, there are but few indeed who can settle themselves quietly and contentedly for aye, and who have not at heart the ceaseless desire to quit the present scene of sullenness and unsettled toil, to enjoy at last, in the bosom of their native country, the gathered fruits of exile and labour.

‘It would certainly be as well for our Indian community, and the service at large, if it were imperative on all who come to India, that they quit it temporarily for Europe, after eight or ten years of residence. If I were legislating for British-Asia, every civilian, and military or other officer, should, perforce, take his furlough; and it would be a positive public benefit, not to the individuals themselves only, but to the country at large, if, for the sake of furnishing all with the means of revisiting England, the passage to and fro, and other necessary expences, were defrayed at the cost of the state. How many contracted prejudices, and false Asiatic notions would thus, in the prime of manhood, and the maturity of judgment, be erased from the minds of all! How many improper habits, ruinous connections, and degrading propensities, would thus,

in their early or midway course, be arrested and got rid of! It is true, that a residence in the East is not inimical, in every case, to increase of information, or the acquirement of literary and other knowledge; while there is a frankness of demeanour, a friendliness of manner, and true liberality of heart, to be met with among old Indians, which, if report speaks correctly, our cold European brethren would do well to attain a little more of. But it must be confessed, that, even with the noblest liberality, there may be want of judgment in its exercise and application; prodigality and profusion may be mistaken as its attributes; error and long-continued habit, may narrow or misdirect its course and power of acting, till, at length, its best uses are without benefit, and its very existence baneful to its very possessor. A restoration, for a few years, to our native country, while it improves the mind, and enlarges the power of observation, by the varying and unceasing display of food for it; while it renews our intimacy with our remaining relatives, and adds to our list of acquaintances and general friends, also sends us back to India with a re-invigorated constitution, and the means of more ably and easily performing our official and other duties. But more than this, it will also have enlarged our circle of thoughts, ideas, and recollections. We shall have become politically informed (for all in Europe are politicians) of the principal events of the leading empires of the world; we shall have seen, possibly, some of their eminent statesmen and public characters. Their institutions, theatres, and repositories for the works of art and science, will have been visited by us;—the often-described, lovely, and picturesque scenery of Europe will have been the object of our actual and personal admiration; and as Indians are proverbially locomotive, we shall have passed through and inspected every noted city and situation of celebrity. And must not all this increase our knowledge and information, and afford real solace to the mind, in its after residence in the East? Will not the powers of conversation with our friends be strengthened and improved? our judgment and ability to discriminate, increased? our own reflections and reminiscences in retirement, and in the frequent solitude of India, have been happily and pleasingly added to? In fine, the very sources of enjoyment itself in this life will have become enlarged and better secured.

‘These were the suggestions that arose in my mind whenever I essayed to view my return to England in a favourable light. True it is, a portion of these advantages could not appertain to me. If I should quit India, it must necessarily be for ever!—and though it may appear strange, yet this very circumstance, so often longed for in my earlier exile, and even now looked forward to, as ultimately desirable, when it came thus decidedly and immediately before me, brought with it more regretful feelings than I could have imagined possible. To leave it without a prospect of revisiting the friends it contained, or the many scenes which were truly dear to me, now

appeared a second pilgrimage from home, and a repetition of the pain of banishment. The very competency and means I had been striving to amass, and, while so engaged, had ever considered their realization to be the *summum bonum* of Eastern happiness and exertion, now seemed, in possession, to be robbed of half their value. Nay, avarice itself interposed to tell me that I had failed in my earlier calculation of what might be estimated as a competency; it pointed out and recapitulated all that I was on the point of throwing up; and then followed hesitating doubts, such as I had never before dreamed of, of my own unsuitness for so momentous and hazardous a change in life. I could not have been worse, or more the slave of growing apprehension, had it been matrimony itself that I was venturing upon at this period of my earthly pilgrimage, instead of a return to the home of one's birth and supposed affection. And yet I was not dissimilar in my then existing state of mind to half the old gentlemen, whom English courtesy, or rather ridicule, has been pleased to designate as Nabobs, before they can positively make up their hearts to relinquish the East. To some, its loaves and fishes are dearly, dearly, the objects of veneration. To a few, their confirmed Hindoostanee habits are sad ties, their hookahs bewitch them; they linger and look back upon their old establishment, comprising, among other household and domestic luxuries, that curtained and secluded liaison, so often ruinous and infatuating even to our very wisest. Then the horrors of a sea voyage, and the exertion necessary for preparation, but more than all, the downright, appalling difficulty of making up one's mind,—of screwing the determination to the sticking point of manfully enjoining one's Agents to secure a passage.

‘All these doubts, and hesitations, and arguments, pro and con, were busy passing before me, and the lapse of weeks, left me still as undecided as ever, when a little event suddenly assailed me in the midst of cogitations, and in the brief space of half a day, resolved the point as fixedly as fate itself. This sudden and abrupt dispellant of my doubts was no other than cholera morbus. I am not going to sicken my readers with a detailed account of its awful and very nearly fatal attack on me. A reference to any of the super-eminentely talented works, which, like the dazzling tail of a comet, or the squib-like corruscations of a melancholy Guy Faux-day in November, appear from a few young unpretending assistant-surgeons, shortly after the devastation of that scourge in India, will satisfactorily exhibit the whole progress of the attack. It lasted, happily, but for two or three hours, then was the usual—but to cut the matter short, in the afternoon I was relieved, and pronounced out of danger; and the very first use I made of my convalescence was to send for the plan and terms of accommodation of every ship, then advertised as homeward-bound, in the river.

‘After settling the weighty point of securing a cabin, next came

my preparations for departure. To procure what was necessary for my own use, was the work of a day or two only. A person like myself has little to trouble himself with in these matters; bachelors' wants are few; and Sircars, and the accommodating civility of the gentry of the China Bazaar, soon leave little to be done in supplying and completing them. The most difficult and oppressive task with me, was how to disperse and get rid of the things already by me—the accumulated hoard of years. An auctioneer could scarcely have undertaken their sale; they were "too numerous to detail," or, what was far worse, they were little worth the trouble. And yet, to myself, there was not an article scattered about the confusion of my habitation, that had not some claim or other on my regard, and desire to retain it. The old single-barrelled Mortimer, without a hammer, and the mouth of its barrel worn to somewhat of the thickness of bank post paper; had not this been the solace of many a weary hour in the earlier part of this century, on the lonely banks of the Jellinghee? Then the broken fishing rod, suspended on the wall, over my old violin-case—was not it a valued friend for the very same reason? The scattered remains of favourite billiard cues, long since so reduced and cut away from their original length, as to be unfit for use, were still fondly regarded by me, as they occasionally met my view; one of them had won for me an anxiously-contended match, with a once formidable rival at the game. My ancient love for the whole progeny of my easy-chairs has already been explained to my readers; and now to be compelled to part with every one of them, or, at all events, to be permitted to select only the very smallest and least roomy of them, which the dimensions of my cabin would alone sanction my retaining! My books, too, many of which really cost considerable sums, and were collected at much pains, it was mortifying to be able to keep only a limited number, such as would fill a small cabin book-case, consisting of a few feet of narrow shelves, affixed to one of the side panels. However, I made a bold effort; away went each and every thing to the auction-room of Messrs. M'Tulloch and Co.; and what they realised, when flamingly advertised as the "valuable property of —, Esq., returning to Europe," may be computed from the positive fact, that my well-known, and, by me, most esteemed and comfortable chocolate-coloured chariot, was knocked down for the sum of one hundred and fifty rupees, eight annas! And my pair of old faithful greys, which would so fondly linger in their wonted evening airing, till they often lulled me into slumber, they could obtain no purchasers at all! Not a bidder would appear, in spite of every praise and flourish of rhetoric from the auction pulpit! These last, therefore, I have been glad to include in the list of lame, old Native servants, viz., my ancient coachman, hookerbadar, sirdar-bearer, and a veteran mussalchee, for whom I have left some small means, in the hands of my agents, by way of monthly pension, and

as a thankful recollection from their master, which their long and faithful services to him, has prompted him to offer.

'I had a busy and unpleasant enough day with my agents, in adjusting and settling all accounts with them, past, present, and to come; unpleasant, I must add, from my habitual dislike to these things, not that my worthy, useful, and most obliging friends, Messrs. M'Tulloch and Co., contrived at all to add to the unpleasantness of the occupation. There was a still sadder task in store for me, that of taking leave of my various friends. It was, indeed, a long and painful business of one or two days; but on this I cannot, and I will not, dwell.'

With this we take leave of 'The Bengalee,' earnestly recommending him to the notice of all who contemplate a residence in our Eastern Empire, or who dwell on Indian reminiscences with pleasure.

# MAN AND WOMAN.

*From the Sheffield Iris.*

MAN is the proud and lofty pine,  
That frowns on many a wave-beat shore; .  
Woman, the young and tender vine,  
Whose curling tendrils round it twine,  
And deck its rough bark sweetly o'er.

Man is the rock whose towering crest  
Nods o'er the mountain's barren side;  
Woman, the soft and mossy vest,  
That loves to clasp its sterile breast,  
And wreath its brow with verdant pride.

Man is the cloud of coming storm,  
Dark as the raven's murky plume,  
Save where the sun-beam, light and warm,  
Of woman's soul—of woman's form,  
Gleams brightly through the gathering gloom.

Yes, 'tis to lovely woman given,  
To soothe our griefs, our woes allay—  
To heal the heart by misery riven—  
Change earth into an embryo heaven—  
And drive life's fiercest cares away.

## TRAVELS IN TURKEY, EGYPT, AND ARABIA.\*

THE world is perpetually complaining of the disagreement and contradictions discoverable in the relations of different travellers; and many, with more acumen than charity, endeavour to account for these discrepancies by supposing that some of the parties have availed themselves of the ancient privilege of those who visit strange countries, or 'go down to the sea in ships.' There are, however, more ways than one of explaining the matter. In the first place, each traveller, perched upon his individuality, if we may hazard such an expression, as upon a tower, regards mankind from a peculiar point of view, and through the medium of his own pre-conceived opinions, prejudices, and habits. Moreover, in passing through a foreign land, some men enjoy more, and others fewer opportunities, and are more or less capacitated for observation by health or sickness, riches or poverty, youth or age. These things influence the relations of travellers more than might at first be imagined. For example, let us suppose two men, equally desirous of correctly representing what they behold, to visit a distant country; of these the one shall be pious, the other the reverse, and the people visited neither the one nor the other, just as all great nations, taken collectively, are found to be. The former of our travellers, however, finding them *below* his standard, will describe them as an irreligious, or, at least, a lukewarm people; while the latter, on the other hand, observing them far to exceed *his* standard, on this point will, in all probability, represent them as superstitious. And the reader, who does not maturely reflect upon the matter, or does not perceive from what very different points of view those two men contemplated the same people, will be apt, and very naturally too, to conclude that they contradict each other, and are guilty of misrepresentation.

We have been led into this train of reflections from observing the tone in which Mr. Madden's travels are composed. It differs considerably from that which has been adopted by the generality of travellers in the East, and may sometimes, perhaps, mislead the reader; but, upon the whole, it is the tone of a shrewd and able observer, and is well calculated to impress the reader with respect for the traveller's abilities. Occasionally we remark in Mr. Madden a touch of the old prejudice, that countries, which have often been travelled over, are therefore well known. No opinion can be more erroneous. People generally read travels as they read romances, for the interest of the narrative, for the emotions they give rise to,—in

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\* 'Travels in Turkey, Egypt, Nubia, and Palestine, in 1824, 1825, 1826, and 1827. By R. R. Madden, Esq., M.R.C.S. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Colburn. 1829.'

short, for any thing but information. They are, therefore, always ready to take up a new book of travels through any country whatever, perhaps through a country they have often read about, in preference to one with which they have no acquaintance, as they may hope to detect the traveller in some trifling error, and thus gratify their vanity, while they are ministering to their curiosity. Besides, it is not in the country, but in the traveller, that the source of originality of remark is found. Travels through London and Middlesex, by a man of genius, would possess infinite novelty and interest, and would really contain remarks on manners, national character, customs, scenery, antiquities, &c., which would be new to every soul in London. No country will ever be exhausted, and much less the romantic and magnificent regions of the East, where every thing we hear or see recalls a thousand pleasing associations, and sends the mind roaming backward over the delightful recollections of childhood and youth.

The work of Mr. Madden is at once an illustration and a proof of the truth of our position, it treats of countries which have been a thousand times visited, a thousand times described; yet it abounds in novel remarks, in fresh and excellent illustrations of manners, and in materials for forming a just conception of the condition and character of the Orientals, which are no where else to be found. It will and ought to rise at once into celebrity, and take precedence of a thousand-and-one dreary volumes on the same countries, which have had their day, and are already going the way of all books of their class.

It would be unjust not to add, that besides their literary merits, these volumes have another, that of breathing throughout an air of benevolence and philanthropy, which, we think, will be apt to conciliate the feelings of the reader more surely than even the most consummate artifices of rhetoric.

Although the work contains remarks on various countries besides Egypt, we shall confine ourselves for the present to this singular and celebrated land, and that race of men who have alternately tasted the delights of rule, and the bitterness of servitude, within its borders. We mean the Arabs. It is, in fact, to this portion of his work, that the traveller himself appears to attach most importance, for he has evidently elaborated it with more care, and enlivened it with more spirit and humour, than the other parts of the volumes; and in general the author and his readers agree respecting the comparative merits of different portions of a work.

A well grounded fear of the poison and pistol-balls of the Turks having hastened the departure of Mr. Madden from Candia, he removes to Egypt, and takes up his abode at Alexandria. On arriving at this city, the first object of importance which the traveller sees is Pompey's Pillar, and accordingly it never fails to occupy the extreme foreground in his description of the country.



From this common-place piece of mechanism, we expected, however, that the book of Mr. Madden would have been free; but it was perhaps introduced for the sake of the anecdote with which it concludes, and which, though not very striking, is assuredly the only portion of it that is worth any thing.

'I made two fruitless attempts to ascend, but I found it impossible; an Irish lady, however, a Miss Talbot, had the courage to mount, and breakfasted on the summit; she wrote a letter to Mr. Salt, dated from "the top of Pompey's Pillar;" Mr. Salt sent an answer, purporting to come from "the bottom of Joseph's well," which he confesses was written in his parlour.'

We always understood that the Frank population of this profligate city was any thing but immaculate; but our *beau ideal* of rascality fell short, we must confess, of the reality, unless Mr. Madden's picture be a little overcharged, which we have not the slightest reason to suspect. He observes, and no doubt correctly, that Alexandria is the *refugium peccatorum* of all Europe; the place where men who have the misfortune to escape the gallows or the gallies, cluster together, to pollute their souls with new abominations, and plunge more deeply than ever into guilt. Among these incarnate demons, to whom nothing is more common than assassination and poisonings, when a man goes out to dinner, he takes emetics and a stomach-pump along with him, as people take their snow-shoes in Lapland, or an umbrella in London. To give the reader an example of the way in which the Franks treat each other in Egypt, we copy the following anecdote, which will bring to the reader's recollection many passages in the history of Italy.

'I was seized with dysentery, in consequence of leaving my window open at night, the first week of the Noctæ. An Italian physician, of the greatest eminence, who had failed as a mere merchant, was brought to me by my friends. I did not wish it, but they desired it, as my danger was imminent. The first thing he proposed, was to put ice to my abdomen, and ordered me to drink nothing but ice, "to keep down the inflammation." I thought this very strange; I objected to it, but he silenced me by the assurance that he had practised fifteen years in the country, and had found ice the only specific for dysentery. My mind was enfeebled by the disease, as well as my body; I suffered him to apply the ice: two hours after it, my symptoms were fearfully augmented; the pain was excruciating; and I thought my last tour on earth was nearly finished, and that my mortal pilgrimage was to end in Alexandria.

'I gave orders to admit the doctor no more, I took scruple doses of calomel, for three successive days, twice a day; the third day my mouth was affected, and from that moment every bad symptom ceased. Did this quondam merchant want to dispatch me, or was his remedy prescribed through mere ignorance? I dare not determine; but, as I am the medical attendant of Mr. Salt, and have

thus interfered with this man, I think it not unlikely that the faculty wish me elsewhere. At all events, they get rid of one another not unfrequently. The husband of a lady who is now married to one of the merchants here was poisoned, her son informed me, by a Jew physician of great eminence. This learned Hebrew is the most unprincipled man in Egypt; and, I think, principally on that account, the most esteemed doctor. I first met him in Constantinople, when he was banished from Egypt by the Pacha. But the Christians could not do without him: he got permission to return; and still is the reputed Hippocrates and Apollo of the Franks.'

While we are upon this subject we shall copy another brief, but highly characteristic passage, with which the reader cannot but be struck. We ought, however, to premise that Mr. Madden should have discovered something worse to say of the thirteen republicans, hereafter enumerated among fraudulent bankrupts and atheists, than the mere fact that 'they were' outlaws, since it has heretofore happened to the best of men to be outlawed by tyrants and oppressors. Neither does the mere fact of their being found in company with cut-throats and poisoners, tell very strongly against them, for Mr. Madden himself was there. Let the reader, however, take the passage as it stands.

'I have been at Frank parties where the Society was select, and on one occasion, an old Levanter gave me an outline of the company: he pointed out nine fraudulent bankrupts, thirteen republican outlaws, five avowed atheists, four physicians who had never studied physic, one who had escaped from the galleys in Genoa, and had made the largest fortune of all, another who had poisoned his *confrère*, and another who had done as much for his wife. Two of these have since died,—one of the plague, abandoned by every human creature; the other of malignant fever, surrounded by people whose intentions he dreaded: his death was the most horrid I ever witnessed; I saw him shudder when the drink was handed to him, deeming it was poisoned

'The unfortunate man had been the most celebrated doctor in Egypt; his habits were congenial to those of the Franks, who loved him because they feared him.

'In the party I mentioned there were likewise three pensioned spies of the government, half a dozen French officers, who had just abandoned the service of the Greeks, and were now going against them, in the pay of the Turks; and several professed gamblers, one of whom, a Greek merchant of good repute. I saw thrust out of the *Casino*, for stealing money off a card table. Such are the gentlemen who compose the society of Alexandria, of which, thank Heaven, my intercourse with Mr. Salt rendered me independent, so long as I had the good fortune to be under his roof.'

From these outcasts of Christendom, we turn to the traveller's

account of Mohammed Ali, the present pasha and viceroy of Egypt. Owing to his active and persevering exertions to subdue the Morea, and his far more praiseworthy endeavours to let in upon his adopted country a ray of European civilization, a considerable degree of interest has long been felt in Europe respecting the character and fortunes of this man. His barbaric court is, moreover, partly composed of Christians, or at least, of persons born in Christian countries, and the Englishmen who directly or indirectly forward his views, are not a few. For these reasons Mohammed Ali is a personage who may be considered to be absolutely popular in this country, and every thing which concerns him must possess a certain interest for the greater number. The history of his fortunes, too, is a remarkable exemplification of the truth, that the machinery of society is constructed in the East upon principles very different from those which regulate its movement in Europe ; and that what, for want of a better name, is called Fortune, has there much more ample room to exhibit its fantastic tricks in than here with us.

Mohammed Ali is a native of Salonica, and commenced his career in his native place as a servant. From this station he passed to that of a common soldier, and gradually rose, by dint of courage and perseverance, to the rank of *Byn Bashi*, or colonel. Arriving in Egypt during the sway of the Mamelukes, he first signalized himself in the conflicts between the rival Beys, and afterwards between the Beys and the Turkish Pashas. Taking advantage of a fortunate moment, when both the Mamelukes and the Turks were off their guard, he proclaimed himself Pasha of Egypt, and pretending, of course, to be vested with the authority of the Sublime Porte, seized upon Grand Cairo. At first the Sultan dissembled his rage and indignation, expecting that, according to custom, the usurper would fall almost spontaneously into his clutches. He allowed him, therefore, to take his full swing, secretly intending, however, to come in charitably to his aid, when he should have loaded his soul with guilt, and his coffers with plunder, and administer the sovereign remedy of the bow-string. But when he saw year after year roll away, still leaving the fortunate adventurer firmly seated upon what may, very properly, be termed the throne of Egypt, his conscience grew a little uneasy, and he began to meditate seriously upon the means of hastening Mohammed's admission into paradise ; for, as the reader is aware, every person murdered by the Sultan's order is regarded as a martyr. The usual means of filling up the Turkish martyrology—that is, poison and assassination—were repeatedly tried, but unhappily without effect ; while the crafty Pasha, who understood the full extent of his highness's affection for him, redoubled his expressions of loyalty at every fresh attempt which was made to murder him, and every year became more and more assiduous and exact in forwarding the tribute to Constantinople.<sup>1</sup>

'The Sultan, however,' says Mr. Madden, 'was not deceived; he received the tribute of the *Giaour* Pacha (for such Mohammed Ali is called in Constantinople to this day, on account of his intercourse with Christians), but his head was still wanted to adorn the gate of the Seraglio.'

By pursuing this judicious system of policy, Mohammed Ali every day strengthened the foundations of his power, and felt himself becoming more and more independent of the Porte. As the Pasha's conduct appears to Europeans a little too politic for that of a Turk, they suspect the intervention of European craft, and attribute to M. Drovetti, the French Consul, the honour of detecting the clumsy plots of the Sultan.

'Mohammed Ali was now firmly fixed in his government, and it was evident that something more than Turkish wisdom preserved him in it. Telegraphs were established from Alexandria to Cairo; and every insurrection which begun, was disconcerted in the space of a few hours. The Mamelukes deemed his agents supernatural, but his only agent was M. Drovetti, the French Consul. This gentleman still holds the office of Consul, and he it was whose prudence and dexterity seated Mohammed Ali on the throne. Every measure of the latter was of his planning; and the Viceroy well knows that to him the success of his ambition is wholly due. Drovetti is the most perfect courtier in his manners and appearance I ever met; the elegance of his address is only surpassed by the depth of his dissimulation, and the skilfulness of his subterfuge. There is, however, something terrible in his countenance; and as he stalks along the plain of Alexandria every evening, muffled up in his white *bernous*, the Franks are seen to retire with a sort of deferential horror, and whisper, as he passes, "Make way for Cataline."'

We observe that, from some cause or another, Mr. Madden is peculiarly desirous of associating M. Drovetti with Mohammed Ali in all the honours of those atrocious strokes of policy which are usually denominated Machiavellian. Among these, the principal, undoubtedly, is the slaughter of the Mameluke Beys, which, however it may be palliated by some, and justified by others, was an action for which the gallows or the impaling-stake would have been too slight a reward. We cannot consent to view the murder *à la Turque*. Murder is murder, and treachery is treachery, whether at Cairo or London; and although it may in one place be visited with less odium than in another, the man who is capable of it at all, would be guilty of it anywhere, under favourable circumstances. Let the reader observe, however, Mr. Madden's view of the matter.

'What share he had in the destruction of the Mamelukes I know not; but, in his quality of privy counsellor, it is to be presumed the bloody business was not transacted without his knowledge: of

the expediency of the policy which dictated the measure, I believe there can be little doubt, considering the matter "*à la Turque*." The Mamelukes or Mohammed Ali must have fallen; the Viceroy determined it should be the former. He invited them to a grand feast, said to be given in honour of his son, at the citadel, and for the alleged purpose of a reconciliation with the Beys, for whom it was reported he had prepared magnificent presents. The Mamelukes distrusted the Pasha's sudden friendship; they resolved not to attend the banquet. The emissaries of the Pasha laboured to convince them that their suspicion was unfounded; and they prevailed at last on the generous-minded Mamelukes (for such they were) to trust to the honour and hospitality of Mohammed Ali. They went to the feast, they were received with every demonstration of friendship; but the Pasha was not to be seen; the Beys suspected treachery; they looked to the doors by which they entered the citadel, but they were fast closed; immediately a galling fire of musquetry, from the surrounding parapets, opened upon them; there was no escape; they looked their murderers in the face; they called for quarter, but there was no mercy; they shook their swords at their assassins, but they were beyond their reach.

'A soldier, who assisted at the massacre, informed me, that the poor wretches, in their despair, kept running to and fro, from one door to another, vainly seeking a place of safety, until there was not a single Mameluke left standing. The greater number were despatched, but many were only wounded; the ferocious soldiers now descended from the walls, and cut and hacked the expiring Beys. I asked the soldier, if it was not a sorry sight? He said, it was lamentable to see such fine clothes as they wore spoiled with blood!

'The Pasha all this time was shut up in a turret of the citadel, looking at the slaughter of his guests.'

The remarks of Mr. Madden upon the manufactories of Egypt, and the policy of introducing them into the country, we regard as the weakest part of his whole work. The Delta, it must be confessed, appears to be designed by nature to be an agricultural country; but there are parts of Egypt where agriculture is impossible, and there are also persons in Egypt who are wanted neither for wielding the plough nor the sickle. No country, in short, should be exclusively agricultural, manufacturing, or commercial; since the genius of some men incline them to one class of pursuits, and that of others to callings quite opposite. In contending against the propriety of the introduction of manufactories, on account of the peculiar nature of the atmosphere, and the troublesome minuteness of the sand, which insinuates itself into the machinery, and clogs the wheels, even of a watch, Mr. Madden appears to forget the fact, that ancient Egypt was renowned for her manufactories, and that of old her fine linen was so much sought

after, as her mummies are now. To speak the truth, we fear that our ingenious traveller's principal reason for decrying the manufactories of the land of crocodiles, is, that they have been introduced into the country by the advice of the Catiline who is supposed to have plotted the destruction of the Mameluke Beys.

There is one public work of Mohammed Ali—the canal, about forty miles long, from Alexandria to the Nile—of which Mr. Madden appears to speak with praise. The execution of all such great undertakings, however, is invariably attended in the East by the most wanton sacrifices of human life; and our traveller remarks, that of the three hundred thousand men employed at different periods in excavating the Alexandrian canal, not less than twenty thousand perished from hard usage.

‘In Egypt, when any public work is to be done, soldiers are sent to surround the villages; the unfortunate peasants are taken prisoners and linked to one another, and marched, sometimes hundreds of miles from their homes and families, to the place of employment, where, to use a vulgar expression, they get more kicks than halfpence. Here the poor naked *fellahs* are to be seen digging the soil with their fingers, to excavate a temporary canal, or raising water in baskets to irrigate the soil: how the work is accomplished, Heaven only knows; but the task-masters are seen armed with their whips, parading amongst the labourers, lashing right and left the lazy and the weak; and when the work is finished, they get checks on the Sheik or *Kaimacan*, for payment of a piastre a day, three-pence halfpenny of our money.’

The persons, whose lives were there prodigally squandered away, were Arab peasants, men endowed by nature with the kindest affections, and the most generous souls. On this point almost all travellers agree, however they may differ upon others; and Mr. Madden, whose acuteness we have already noticed, loses no opportunity of dwelling upon the inexhaustible good humour, the frank hospitality, the open, confiding, generous temper of the Arabs. Of the numerous anecdotes, which are related in these volumes to their honour, we shall select two or three brief ones, in corroboration of our opinion of this primitive people. The first of these relates to an old schoolmaster of Upper Egypt.

‘It was impossible, however, to observe so much gaiety and good humour, in a country which may better be called the grave, than the mother of her children, without feeling pleasure. I was in high spirits, when suddenly I perceived something biting my leg; I put down my hand and discovered a scorpion, the first I had seen in Egypt. The pain was hardly perceptible; but I felt rather uncomfortable about the consequences, and expressed my alarm to an old Arab who sat near me; he very good naturedly led me to a coffee-house, and, without asking my consent to doctor me, he proceeded to boil a small quantity of olive oil, then took a bit of his own old

turban, dipped it in the oil, and applied it, hotter than I could well bear, to the bite. I let him have his way ; for, in such cases, I think the people of the country are better judges of remedies than a college of doctors. I was right in thinking so, for I suffered no inconvenience whatever from the accident. I offered my old physician, who turned out to be a schoolmaster, a fee of a few piastres, but he would not accept of a paras.'

Upon the physical constitution and manners of the Bedouins, the traveller observes :

' It is almost incredible on what a small quantity of food the Bedouins subsist. I found the ordinary allowance of a Bisharein Arab did not exceed twelve ounces a day of black bread and salt cheese, with a few dried dates ; and there was hardly any disease amongst them. I never saw hardier people ; their frames were slender, but their activity was surprising, and their fine black eyes sparkled with intelligence and animation. Had they lived in towns, they would have consumed four times as much food, and their infirmities would have been at least fourfold. Abernethy erred not in asserting that we eat and drink twice more than we require : I should say, three times more than does us good.'

During his travels in Upper Egypt, the author was apprehended, and brought before a magistrate, under a charge of sheep-stealing ; and his account of this adventure, though it represents the Arabs in their degraded state, is at once honourable to their character, and creditable to his own talents.

' In the evening it was our custom to send the crew ashore, to milk the first goats and buffaloes they met with. One night, after doing so, some Arab shepherds, who were tending their flock on the river side, imagined our men had a design on their sheep, and actually pretended there was one missing. My companion, hearing this, unfortunately began to bleat like a sheep, in the chamber of the kangea.

' The Arabs, who only made the charge of the theft for the purpose of extorting money, now thought they had lost one in reality. Our Reis and the crew protested their innocence, offering to let them search the boat, but nothing would satisfy them. I lost all patience, and threatened to shoot the man who laid hold of the gunnel of our boat. The crew at last offered to refer the business to the Sheik of the village. This was agreed to.

' The Reis and myself marched off to the Sheik el belled's house, surrounded by twenty or thirty Arabs, and there the robbery was gravely stated ; half a dozen ragged children were produced as witnesses ; they all pointed at me as the person who decoyed the flock to the river side. The name of *Frangy* was enough to get a thousand witnesses against a Christian.

' The thing looked serious : in England a man might be hanged

on such testimony ; but, nevertheless, I was exceedingly amused ; it was the first time I was ever brought before a tribunal of justice ; and to appear there on a charge of sheep-stealing was so singular, that, when I was called on by the Sheik for my defence, I burst into laughter.

‘ No Arab can withstand the influence of good humour ; he can resist reason, but he cannot mirth—he is proof against rage, but a smile overcomes him ; his tympanum is inured to vituperation and his tongue to invective, but the ludicrous triumphs over all. Let his opponent only relax his features, let a bystander only say something ridiculous, the choler of the Arab vanishes into thin air ; in short, he cannot resist good humour.

‘ The Sheik el belled, who should have committed me for contempt of court, was the first to catch the contagion of my mirth ; his big sides shook again with laughter ; my accusers, who preserved their gravity, so long as I did not stare them in the face, exclaimed to one another, “ *Wallah Magnoon !* ” “ By G— he is mad ! ” and then they laughed even louder than the justice.

‘ At length, when the Sheik recovered his gravity, he again questioned the Reis about the lost sheep ; but here I cut the matter short by pulling the Viceroy’s firman out of my pocket, in which I was styled “ the prince of *hakkims*, the most learned among the learned, and the friend and *hakkim bashi* of the English Consul ; the friend of his Royal Highness.”

‘ The consternation of the Arabs was highly amusing ; the Sheik el belled placed the firman on the crown of his head, kissed it, and made many excuses for having detained me a moment on such a foolish charge. I invited him aboard my kangea ; he and my accusers followed me, and I regaled them all with pipes and coffee. There the fellows sat on my carpet, all courtesy and politeness, who, a few minutes before, were indicting me on a charge of felony. We parted the best friends in the world, having thoroughly convinced them we had not stolen even a lamb.’

Man is naturally a hospitable animal, and the Arabs, who have not yet had their original propensities worn away by civilization, still indulge in the luxury of entertaining strangers, and receiving in return the tale of their adventures.

‘ Two days before our arrival here (Thebes) we were destitute of every thing ; we could get no provisions in the villages. One evening I was begging to purchase a little milk ; an old Arab observed that I had been refused, he took my companion by the hand, and said, “ Follow me ; whatever I have you shall have the half of it.” He gave us about a gallon of milk, and a score of douro leaves. I offered him five or six piastres in return ; a sum, in Upper Egypt, equivalent to ten times the amount in England ; and he who knows the misery of the Arabs can best appreciate the hos-



pitable feeling which could prompt the refusal of so large a sum. The old man stroked his white beard, "*La la! hawadgi!*" said he, "I do not want your money; why should I take any for a mouthful of bread; does it not all come from God?"

'He pointed to heaven as he spoke; and, as this simple and beautiful expression passed his lips, I thought it gained additional impressiveness from the natural dignity of his manner, and the unstudied elegance of his Arab oratory.'

There are rogues, however, among all nations, as most persons, we suppose, will allow; and, as a contrast to the above stories, we will now copy a passage describing the renowned exploits of one of this respectable class of men, who lived, and perhaps still lives, by manufacturing mummies, and laughing at our Frank beards. The passage is, moreover, valuable as an illustration of manners.

'The Libyan mountain, on the north-west side of Thebes, contains the tombs; they perforate the mountain from top to bottom; the lowest are the most highly finished; these are inhabited by the Arabs, about three hundred of whom miserably exist in these sepulchres of pride. The staple commodity of Gourna consists in mummies: the Arabs find it easier to live by selling dead men, than by the toil of husbandry. In the sale of mummies, I discovered such frauds, that I have no hesitation in saying, in all the cabinets of Europe, there are not probably twenty mummies in the same coffins in which they were originally deposited.

'I attended an old inhabitant of a tomb for several days; he had a bad fever, of which his son had died a few days before my arrival. I had the good fortune to cure this old troglodyte, and his gratitude was unbounded. I was in the habit of sitting with him daily, on my return from my researches in the tombs. His dwelling was in the most spacious chamber of a superb sepulchre,\* the walls were covered with ancient paintings; the roof was supported by four magnificent pillars, his divan was formed of an inverted coffin, and the lamp, which feebly illumined this gloomy chamber, was made of the cover of an alabaster vase. Various antique utensils furnished his cupboard, and the screen which separated the woman's alcove from the common chamber, was formed principally of the linen cloth torn from the mummies. It was with great difficulty I could prevail on him to let me visit the interior of the tomb; I did so, however, on the condition of not telling any thing of what I saw to the Franks at Gourna, and to my utter surprise, the first

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\* In the paintings of this chamber, I observed five different sorts of musical instruments; jugglers were depicted in the act of swallowing fire, dancing on ropes, standing on their heads; asses were rearing on their hind legs, the cross accurately painted on their backs; women were dancing precisely like the modern Arab *alme*; and only six primitive colours were employed in the representations of all these objects.'

thing I observed, at the extremity of the gallery, was a manufacture of mummies. Three beautiful mummy-cases were laid open, an ordinary mummy was placed in the last, the original one having been previously pillaged; and what convinced me of the fraud, was several new wooden pegs lying on the cover of the large case, undoubtedly intended as substitutes to the old ones, which had been broken in bursting open the external case. There are generally three cases, and the nails which join them are made of hard wood. I asked no questions, I knew it would be useless; but my eye was inquisitive for the few moments I remained, and some red paint in a coffee-cup beside the coffins, left me no doubt of the justice of my first suspicion.

'I proceeded, through a narrow passage, into another cave, which was literally crammed with mummies, placed in horizontal layers, as they had been, in all probability, deposited some thousands of years ago. Not one was upright, as Herodotus describes them to have been; and, indeed, in all the sepulchres I have been, I never found a mummy in a standing posture; the great proof of this fallacy is, that, that in the tombs of the kings, each sarcophagus is placed on its bottom, and not on end. But what astonished me in the tomb of my old friend, the troglodyte, far more than the folly of the Egyptians, or the skill of the embalmers, was the indifference of the little children of the old man's son to the horrors of the place: four of them, the eldest not exceeding eight years of age, had crawled after me through every gloomy passage; and now, in the chamber where the dreariness of the scene, and the sickening sight of these cadaverous mummies made me shudder, they sat on the broken coffins, pulling about the rigid arms of the dead bodies, and playing with the gilded fingers of one mummy which had evidently been dragged from a coffin. Not a particle of fear had these little troglodytes; and why, indeed, should they? They were born in a sepulchre, they were accustomed to death, their little eyes saw less of living men than of livid corpses: if their mother wished to frighten them, she spoke not of graves and hobgoblins, she talked to them of Christians; she could not terrify their souls with objects which were always within their sight, and she could hardly shut them up in a much darker room than that in which they first saw the lamp which "made darkness visible" around him.'

The following mode of proving a pistol to be English, has, at least, the merit of originality. The logician is the governor of Damietta.

'I sometimes accompanied him in his excursions on the Nile; he was a capital sportsman, and made it a point to fire at birds with a single ball: in this way I have seen him kill sparrows repeatedly, indeed, he very rarely missed. One day I was disputing the excellence of an officer's pistol who sat by me; he would have it that it was an English pistol, though it was really a German one; when I assured him it was not English, he very deliberately primed it,

and, retiring to the distance of four or five yards, he fired between my legs, as I sat on a high bench, at a jar, about twenty feet distant; he smashed the jar, and said, in a triumphant tone, "Well, is that an English pistol or not?"—"Oh, most undoubtedly," said I, "it must be English:" had I hesitated, he would have fired the other in the same direction; and it is not very pleasant to have a drunken Turk shooting between one's legs.'

When Volney went among the Bedouins, he was tempted, he says, by various generous offers, to pitch his tent in the desert, and become an Arab. Mr. Madden experienced very similar treatment from the children of Ismael, and, in his description of it, uses almost the same language as the great French traveller, and felt, he says, an equally strong desire to accept the offer of the Sheik.

'We found a camp of Bedouins in the adjoining plains, who were of the same tribe as our guides, and with them we remained for the night; we did not wait for an invitation into a tent, we entered the first we met, and we found a welcome.

'An Arab woman, who was spinning goats' wool in the interior, gave us the *salaam* of peace, bid us sit down, and removed her two children to the next tent. I purchased a lamb for dinner, which she roasted entire, thrusting a long piece of wood through it, and turning it over a brisk fire of chopped straw and camel's dung; two little Arabs performed the office of turnspits. The savoury odour of my lamb spread through the whole encampment; I was presently surrounded by at least a score of Bedouins. I invited their Sheik and four of their chief men to dinner, and with these, and my two Bedouin guides, I sat down to my repast; it consisted of a large wooden bowl of boiled rice, in the centre of which was placed the roasted lamb. I saw the eyes of my guests sparkle with pleasure, as they surveyed the trencher. They all took their large knives out of their girdles, and deposited them in a circle on the ground; the Sheik then said grace, and, to my mind, it was the most impressive thanksgiving I ever witnessed; he took a piece of bread, raised it towards heaven, then put it to his lips, and simply repeated the word "Allah!" In a minute there were five-and-thirty or forty fingers plunged into the *pilaw*, and speedily as many into the lamb: but all the hurry prevented not the Sheik from politely picking out the choicest bits, and presenting them to me with his greasy fingers.

'When dinner was ended, I produced the *rakee* bottle; but not one of them would take a drop. Pipes and coffee pleased them infinitely better, and we sat smoking till ten o'clock. Love stories were related of young men who entertained the fatal passion for girls of another tribe, and how they pined till they had no shadows, and their faces became as small as olives. I sang an Arab song, which I learned in Upper Egypt, called "*By awani*" a favourite sentimental air of theirs, and never were people so delighted. They swore I was no Christian, to flatter me, that I was good enough

to be a Bedouin ; and I so completely gained the heart of the old Sheik, that he actually besought me to remain with him. He said, God made me for a Bedouin ; and that I should have the best Arab horse of his, if I remained. He swore by his beard, he would give me, not only a horse, but a tent likewise, and that I should be as his own son !

“ But what am I to do,” said I, “ for a harem ? you know I do not *sully*, and what woman would marry a man who does not perform the ablutions ?”

“ *Allah Karim*,” said the good old Bedouin : “ God will make you a believer in course of time, and my own daughter shall be your wife, if you consent to join our tribe.”

“ But,” said I, “ what would my father and mother think of me, if I stayed away from them in their old age ?”

“ If you had a father,” replied the Sheik, “ you would not have left him to wander in the Desert ! What business have you in it, —to see the sands ? to look upon the sky ? have you not the sand and the sky in your own country ? and if your father's beard was grey, would you abandon him to visit the poor Bedouins ?” “ *Bedlowee mesquin !*”

‘ I hardly knew what answer to make to this simple observation ; he saw that my thoughts were far away, and with true Bedouin courtesy, he endeavoured to make amends for what he conceived to be the occasion of a painful reminiscence.

“ *Malesh hawadgi malesh !*” he replied in a good-humoured tone, “ it is no matter ; perhaps they treated you badly ; perhaps they did not love you ; your face, perhaps, was black to them ; but it shines here ; and you shall have a horse and a gun, and a tent, and a harem, if you remain with us.”

‘ Had I not been bound to my own country by one or two indissoluble ties, I verily believe I should have become a Bedouin ; and at this moment have been an inhabitant of the Wilderness. I was delighted with their simplicity, with their hospitality, and above all with their independence. That independence which they have preserved from time immemorial is reflected on their features from their hearts ; and the dignity of their countenances, and the nobleness of their gait, distinguish both the men and women of their tribes from every other race of Egyptian and Syrian Arabs.’

Did our limits permit, we could easily extend this article with passages equally striking and amusing with those we have now laid before our readers ; but we must pause here, and merely observe, in conclusion, that for extent of information, originality of remark, and easy vivacity of style, Mr. Madden's travels have seldom been surpassed ; and therefore we unhesitatingly recommend them to all those who feel an interest in the manners, character, and institutions of the Orientals.

## THE ISLAND OF ATLANTIS.

BY THE REV. G. CROLY.

*From the Forget-me-Not. 1826.*

ON thou Atlantic, dark and deep,  
 Thou wilderness of waves,  
 Where all the tribes of earth might sleep  
 In their uncrowded graves !

The sunbeams on thy bosom wake,  
 Yet never light thy gloom ;  
 The tempests burst, yet never shake  
 Thy depths, thou mighty tomb !

Thou thing of mystery, stern and drear,  
 Thy secrets who hath told ?—  
 The warrior and his sword are there,  
 The merchant and his gold.

There lie their myriads in thy pall  
 Secure from steel and storm ;  
 And he, the feaster on them all  
 The cankerworm.

Yet on this wave the mountain's brow  
 Once glowed in morning beam ;  
 And, like an arrow from the bow,  
 Out sprang the stream ;

And on its bank the olive grove,  
 And the peach's luxury,  
 And the damask rose—the nightbird's love—  
 Perfumed the sky.

Where art thou, proud ATLANTIS, now ?  
 Where are thy bright and brave ?  
 Priest, people, warriors' living flow ?  
 Look on that wave !

Crime deepened on the recreant land,  
 Long guilty, long forgiven ;  
 There power upreared the bloody hand,  
 There scoff'd at Heaven.

The word went forth—the word of woe—  
 The judgment-thunders pealed ;  
 The fiery earthquake blazed below ;  
 Its doom was sealed.

Now on its halls of ivory  
 Lie giant weed and ocean slime,  
 Burying from man's and angel's eye  
 The land of crime.

## ANNALS AND ANTIQUITIES OF RAJAST'HAN.\*

WE have already announced to our readers the appearance of this anxiously expected work. The peculiar character of the people, whose history and institutions were to be sketched, the well known ability of the author, and the opportunities enjoyed by him as political agent to the Western States, had all conspired to excite an interest in his labours, greater than is usually evinced in matters of Asiatic curiosity, and it is due to Colonel Tod to say, that in no one instance in which the 'Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han' have been the subject of discussion, have we noticed an exception to the general and unqualified approbation with which they have been received.

The basis of a work which is replete with materials of antiquarian and historical interest, was originally geographical. In the year 1806, when the author was attached to the embassy to the Court of Sindia, the laborious research, the results of which are now before the public commenced. At that period so little was known of the geography of Rajast'han, that in the best maps then extant the position of the two capitals of Méwar, Oodipoor, and Chectore, was reversed, and nearly all the central and western states were totally omitted. These errors were corrected by Colonel Tod, who considers it ample reward for ten years' labour, that the geography of Rajast'han, which he presented in 1815, to Lord Hastings, became the foundation of that illustrious commander's arrangements for the ensuing campaign.

The copious data accumulated in the course of his surveys, respecting the history, the antiquities, and the customs of the Rajpoot tribes, induced Colonel Tod to extend his plan, or rather to engraft a new one, on that which he had previously entertained, and though it is impossible not to think highly of the labours by which the topographical features of this part of India were ascertained, we are inclined to consider ourselves under still greater obligations for the insight into the genius and manners of the people, which the volume before us affords. Perhaps, indeed, there is no branch of Indian policy more worthy of anxious and deliberate investigation, than the character of our relations with the monarchs and great princes of Rajast'han. The warlike Rajpoot differs more from the timid and gentle native of Bengal, than the people of any two European nations from each other. The terms of subjection, treaty, and alliance, which would obtain for us the grateful acknowledgments of the inhabitants of Eastern India, might excite discontent and insurrection in the west. Already it has been too much our policy to frame general regulations on partial experience, and it

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\* 'Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han, or the Central and Western Rajpoot States of India. Smith, Elder & Co., Cornhill.'

is by no means uncommon, for men whose observations have been confined to the lower provinces, or to occasional glimpses of the banks of the Jumna or the Ganges, to generalize the opinions they have formed with very limited opportunities of knowledge. Until the publication of the work before us, there was no part of India respecting which so much misconception prevailed as the western Rajpoot states; and we look upon the very valuable information which it contains as an important portion of the evidence on which Parliament must proceed in providing for the future government of our East Indian empire.

Previous to the erection of the Mohammedan monarchies of Mandoos and Ahmedabad, the provinces of Malwa and Guzerat formed part of Rajast'han; at present it comprehends Méwar, Marwar, Bikaner, Kotirh, Boondi, Amber, Jesselmer, and the Indian desert, to the valley of the Indus. Of these provinces, Méwar, and Marwar are by far the most important, and a minute description of the institutions, and the customs of their people, is considered, by Colonel Tod, to afford a fair specimen of the remainder, and to obviate the necessity of particular details.

After a learned dissertation on the genealogies of the Rajpoot tribes, we come to a very curious and interesting inquiry into the martial system which exists among them. A close examination of its peculiar features, has enabled Colonel Tod to discover a remarkable coincidence between the habits, notions, and governments of Europe, in the middle ages, and those now existing in Rajast'han. This is not a theory lightly adopted, and only ingeniously maintained, but embraced on a careful comparison of the ancient feudal system of Europe with that which now prevails among the Rajpoots. We leave it those more versed in antiquarian lore to determine whether the systems of feuds in Europe and Hindust'han, are of a common or different origin. Even if the resemblance were more striking than it is, it would not be necessary to conclude that the one was actually borrowed from the other. Both, as our author suggests, may have had the patriarchal form for its basis. 'The natural seeds,' says he, 'are implanted in every soil, but the tree did not gain maturity except in a favoured aspect. The perfection of the system in England is due to the Normans, who brought it from Scandinavia, whither it was probably conveyed by Odin, and the Sacasenæ, or by anterior migrations from Asia. Although speculative reasoning forms no part of my plan, yet, when I observe analogies on the subject, in the customs of the ancient German tribes, the Franks or Gothic races, I shall venture to note them. Of one thing there is no doubt, knowledge must have accompanied the tide of migration from the East; and from higher Asia emerged the Asi, the Catti, and the Cimbric Lombards, who spread the system in Scandinavia, Friesland, and Italy. The analogies traced by the author are as strong as can easily be conceived. All the characteristics of tenure by military service, in Rajast'han, are pre-

cisely similar to those which existed in feudal times in Europe. The mutual contract of support and fidelity between the chief and his vassal, the essential principle of a fief, and the minor incidents of reliefs, escheats, aids, and wardships, are all observable in the relations between the Rajpoots and their lords.

If a doubt, says Colonel Tod, could exist, as to the principle of fiefs being similar in Rajast'han and in Europe, it might be set at rest by the important question, long agitated by the feudal lawyers in Europe, whether the vassal is bound to follow the standard of his lord against his own kindred, or against his sovereign, which, in these states is illustrated by a simple and universal proof. If the question were put to a Rajpoot, to whom his service is due, whether to his chief or his sovereign, the reply would be—“*Rajca malik weh pāt ca malik yeh*”—He is the sovereign of the state, but this is my head; an ambiguous phrase, but well understood to imply that his own immediate chief is the only authority he regards. The attempt to define all the obligations of a vassal would be endless; they involve all the duties of kindred, in addition to those of obedience. To attend the court of his chief, never to absent himself without leave, to ride with him a hunting, to attend him at the court of his sovereign, or to war, and even give himself as a hostage for his release; these are some of the duties of a Rajpoot vassal.

In ‘The Asiatic Journal,’ of last month, may be seen a very able and accurate analysis of that portion of the annals of Rajast'han, which is comprised in the History of Méwar. We had originally intended to have enriched ‘The Oriental Herald’ with a similar compilation; but having read the above-mentioned review, and fully admitting the skill and fidelity of its execution, we are bound in justice to Colonel Tod, to say, that from it a very imperfect conception can be formed of the interest communicated by him to details which might be expected to exhaust the patience of ordinary readers. We think it better, therefore, to transcribe a few characteristic specimens of our author's style, than to incur the mortification of crowding within our narrow limits a jejune and meagre abstract of a work, consisting of eight hundred quarto pages, and abounding in splendid passages of historical and descriptive narration. With this view we have selected extracts from the ‘Annals of Rajast'han,’ illustrative of the character and customs of the people, the exterior features of the country which they inhabit, and the relations which exist between them and our Government in India.

‘*Noble Origin of the Rajpoot Race.*’

‘If we compare the antiquity and illustrious descent of the dynasties which have ruled, and some which continue to rule, the small sovereignties of Rajast'han, with many of celebrity in Europe, superiority will often attach to the Rajpoot. From the most remote periods, we can trace nothing ignoble, nor any vestige of vassal



origin. Reduced in power, circumscribed in territory, compelled to yield much of their splendour and many of the dignities of birth, they have not abandoned an iota of the pride and high bearing arising from a knowledge of their illustrious and regal descent. On this principle, the various revolutions in the Rana's family never encroached; and the mighty Jehangir himself, the emperor of the Moguls, became, like Cæsar, the commentator on the history of the tribe of Sesodia. The potentate of the twenty-two Satrapies of Hind, dwells with proud complacency on this Rajpoot king having made terms with him. He praises heaven, that what his immortal ancestor Baber, the founder of the Mogul dynasty, failed to do, the project in which Hemayoon had also failed, and in which the illustrious Akbar, his father, had but partial success, was reserved for him. It is pleasing to peruse, in the commentaries of these conquerors, Baber and Jehangir, their sentiments with regard to these princes. We have the evidence of Sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador of Elizabeth to Jehangir, as to the splendour of this race: it appears throughout their annals and those of their neighbours.

*'Rahtores of Marwar.*—The Rahtores can boast a splendid pedigree; and if we cannot trace its source with equal certainty to such a period of antiquity as the Rana's, we can, at all events, shew the Rahtore monarch, wielding the sceptre at Canouj, at the time the leader of an unknown tribe of the Franks was paving the way towards the foundation of the future kingdom of France. Unwieldy greatness caused the sudden fall of Canouj in the twelfth century, of which the existing line of Marwar is a renovated scion.

*'Sesodias of Méwar.*—Méwar exhibits a marked difference from all the other states in her policy and institutions. She was an old established dynasty when these renovated scions were in embryo. We can trace the losses of Méwar, but with difficulty her acquisitions; while it is easy to note the gradual aggrandizement of Méwar and Ambér, and all the minor states. Méwar was composed of many petty states, whose ancient possessions formed an allodial vassalage under the new dynasty. A superior independence of the control of the prince, arises from the peculiarity of the mode of acquisition; that is, with rights similar to the allodial vassals of the European feudal system.

'The poorest Rajpoot of this day retains all the pride of ancestry, often his sole inheritance: he scorns to hold the plough, or to use his lance but on horseback. In these aristocratic ideas he is supported by his reception amongst his superiors, and the respect paid to him by his inferiors. The honours and privileges, and the gradations of rank, amongst the vassals of the Rana's house, exhibit a highly artificial and refined state of society. Each of the superior rank is entitled to a banner, kettle-drums preceded by heralds and silver maces, with peculiar gifts and personal honours, in commemoration of some exploit of their ancestors.

'The martial Rajpoots are not strangers to armorial bearings, now so indiscriminately used in Europe. The great banner of Méwar exhibits a golden sun on a crimson field: those of the chiefs bear a dagger. Ambér displays the panchranga, or five-coloured flag. The lion rampant, on an argent field, is extinct with the state of Chanderi.'

*'Delicacy of the Rajpoots.'*

'If devotion to the fair sex be admitted as a criterion of civilization, the Rajpoot must rank high. His susceptibility is extreme, and fires at the slightest offence to female delicacy, which he never forgives. A satirical unpromptu, involving the sacrifice of Rajpoot prejudices, dissolved the coalition of the Raktores and Cutchwahas, and laid each prostrate before the Mahrattas, whom, when united, they had crushed, and a jest, apparently trivial, compromised the right of primogeniture to the throne of Cheetore, and proved more disastrous in its consequences than the arms either of Moguls or Mahrattas.

'Lakha Rana was advanced in years, his sons and grandsons established in suitable domains, when "the cocoa-nut came" from Rimmul, prince of Marwar, to alliance his daughter with Chonda, the heir of Méwar. When the embassy was announced Chonda was absent, and the old chief was seated in his chair of state surrounded by his court. The messenger of Hymen was courteously received by Lakha, who observed, that Chonda would soon return and take the gage; "for," added he, drawing his fingers over his mustachios, "I don't suppose you send such playthings to an old grey-beard like me." This little sally was of course applauded and repeated; but Chonda, offended at delicacy being sacrificed to wit, declined accepting the symbol which his father had, even in jest, supposed might be intended for him: and as it could not be returned without gross insult to Rimmul, the old Rana, incensed at his son's obstinacy, agreed to accept it himself, provided Chonda would swear to renounce his birthright in the event of his having a son, and be to the child but "the first of his Rajpoots." He swore by Eklinga to fulfil his father's wishes. Mokulji was the issue of this union, and had attained the age of five, when the Rana resolved to signalize his finale, by a raid against the enemies of their faith, and to expel the "barbarian" from the holy land of Gya. In ancient times this was by no means uncommon, and we have several instances in the annals of these states of princes resigning the purple on the approach of old age, and by a life of austerity and devotion, pilgrimage and charity, seeking to make their peace with heaven "for the sins inevitably committed by all who wield a sceptre." But when war was made against their religion by the Tartar proselyte to Islam, the Sutledge and the Caggar were as the banks of the Jordan—Gya, their Jerusalem, their holy land; and if there destiny filled his cup, the Hindu chieftain was secure of

beatitude, exempted from the troubles of "second birth;" and borne from the scene of probation in celestial cars by the Apsaras, was introduced at once into the "realm of the sun." Ere, however, the Rana of Cheetore, journeyed to this bourne, he was desirous to leave his throne unexposed to civil strife. The subject of succession had never been renewed; but discussing with Chonda his war-like pilgrimage to Gya, from which he might not return, he sounded him by asking what estates should be settled on Mokul. "The throne of Cheetore," was the honest reply; and to set suspicion at rest, he desired that the ceremony of installation should be performed previous to Lakha's departure. Chonda was the first to pay homage and swear obedience and fidelity to his future sovereign; reserving, as the recompense of his renunciation, the first place in the councils, and stipulating that in all grants to the vassals of the crown, his symbol (the lance), should be superadded to the autograph of the prince. In all grants the lance of Saloombra still precedes the monogram of the Rana.

The sacrifice of Chonda to offended delicacy and filial respect was great, for he had all the qualities requisite for command. Brave, frank, and skilful, he conducted all public affairs after his father's departure and death, to the benefit of the minor and state. The queen-mother, however, who is admitted as the natural guardian of her infant's rights on all such occasions, felt umbrage and discontent at her loss of power; forgetting that, but for Chonda, she would never have been mother to the Rana of Méwar. She watched with a jealous eye all his proceedings; but it was only through the medium of suspicion she could accuse the integrity of Chonda, and she artfully asserted that, under the colour of directing state affairs, he was exercising absolute sovereignty, and that if he did not assume the title of Rana, he would reduce it to an empty name. Chonda, knowing the purity of his own motives, made liberal allowance for maternal solicitude; but upbraiding the queen with the injustice of her suspicions, and advising a vigilant care to the rights of Sesodias, he retired to the court of Mandoo, then rising into notice, where he was received with the highest distinctions, and the district of Hallar was assigned to him by the king.

His departure was the signal for an influx of the kindred of the queen from Mundore. Her brother Joda (who afterwards gave his name to Jodpoor) was the first, and was soon followed by his father, Rao Rinnul, and numerous adherents, who deemed the arid region of Maroo-dés, and its rabri, or maize porridge, well exchanged for the fertile plains and wheaten bread of Méwar.

With his grandson on his knee, the old Rao "would sit on the throne of Bappa Rawul, on whose quitting him for play, the regal ensigns of Méwar waved over the head of Mundore." This was more than the Sesodia nurse (an important personage in all Hindu governments) could bear, and bursting with indignation, she de-

manded of the queen if her kin was to defraud her own child of his inheritance. The honesty of the nurse was greater than her prudence. The creed of the Rajpoot is to "obtain sovereignty;" regarding the means as secondary, and this avowal of her suspicions only hastened their designs. The queen soon found herself without remedy, and a remonstrance to her father produced a hint which threatened the existence of her offspring. Her fears were soon after augmented by the assassination of Ragoodeva, the second brother of Chonda, whose estates were Kailwara and Kowaria. To the former place, where he resided aloof from the court, Rao Rinnul sent a dress of honour, which etiquette requiring him to put on when presented, the prince was assassinated in the act. Ragoodeva was so much beloved for his virtues, courage, and manly beauty, that his murder became martyrdom, and obtained for him divine honours, and a place amongst the Dii Patres (Pitridéva) of Méwar. His image is on every hearth, and is daily worshipped with the Penates. Twice in the year his altars receive public homage from every Sesodia, from the Rana to the serf.

'In this extremity the queen-mother turned her thoughts to Chonda, and it was not difficult to apprise him of the danger which menaced the race, every place of trust being held by her kinsmen, and the principal post of the Cheetore by a Bhatti Rajpoot of Jesulmér. Chonda, though at a distance, was not inattentive to the proverbially dangerous situation of a minor amongst the Rajpoots. At his departure he was accompanied by two hundred Ahairas or huntsmen, whose ancestors had served the princes of Cheetore from ancient times. These had left their families behind, a visit to whom was the pretext for their introduction to the fort. They were instructed to get into the service of the keepers of the gates, and being considered more attached to the place than to the family, their object was effected. The queen-mother was counselled to cause the young prince to descend daily with a numerous retinue to give feasts to the surrounding villages, and gradually to increase the distance, but not to fail on the "festival of lamps" to hold the feast (gote) at Gosoonda.

'These injunctions were carefully attended to. The day arrived, the feast was held at Gosoonda; but the night was closing in, and no Chonda appeared. With heavy hearts the nurse, the Purohit, and those in the secret, moved homeward, and had reached the eminence called Chitoree, when forty horsemen passed them at the gallop, and at their head Chonda in disguise, who by a secret sign paid homage as he passed to his younger brother and sovereign. Chonda and his band had reached the Rampol, or upper gate, unchecked. Here, when challenged, they said they were neighbouring chieftains, who hearing of the feast at Gosoonda, had the honour to escort the prince home. The story obtained credit; but the main body, of which this was but the advance, presently coming

up, the treachery was apparent. Chonda unsheathed his sword, and at his well-known shout the hunters were speedily in action. The Bhatti chief, taken by surprise, and unable to reach Chonda, launched his dagger at and wounded him, but was himself slain; the guards at the gates were cut to pieces, and the Rahtores hunted out and killed without mercy.

'The end of Rao Rinnul was more ludicrous than tragical. Smitten with the charms of a Sesodia handmaid of the queen, who was compelled to his embrace, the old chief was in her arms, intoxicated with love, wine, and opium, and heard nothing of the tumult without. A woman's wit and revenge combine to make his end afford some compensation for her loss of honour. Gently rising, she bound him to his bed with his own Marwari turban: nor did this disturb him, and the messengers of fate had entered ere the opiate allowed his eyes to open to a sense of his danger. Enraged, he in vain endeavoured to extricate himself; and by some tortuosity of movement he got upon his legs, his pallet at his back like a shell or shield of defence. With no arms but a brass vessel of ablution, he levelled to the earth several of his assailants, when a ball from a matchlock extended him on the floor of the palace. His son Joda was in the lower town, and was indebted to the fleetness of his steed for escaping the fate of his father and kindred, whose bodies strewed the terre-pleine of Cheetore, the merited reward of their usurpation and treachery.

But Chonda's revenge was not yet satisfied. He pursued Rao Joda, who, unable to oppose him, took refuge with Hurba Sankla, leaving Mundore to its fate. This city Chonda entered by surprise, and holding it till his sons Kontotji and Munjaji arrived with reinforcements, the Rahtore treachery was repaid by their keeping possession of the capital during twelve years. We might here leave the future founder of Jodpoor, had not this feud led to the junction of the rich province of Godwar to Méwar, held for three centuries and again lost by treachery. It may yet involve a struggle between the Sesodians and Rahtores.'

*'Personal Narrative—Description of the Country.'*

'Marched at day break.—The Thacoor sent a confidential vassal to accompany me through his domain. We could now look around us, as we receded from the Alpine Aravulli, with nothing to obstruct the vision, over the fertile plains of Godwar. We passed near Ganora, whose isolated portals, without tower or curtain to connect them, have a most humiliating appearance. It is to Raja Bheem, some twenty years ago, that their chieftains owe this degradation, in order to lessen their ability to recover the province for its ancient master, the Rana. It was, indeed, one of the gems of his crown, as it is the only dazzling one in that of Marwar. While we marched over its rich and beautiful

plains, well watered, well wooded, and abounding in fine towns; I entered into conversation with the Rana's envoy, who joined me on the march. Kishendas has already been mentioned as one of the few men of integrity and wisdom, who had been spared to be useful to his country. He was a mine of ancient lore, and his years, his situation, and his character, gave force to his sentiments of determined independence. He was as quick as touchwood, which propensity occasionally created a wordy war between me and my friend, who knew my respect for him. "Restore us Godwar," was his abrupt salutation, as he joined me on the march; to which, being a little vexed, as the point could not be agitated by our Government, I said, in reply, "Why did you let them take it? Where has the Sesodia sword slept this half century?" Adding, "God Almighty never intended that the region on this side the mountains should belong to Méwar; Nature's own hand has placed the limit between you." The old Envoy's blood was roused as he exclaimed, "Even on this principle, Godwar is ours; for Nature has marked our limit by stronger features than mountains. Observe, as you advance, and you will find to the further limit of the province, every shrub and flower common to Méwar: pass that limit but a few yards, and they are lost:

"Aonla, aonla Méwar;  
Bawul, bawul Marwar."

Wherever the aonla puts forth its yellow blossoms, the land is of right ours; we want nothing more. Let them enjoy their stunted babools, their khurcel, and the ák; but give us back our sacred peepul, and the aonla of the border." In truth the transition is beyond credence marked: cross but a shallow brook, and you leave all that is magnificent in vegetation; the peepul, burr, and that species of the mimosa resembling the cypress, peculiar to Godwar, are exchanged for the prickly shrubs, as the wild caper, jowas, and many others, more useful than ornamental, on which the camel browses.

*'Reflections on the Present Political State of the Rajpoot Tribes.'*

'Having thus taken a review of the tribes which at various times inhabited, and still inhabit Hindust'han, the subject must be concluded.

'The same religion governing the institutions of all these tribes, operates to counteract that dissimilarity in manners, which would naturally be expected amidst so great a variety, from situation or climate; although such causes do produce a material difference in external habit. Cross but the elevated range which divides upland Méwar from the low sandy region of Marwar, and the difference of costume and manners will strike the most casual observer. But these changes are only exterior and personal; the mental character

is less changed, because the same creed, the same religion (the principal former and reformer of manners) guides them all.

‘ We have the same mythology, the same theogony, the same festivals, though commemorated with peculiar distinctions. There are niceties in thought, as in dress, which, if possible to communicate, would excite but little interest; when the tie of a turban, and the fold of a robe are, like Masonic symbols, distinguishing badges of tribes. But it is in their domestic circle that manners are best seen; where restraint is thrown aside, and no authority controls the freedom of expression. But does the European seek access to this sanctum of nationality, ere he gives his debtor and creditor account of character, his balanced catalogue of virtues and vices? He may, however, with the Rajpoot, whose independence of mind places him above restraint, and whose hospitality, and love of character, will always afford free communication to those who respect his opinions and his prejudices, and who are devoid of that overweening opinion of self, which imagines that nothing can be learned from such friendly intercourse. The personal dissimilarity accordingly arises from local; the mental similarity results from a grand fixed principle, which, whatever its intrinsic moral defect, whatever its incompatibility with the elevated notions we entertain, has preserved to these races, as nations, the enjoyment of their ancient habits to this distant period. May our boasted superiority in all that exalts man above his fellows, ensure to our Eastern empire like duration; and may these notions of our own peculiarly favoured destiny operate to prevent us from laying prostrate, in our periodical ambitious visitations, these, the most ancient relics of civilization on the face of the earth! For the dread of their amalgamation with our empire will prevail, though such a result would be opposed not only to their happiness, but to our own stability.

‘ With our present system of alliances, so pregnant with evil from their origin, this fatal consequence (far from desired by the legislative authorities at home) must inevitably ensue. If the wit of man had been taxed to devise a series of treaties, with a view to an ultimate rupture, these would be entitled to applause, as specimens of diplomacy.

‘ There is a perpetual variation between the spirit and the letter of every treaty; and while the internal independence of each state is the ground-work, it is frittered away and nullified by successive stipulations, and these positive and negative qualities continue mutually repelling each other, until it is apparent that independence cannot exist under such conditions. Where discipline is lax, as with these feudal associations, and where each subordinate vassal is master of his own retainers, the article of military contingents alone would prove a source of contention. By leading to interference with each individual chieftain, it would render such aid worse than useless. But this is a minor consideration to the tributary pecu-

niary stipulation, which, unsettled and undetermined, leaves a door open to a system of espionage into their revenue account—a system not only disgusting, but contrary to a treaty, which leaves 'internal administration' sacred. These openings to dispute, and the general laxity of their governments, coming in contact with our regular system, present dangerous handles for ambition: and who so blind as not to know, that ambition, to be distinguished, must influence every vicegerent in the East? While deeds in arms, and acquisition of territory, outweigh the mere éclat of civil virtue, the periodical visitations to these kingdoms will ever be like the comet's,

‘Foreboding change to princes.’

‘Our position in the East has been, and continues to be, one in which conquest forces herself upon us. We have yet the power, however late, to halt, and not anticipate her further orders to march. A contest for a mud bank has carried our arms to the Aurea Chersonesus, the limit of Ptolemy's geography. With the Indus on the left, the Brahmapootra to the right, the Himalayan barrier towering like a giant to guard the Tartarian ascent, the ocean and our ships at our back, such is our colossal attitude! But if misdirected ambition halts not at the Brahmapootra, but plunges in to gather laurels from the teak forest of Arracan, what surety have we for these Hindoo states placed by treaty within the grasp of our control?

‘But the hope is cherished that the same generosity which formed those ties that snatched the Rajpoots from degradation and impending destruction, will maintain the pledge given in the fever of success, ‘that their independence should be sacred;’ that it will palliate faults we may not overlook, and perpetuate the oasis of ancient rule, in the desert of destructive revolution, of races whose virtues are their own, and whose vices are the grafts of tyranny, conquest, and religious intolerance.

‘To make them known, in one step to obtain for them, at least, the boon of sympathy, for with the ephemeral power of our governors and the agents of Government, is it to be expected that the rod will more softly fall when ignorance of their history prevails, and no kind association springs from a knowledge of their martial achievements, and yet proud bearing, their generosity, courtesy, and extended hospitality? These are Rajpoot virtues yet extant amidst all their revolutions, and which have survived ages of Mohammedan bigotry and power; though to the honour of the virtuous and magnanimous few among the crowned heads of eight centuries, both Tartar and Mogul, there were some great souls, men of high worth, who appeared at intervals to redeem the oppression of a whole preceding dynasty.

‘The high ground we assumed, and the lofty sentiments with which we introduced ourselves amongst the Rajpoots, arrogating



motives of purity, of disinterested benevolence, scarcely belonging to humanity, and to which their sacred writings alone yielded a parallel, gave such exalted notions of our right of exerting the attributes of divinity, justice, and mercy, that they expected little less than Almighty wisdom in our acts: but circumstances have throughout occurred in each individual state, to show we were mere mortals, and that the poet's moral,

'Tis distance lends enchantment to the view,'

was true in politics. Sorrow and distrust were the consequences—anger succeeded; but the sense of obligation is still too powerful, to operate a stronger and less generous sentiment. These errors may yet be redeemed, and our Rajpoot allies yet be retained as useful friends: though they can only be so while in the enjoyment of perfect internal independence, and their ancient institutions.

'Like us, they were the natural foes of that predatory system which so long disturbed our power, and our preservation, and theirs were alike consulted in its destruction. When we sought their alliance we spoke in the captivating accents of philanthropy: we courted them to disunite from this Ahrimanes of political convulsion. The benevolent motives of the great mover of these alliances we dare not call in question, and his policy coincided with the soundest wisdom. But the treaties might have been revised, and the obnoxious parts which led to discord, abrogated, at the expense of a few paltry lacs of tribute, and a portion of sovereign homage. It is not yet too late. True policy would enfranchise them altogether from our alliance; but till then let them not feel their shackles in the galling restraint on each internal operation. Remove that millstone to national prosperity, the poignant feeling that every increased bushel of corn raised in their long-deserted fields must send its tithe to the British granaries. Let the national mind recover its wonted elasticity, and they will again attain their former celebrity. We have the power to advance this greatness, and make it and its result our own; or, by a system unworthy of Britain, to retard and even quench it altogether.

'Never were their national characteristics so much endangered as in the seducing calm which followed the tempestuous agitations in which they have so long floated; doubtful, to use their own figurative expression, whether "the gift of our friendship, or our Arms," were fraught with greater evil. The latter they could not withstand; though it must never be lost sight of, that, like ancient Rome when her glory was fading, we use "the arms of the barbarians" to defend our conquests against them! Is the mind ever stationary? are virtue and high notions to be acquired from contract and example? Is there no mind above the level of 10*l.* monthly pay in all the native legions of the three presidencies of India? no Odoacer, no Sevaji, again to revive? Is the book of knowledge and of truth, which we hold up, only to teach them submission and per-

petuate their weakness? Can we without fresh claims expect eternal gratitude, and must we not rationally look for re-action in some grand impulse, which, by furnishing a signal instance of the mutability of power, may afford a lesson for the benefit of posterity?

'Is the mantle of protection, which we have thrown over these warlike races, likely to avert such a result? It might certainly, if imbued with all those philanthropic feelings for which we took credit, act with soporific influence, and extinguish the embers of international animosity. "The lion and the lamb were to drink from the same fountain:" they were led to expect the holy Satya Yuga, when each man reposed under his own fig-tree, which neither strife nor envy dared approach.

'On our cessation from every species of interference alone depends their independence or their amalgamation,—a crisis fraught with danger to our sovereign rule.

'Let Alexander's speech to his veterans, tired of conquest and refusing to cross the Hyphasis, be applied, and let us not reckon too strongly on our empire of opinion: "Fame never represents matters truly as they are, but on the contrary magnifies every thing. This is evident; for our own reputation and glory, though founded on solid truths, is yet more obliged to rumour than reality." We conclude with the Macedonian conqueror's reasons for shewing the Persians and his other foreign allies so much favour: "The possession of what we got by the sword is not very desirable, but the obligation of good offices is eternal. If we have a mind to keep Asia, and not simply pass through it, our clemency must extend to them also, and their fidelity will make our empire everlasting. As for ourselves, we have more than we know what to do with, and it must be an insatiable avaricious temper which desires to continue to fill what already runs over.'

With these extracts we conclude our notice of 'The Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han.' We are quite of opinion with the Reviewer in 'The Asiatic Journal,' that it is no exaggeration to characterise it as a magnificent work. The service of the East India Company, civil and military, may bear comparison with that of any Monarch, for the ability and attainments of its members. Among them none is more distinguished than Colonel Tod. Men may differ as to theories of government and maxims of state policy, but no one can doubt or deny that so splendid a monument of zeal, learning and talent, devoted to the most benevolent and patriotic of objects, is alike honourable to himself, his employers and his country.

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

APPENDIX.—NOTE 1.

*Copy of a Letter from the Rev. Professor Lee, to Sir Alexander Johnston, Knt.*

London, April 17, 1827.

DEAR SIR,—I now proceed to lay before you a more detailed account of what I believe ought to be done, and what, I think, the Royal Asiatic Society can do, towards improving the State of Oriental literature in this country. But, perhaps, it will be best to state, in the first place, the situation in which we now are, and then to proceed to suggest the remedy. I shall be particular on the Arabic and Persic only, because the detail would be too long to do so in every case; and I shall begin with the Arabic. In this department, then, a tolerable grammar has never yet made its appearance in this country. The work of Richardson is meagre in the extreme, and better calculated to set the learner out wrong, and to keep him so, than to benefit him in acquiring the Arabic language. The admirable works of Colonel Baillie and Mr. Lumsden are unfinished, and likely to remain so. In this case the learner must have recourse either to the *Grammaire Arabe* of M. de Sacy, or to one of the grammars published in Latin by the Catholic missionaries; in the latter of which, however, he will have the mortification to find very great defects, and, in some cases, views on the subject quite foreign to the genius of that language. M. de Sacy has supplied many of the deficiencies, and corrected many of the errors of preceding writers on Arabic grammar, but valuable as this work is, it leaves something to be desired through the omission of the prosody, and his paradigm of the verb does not quite agree with the views of the Arabian grammarians. In the Latin grammar of Guadagnoli, indeed, a prosody is to be found, but ~~this~~ is full of mistakes, as Clarke has shewn. If he have recourse to the work of Mr. Gladwin on this subject, he will here find endless difficulties. The only work of much value on this subject, is the little book published by Clarke at Oxford, about 150 years ago. But this requires the greatest stretch of attention to understand the rules; and of principles, nothing is said. It is surely much to be regretted, that we have no good elementary work of this kind in English; and still more so to find that there is not the least prospect of having one, until some step be taken, either by the Royal Asiatic Society, or some other body capable of bearing the expences incident on such an undertaking. In the next place, what have we in lexicography? If we except the lexicons of Golius and Castell, we have nothing we can recommend as a general dictionary. Wilmet, indeed, has

compiled a very useful work for a few particular books · but then that work is scarce, not to insist on its uselessness in a general way. But this objection will go in a great degree against the lexicons of Golius, Castell, and Kamoos, and the Soorah ; for in these we find scarcely one of the terms of art, without which hardly a single book in Arabic can be made out. Were it necessary here to go into the detail, I could shew, that scarcely a translator is to be named, from Pococke down to the present day, who has not had his labour greatly increased through the omission of technical terms in those dictionaries. This remark extends to every science, to works on theology, and even to the commonest expressions in use among the Arabians. Again, let a man take any book of poetry, or of proverbial expressions, such as the work of Meidani, and try his hand with any of the dictionaries just mentioned. I have no doubt he will make out a sense; but, very likely, a sense quite different from that intended by the author. If Meninski is substituted for these lexicographers, then I believe he would find himself infinitely more bewildered. Here we have nothing to point out the construction of the verbs, the several conjugations in which they are found, or the senses they bear in these conjugations. Many of the words are erroneously explained : and in every case we have a ‘rudis indigestaque moles.’ Dr. Wilkins’s edition of Richardson’s Persian and Arabic Dictionary, is a very great improvement of that work, but I venture to suggest it would be best to have separate dictionaries of each. That few should be found to understand the Arabic and Persian, with helps like these, is certainly not to be wondered at ; the wonder is, how any thing has been made out. The French and German literati have felt this in all its weight, and have very properly betaken themselves to the scholiasts and vocabularies containing the terms of art, and to the native grammarians and commentators on grammar, and hence have found, what they could find no where else, their progress to be solid and delightful.

In the next place, what can we be said to know of Oriental history, I mean Arabic and Persian, if we except the works of Pococke, Reiske and a few others ! In the Persian, not so much as one historian has yet been printed or translated : and yet our libraries abound with the most valuable works, reserved only for worms’-meat, or to go back into their native element, the dust ! The histories of Persia, its dynasties and wars, of Hindustan, of Partary, and other adjacent countries, are shewn in our libraries, just as ‘our rarer monsters are,’ merely to excite the surprise of the ignorant.

Then of Arabian and Persian poetry, and the belles-lettres, how much do we know ? We have, indeed, a few elegant extracts printed at Calcutta, for which the Honourable East India Company deserves the thanks of the country, \* but how are they to be made out ?

\* It is not meant to be averred, that great praise is not due to the Honourable East India Company, for the great patronage and support which they

Will any one attempt to make out the Deewan of Motanabbi, or of Khájah Háfiz, with the assistance of the dictionaries of Golius, &c. ? If he does, I will only say, he will attempt to do that, in which no one ever yet did, or ever shall, succeed ; and of this, after a short trial I think he will be perfectly convinced. If he means to do any thing likely to satisfy himself, or to benefit mankind, he must recur to the native commentaries, or, which is nearly the same thing, he must have a learned native at his elbow. But suppose an individual hardy enough to get through all these difficulties, and to publish the result of his labours for the benefit of others ; suppose him to have laboured for years, to translate some valuable and interesting work, and then suppose him to print it for the benefit of mankind : what must now be his mortification to find, that he can perhaps sell six copies ; and that he must labour for years to pay the debts he has contracted in printing and publishing his book ? If a man will suppose this, he will suppose nothing more than has more than once taken place, and will perhaps induce him to believe, that few individuals will ever think of labouring to this extent, and fewer still of giving to the world the result of their labours.

What has here been stated with reference to Arabian and Persian literature, few will perhaps undertake to deny ; and if so, when we consider our connections with the East, particularly in a mercantile point of view, I think all must be convinced, that there exists a necessity, that something should be done on a more liberal scale than has hitherto been attempted. I will now point out a list of works that may be printed or translated, or both, with a view to meet the deficiencies just noticed, not intending to intimate that others equally valuable may not also be mentioned, but only to shew that these difficulties need not necessarily exist.

*Arabic Grammar.*

Ibn ul Hájb, with the commentary of Moola Jamí, and of Najmodden of Irak.

The Alfia of Ibn Malik—Ibn Farhat, &c.

The Mozhir ul Lughat, by Soyuti. The works of Akhfash, &c.

Taarifat, or Terms of Art. Jawhari's Lexicon, Scholia on the Poets, &c. Prosody.

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have afforded to Oriental literature. To their servants, Europe is entirely indebted for a knowledge of the Sanscrit, and for the publication of many valuable works in that language—for a splendid and accurate edition of the Kamoos, the Soorah, the Burhani, Katia, the five books on Arabic grammar, the Sharho Molla Jamí, a valuable edition of the works of Sadi, the Life of Timour, the Makamat of Haumi, the Hidaya, with an English translation, the Deewani Hafiz, the Dabistani Madahib, the valuable Persian selections, forming the Class-books of the College of Fort William—all that is known of the Hindoostani, a splendid and valuable Chinese Dictionary and Grammar, and the translations of some books of History, Tales and Poetry, with a great variety of other works, in almost every department.

*Poetry and Belles-Lettres.*

The Scholia of Sharishi, of Taj Oddeen Ibn Ilyas, of Motarezzi, &c. on Hariri.

The Makamát of Ibn ul Juzi, with Scholia.

The Makamát of Hamadani, with ditto.

The Makamát of Soyúti, with ditto.

Scholia on the Deewán of Motanabbi.

Scholia on the Deewán of Ibn Doreid, in addition to those printed by Haitsma.

Scholia on the Hamasa, of which Col. Baillie has a good copy.

Tales in verse and prose, of which there is great abundance.

*History.*

The Golden Meadows of Masoudi—the Mobtada wa Khabar, of Ibn Khaldoun. Lives of the Poets, &c. by Ibn Khalikan. The Biographia Meccana. History of the famous Men in Spain. El Wakedi's Conquest of Syria. The Tarikh Tabari.\* El Jabarti's account of the French war in Egypt. Ditto by a Syrian. Histories of ancient Arabia, Persia, &c. El Damri's Natural History. Ditto by Caswini. Macrizi's Egypt. Edrisi's Geography complete. Ditto by Abulfeda, Yakuti's Dictionary, &c. Travels of Ibn Batuta, &c. Visits to places of pilgrimage, &c., with Translations from the Greek authors, some of which may perhaps be restored.

PERSIAN.

*Geography and Lexicography.*

Commentaries on Persian Grammar. Sorooree's Poetical Dictionary. Scholia on the Poets generally.

*History.*

The Rauzat Ossafa, the National History of Persia. The Tárikhi Alam Arú on the reign of Mirza Abbas. Histories of the several dynasties in Persia, India, &c., such as of Jengiskhan, Timour, the Life of Akbar, and other emperors of Hindustan. The whole of Ferishta.† Translations from the Turkish, Tartar, Sanscrit, &c., which, according to the editor of the Life of Baber, must soon perish unless collected and printed. Lives of the Poets, by Doulatshah, &c. Natural History, by Cazwini, &c.

*Poetry, &c.*

A good translation of the Anvari Soheili, for the use of learners.

A good translation of the works of Sadi, ditto.

Deewan of Khakani, with scholia.

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\* About to be published by Kosegarten.

† Col. Briggs's translation of this work is now in the press.

Deewan of Anwari, with ditto.

Works of Nizâmi, Jâmi, Hâfiz, &c., with ditto.

Similar lists may be made out with reference to the Turkish, the Armenian, Syriac, Ethiopic, Chinese, and Sanscrit, and to the dialects of India, the Pali, the Singalese, the Burman, the Malay, the Javanese, &c. &c., were it necessary.

Let us now proceed to consider in what way such works as these may be executed under the patronage of the Royal Asiatic Society. It was suggested by my Correspondent, in the Cambridge paper of March 16, \* that needy Arabs and Persians may probably be employed in furthering the progress of such works. I believe this is practicable, for the following reasons.

There is in Persia at this time a predilection so strong in favour of English literature, that, I believe, a dozen learned men, if they were wanted, might be easily induced to come and settle in this country, at least for a time. This has been exemplified in the case of Mirza Ibrahim, who is now at Haileybury; for, to my certain knowledge, he came here without the least prospect of wealth whatever, and expressed his willingness, when he joined me at Cambridge, to give his labour for a considerable time on the most liberal terms. But, as this was more than I could promise him, and as the East-India Company expressed a wish to have him at their College, I was content to part with him, and he accepted of a salary of 200*l.* a year, with lodging, &c. for the first year, which was to be a year of trial; I have no doubt, therefore, that others would be induced to come over on terms equally easy. Now, as to the Arabs, I believe the same may be done. I myself have had letters from learned Arabs, both in Egypt and Palestine, soliciting employment, and one of these persons, I have reason to believe, has since been employed in the capacity of a translator and teacher. I believe, therefore, that there would be no want of help from these quarters, and these would be sufficient perhaps to make the trial upon.

In reducing this to practice, I should certainly advise to begin on a small scale. In the first case, perhaps, no one need be sent for. Mirza Ibrahim, I have no doubt, would be willing to occupy his vacations, and vacant time during the period of lectures, in conjunction with an Orientalist, in some work of this description, and, indeed, I have heard him say, that it is his wish to do so. If then the Society thought it worth while to make the experiment on a small scale, perhaps this would be an advisable plan; and, in this case, one of the Professors at Haileybury, &c., may be associated with him. If they should wish also to try the Arabic, no doubt Mr. Salt would engage a Moollah for a short time, and at a reasonable rate, who may be associated with some gentleman, in London or elsewhere, to superintend such work. Perhaps a person ac-

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\* This correspondence follows this letter.

quainted with English might be engaged ; but, if not, that is of little consequence, the parties would soon be able to understand one another. In this event, I think the Universities would not be unwilling to assist in the article of printing, as they have certain privileges in this respect not possessed by others. I certainly would do all in my power to do the needful at Cambridge ; and I have reason to believe, that there is a feeling there in favour of this project ; and Oxford would probably join.

I hope it will not be thought that I have any wish to make myself important in this business. I only wish to see something done ; and shall be most willing to further any project likely to do so, as far as my slender means and abilities will go. Much I cannot promise ; but the little I can do shall be done cheerfully.

I have the honour to be, dear Sir,

Your's very faithfully,

SAMUEL LEE.

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*Correspondence referred to in the preceding Letter.*

From 'The Cambridge Chronicle,' March 16, 1827.

*To the Rev. Professor Lee.*

SIR—The influence which you possess in the community of letters, not only from your distinguished situation among a body itself highly eminent for talent and enlightenment, but also from your own personal attainments, point you out to me as the person, above all others, to whom I would publicly address a few thoughts on the present state of Oriental learning.

You are well aware that the literature of the East is of great extent and great value ; that the treasures which have been hitherto explored have furnished us with specimens of the most polished and elevated poetry, and the most ingenious and beautiful fiction ; with much that is valuable and single in history, and much in science that even now is curious and useful ; nor, in the present state of scientific improvement, are we to forget that we derived from the East those extensive and generalized principles of calculation which have conducted to the proudest triumphs of philosophy. Yet it is no less certain that the great field of Hindoo, Persian, Arabic, and Chinese literature, has been very imperfectly explored. Even the libraries of Europe, especially those of Spain, comprise a far greater number of Oriental MSS. than have ever been studied ; or, at least, communicated to the literary world. But these again are a mere speck, in comparison with the vast treasures of the East itself. Amidst all these MSS., many, doubtless, are of little intrinsic worth ; but it still will remain certain that an immense ocean of knowledge is floating around us, which, like the waters which eluded the grasp of Tantalus, is for ever escaping our thirst. And what may not this knowledge be ? Details on the population of the ancient world ; particulars of those nations with whom the



Greeks acquaint us incorrectly, and the Hebrews imperfectly; and translations of the lost Greek and Roman authors, which we know the Arabians of Europe frequently made. The entire history of Livy is, perhaps, latent in some European library, among the neglected and perishing treasures of Eastern knowledge. The theory of Egyptian hieroglyphics, in illustrating which the most logical and discriminating minds have hitherto laboured with small, though wonderful success, is perhaps placed beyond the province of conjecture in some Arabian or Ethiopian treatise.

That such probabilities should not have been fathomed, seems a reproach to the literary world, but most of all to this country, whose power and possessions in the East are so considerable, and whose learning and opportunities point her out as the most effective instrument in promoting the great result. But it may be said, what can she do? Has she not her colleges and her professors, both here and in India; and is not the work itself proceeding, although with a slowness proportioned to its extent? But the labourers are too few, nor are they of the class required. Dr. Wait, I am told, is now making a descriptive catalogue of the Oriental MSS. in the University library: his fine talents are employed in an object of the highest use. But what if this object be attainable with equal certainty, greater celerity, and the expenditure of less valuable time than that of such a scholar as Dr. Wait? What if the attainment of this object depended not on the will and taste of individuals, but be made the subject of a system which will compel its end? What if its promotion be not confined to the walls of an university, but extend through the whole of the British possessions?

The method to which I invite your notice, carries with it a better authority than my own. It was recommended by Bishop Watson forty years ago, and it is astonishing that it has excited so little attention. 'It is a work,' says he, 'worthy of the attention of all the universities in Europe, to undertake the translation of the Oriental MSS. which we are at present possessed of. Men skilled in these languages should be invited from every quarter, formed into a kind of society, and employed for life, under the direction of proper persons, in the drudgery of translation. Nothing worthy of notice in this way can be expected from the detached labours of a few professors of Hebrew or Arabic; men of liberal education cannot readily be brought to undertake such a task, and, if they could, the matter may be effected at a much easier expence by the labours of inferior persons. What would be an adequate reward for three or four needy Turks or Persians, would not be a proper stipend for one man of letters, who should be obliged annually to produce the fruits of his unremitted diligence.' But, without entering into the particular manner of accomplishing this design, I cannot help being of opinion, that an institution established at Cambridge for the express purpose of translating and publishing Oriental MSS.

would redound to the credit of the University, and tend to put the learned world in possession of a very valuable part of literature, of which, at present, we have but a very imperfect knowledge.

I shall not presume to suggest methods where the learned Bishop has been silent, but sure I am that the subject is well worthy mature consideration; and, effectively pursued, it would do honour to yourself, the university, the country, and even to the civilized world.

I remain, Sir, your most obedient servant,

A MEMBER OF THE SENATE.

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*To the Editor of 'The Cambridge Chronicle.'*

SIR,—Having had the honour of being addressed by 'A Member of the Senate,' in your paper of the 16th instant, as to the means whereby the treasures, now hidden in our Oriental manuscripts, might be more generally made known among us, you will oblige me by allowing the following reply to appear in your next.

In the first place, then, I concur entirely with the opinions of this gentleman, that to bring to light these treasures could not but tend considerably to advance our knowledge on subjects of the greatest interest and moment, and that to devise some plan by which this could be effected, would be 'a consummation devoutly to be wished.'

It has been truly said by him, that the library of the Escorial contains vast treasures of this kind. I answer, our own library, since the acquisition of the MSS. of the late Mr. Burckhardt, and of several purchases made since his death—that of the British Museum, since the purchase of the valuable collection made by the late Mr. Rich—that of the Bodleian of Oxford, to which may be added a most valuable and extensive collection at the India House, present stores, perhaps, sufficiently extensive to satisfy the most sanguine enquirer on subjects of this kind. But, if not, access is to be had to the almost endless stores of the Vatican, the Imperial Library of Vienna, and the Royal Library of Paris; not to insist on the daily accessions made to our libraries by the importation of MSS. from the East.

That the resources are abundant, therefore, I think there can be no doubt, and that to bring their contents to light is desirable, perhaps there cannot be more than one opinion. But I may be allowed to say, that it is not to science only, or general information, that the most interesting accessions may be thus made; our knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures could not but be greatly advanced. The grammar, rhetoric, laws, customs, and manners, of the Orientals contribute, as all allow, in an astonishing degree, towards elucidating the phraseology of the Bible; and I am sure it cannot be necessary here to shew that these means have never yet been drawn upon to any thing like the extent of their resources.

Again : from a collation and classification of all the Syriac MSS. found in this country, particularly those preserved in Mr. Rich's collection,\* our knowledge of Biblical criticism could not but be greatly advanced. But where, it may be asked, are we to look for an individual who can command time and funds necessary for such a work ? Or, where for a market, provided it could be completed, likely to make returns sufficient to pay the printer ? The voice of fame only is, I fear, much too languid to call forth adventurers of this kind ; and this is, perhaps, all that can be reasonably expected from labours such as these.

That such a consummation cannot be effected by the solitary labours of the Oriental professors in the Universities, the ' Member of the Senate' has justly remarked. The public is, indeed, highly indebted to such men as Pococke, Hyde, Walton, and others, who have distinguished themselves in this career. But generally, official duties, the want of funds, and a bad market, will always be sufficient to present insurmountable obstacles to speculations of this kind. I believe, nevertheless, that something may be devised whereby these difficulties might be removed, and the interests of all likely to advance such an object, be effectually united. In the constitution of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, I think, we can find all the necessary requisites. We have, in this institution, the King for a patron, the President of the Board of Control for a president, the learned and indefatigable Mr. Colebrooke for a director, and for a body, men, the most distinguished for their learning, candour, and talents in this kingdom. I have reason to believe, that there is a feeling favourable to such a project as this, both in the Government and at the India House. Mr. Wynn, I understand, is anxious to do something towards advancing Oriental literature ; and some of the Directors of the East India Company have expressed a similar feeling. If, therefore, something feasible could be devised, there is reason to hope that funds would not be wanting,

In the next place, as the ' Member of the Senate' has justly remarked, needy Arabs and Persians may be obtained from the East, and these, in conjunction with the professors of the Universities, or other Orientalists, whom a select committee of that Society might think proper to employ, would afford the best pledges that such works would be well chosen and correctly executed. The Universities, moreover, may not be averse to assist in the article of printing, which, I think, is probable, when works, recommended as these would be, were brought before them. And, again, as the

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\* Some of these MSS. are upwards 1,000 years old, and others present most valuable portions of the Philoxenian or Nestorian exemplars. I myself have made considerable progress in such a collation ; but having already burnt my fingers in speculations of this kind, I am not over anxious to try the experiment again.

Society above-mentioned is at present relying on the gratuitous assistance of its members for articles to compose the volumes of its Transactions, it is not improbable they may be disposed to listen to some such project as this.

I will add one consideration more, which is this. It must, I think, appear surprising, that a country like this, having such extensive and daily-extending intercourse with the East, both in a religious and commercial point of view, should evince so little interest on a subject of such importance as the cultivation of Oriental literature; while, on the Continent, there is not only a general interest excited and maintained, far beyond any thing witnessed in former times, but also the patronage of the several governments is actually afforded, for what, in their case, can amount to little more than the gratification of a literary curiosity.

I can only say, in conclusion, that it is my intention to lay this correspondence before one of the Vice-Presidents of the Royal Asiatic Society, with whom I have the honour of being acquainted, and should any thing eventually grow out of it, the public will have to thank the 'Member of the Senate' for his communication.

I am, Sir, your obliged humble servant,

SAMUEL LEE.

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NOTE 2.

Royal Asiatic Society's House, 14, Grafton-street, Bond-street,  
October 20, 1827.

*To the Honourable the Chairman, Deputy Chairman, and Court of  
Directors of the United East India Company.*

HONOURABLE SIRS,—As your Honourable Court has ever been forward in promoting the interests of that extensive empire over which you preside, by the patronage of Oriental literature, we beg leave to represent to your Honourable Court, that the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland has resolved, with the assistance of such of its members as are eminent for their knowledge of Asiatic languages, to translate and publish Oriental works of general interest; and we, therefore, beg to solicit from your Honourable Court such assistance as it may be disposed to grant for the promotion of this object. We have the honour to be, Honourable Sirs, your most obedient humble servants.

(Signed) H. T. COLEBROKE. ALEX. JOHNSTON.  
G. T. STAUNTON. G. FITZCLARENCE.  
E. H. EAST.

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NOTE 3.

East India House, 26th October 1827.

SIR,—The Court of Directors of the East India Company have had before them the letter addressed to them from the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland on the 20th

instant ; and I am commanded to acquaint you, that the Court have voted the sum of (105*l*.) one hundred guineas, in aid of the Society's general funds ; and that a subscription of the same amount will be contributed annually from this time during the Court's pleasure.

The donation now granted will be paid to any person whom the Society may authorise to receive it. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

H. T. Colebroke, Esq., &c. &c. &c.

J. DART, Secretary.

NOTE 4.

*Letter from Baboo Radhacant Deb to Sir Alexander Johnston, Knight, the Deputy Chairmen, and the Committee of Correspondence of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.*

GENTLEMEN,—With sentiments of respect, I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a very kind letter from you, together with a copy of the Prospectus of the Society.

Your proposal to insert my name among your correspondents is most gratifying to me ; and I beg to present my best and respectful thanks for the honour the Society intends conferring, which cannot but be highly acceptable to me.

Born and residing in such a country as this, where mechanical knowledge is very little cultivated, it cannot be expected that the natives should possess any elevated degree of knowledge in arts and manufactures, with the exception of what they are daily practising, the scanty remains of that which their forefathers have left, and the knowledge of which has descended through Mohammedan despotism and cruelty. As your invitation is flattering, I will not, however, fail to make every opportunity of keeping awake our correspondence, connected with the sciences and polite literature of the Hindus.

The formation of societies for the promotion of the knowledge of science and literature in general, as well as of arts and manufactures, is beneficial to the country where such bodies are united ; but when they link with similar societies, or individuals of talent, in other countries by correspondence, the benefit arising therefrom is universal, especially when those learned men communicate their ideas to one another without regard to nation or religion.

In this good work the Europeans have far surpassed other nations ; and allow me to express my admiration of the plan the Society has adopted for the diffusion of knowledge, by opening a correspondence with the natives of Hindoostan, who cannot but feel immeasurable pleasure and gratitude at the conviction that their rulers, in common with your Society, are ever watchful to promote the welfare of the ruled, by the dissemination of the knowledge of literature and arts among them.

As the Report of the Calcutta Agricultural Society, of which I

have the honour to be Vice-President, will soon be published, I need not give you an account of the same here.

Some time ago, I published a Bengalee Spelling-book, in imitation of a similar useful work in English, by Mr. Lindley Murray, a copy of which, as well as a copy of the first volume of a copious Dictionary, entirely in Sanscrit, compiled by me, on the plan of an Encyclopædia, I beg leave to send, and request the Society will have the goodness to give them a place in their library, allowing me, at the same time, permission to transmit the subsequent volumes, with the Preface and Appendix, when issued from the press.

Having lately had occasion to refer to the Agni Purana, I found a passage therein which convinced me that the division of the day and night into twenty-four hours, from midnight to midnight, by Europeans, is of Sanscrit origin, and as it may be a point deemed desirable to be known by many English gentlemen, I beg leave to transcribe the original, accompanied with a translation of it.

घटिके द्वे मुहूर्तः स्यात् तैस्त्रिंशत्या दिवानिशे ।

चतुर्विंशति बेलाभिरहीरात्रं प्रचक्षते ॥

मूर्योदयादि विज्ञेयी मुहूर्तानां क्रमः सदा ।

पश्चिमादर्द्धरात्रादि हीराणां विद्यते क्रमः ॥

‘Ghatike dve Muhúrtah syát taistrinsatyá divá nise; Chaturvinsati Belábhír ahorátram prachacshate.’

‘Súryodayádi vijneyo Muhúrtánám cramah Sadá, Paschimád ardhá rátrádi Horánám vidyate cramah.’

‘Two ghaticas make one muhurta, of which thirty make a day and night. Twenty-four belahs are said to constitute a day and night. It is to be remarked, that the course of the muhurtas is invariably from sun-rise, and that of the horás from midnight.’

The interpretation of the above two quatrains is this : that thirty muhúrtas are equal to a day and night, which two are comprised in twenty-four belás or horás, and that the computation of day and night by thirty muhurtas, is from sun-rise to sun-rise, and that by twenty-four belas or horás from midnight to midnight. Hence it appears that the word hour is probably derived from the Sanscrit term horá, especially when the exact correspondence of the latter with the Greek and the Latin hora is considered.

Wishing you success in your benevolent exertions towards effecting your interesting Society, I remain, with due respect and regard, Gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

Calcutta, the 20th of May, 1827.

RADHÁCANT DEB.

*Oriental Herald*, Vol. 22.

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## NOTE 5.

*Extracts from the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Committee of Correspondence of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

March 8th, 1828.

Sir Alexander Johnston, Chairman of the Committee, having submitted to the Committee a Dissertation on the Law of Siam, by Captain James Low, of Penang,

It was Resolved,

‘That in consequence of the talent and spirit of inquiry evinced by Capt. Low, in that Dissertation, he be recommended to the Council, for election as a Corresponding Member of the Royal Asiatic Society.’

Sir Alexander Johnston having also laid before the Committee, the first volume of a Sanskrit Encyclopædical Dictionary, and a Bengalee Spelling-book, compiled by Baboo Radhacant Deb of Calcutta,

It was Resolved,

‘That in consequence of the talent displayed in those works, and the general exertions of Baboo Radhacant Deb, for the promotion of knowledge, he is recommended to the Council for election as a Corresponding Member of the Royal Asiatic Society.’<sup>\*</sup>

March 11th, 1828.

It was Resolved, on the motion of Sir Alexander Johnston,

‘That a Report of the steps taken by this Society, in relation to Captain Low, and Baboo Radhacant Deb, be made to Lord William Bentinck, and Mr. Fullarton; and that those Governors be requested to afford their assistance to Captain Low, and Baboo Radhacant Deb, in the attainment of the Society’s objects.’

## NOTE 6.

*Translation of a Letter from M. Abel Remusat, Secretary to the Asiatic Society at Paris, to Sir A. Johnston.*

Paris, November 25, 1827.

SIR,—The Council of the Asiatic Society of Paris has received the Letter in which you inform it of the intended publication of Messrs. T. and W. Daniell’s Illustrations of India, and of the interest which the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland takes in the success of that enterprize. That interest is strongly participated in by the Asiatic Society of Paris, which knows that the approbation of your Society is granted only to useful works.

\* In consequence of this recommendation, Captain Low and Baboo Radhacant Deb were elected corresponding members of the Royal Asiatic Society on the 17th of May, 1828.

The collection formed by Messrs. Daniell having also been most favourably noticed by His Royal Highness the Duke of Orleans, appears under such favourable auspices, that the Asiatic Society of Paris hastens to add its testimony of approbation to those which Messrs. Daniell have already received. In exemplification of this feeling, and for the purpose of complying with the desire expressed by His Royal Highness to the Council, in his letter of the 29th September, a commission was appointed, at the meeting held on the 1st October, to examine the drawings of Messrs. Daniell, and to report on them with as little delay as possible. This Commission, consisting of Messrs. J. P. Abel-Remusat, St. Martin and Eugene Burnouf, after having examined the materials collected by these learned artists, and obtaining from Mr. William Daniell all the necessary details on the nature of the subjects of which the work will be composed, and of the order in which they will be arranged, has communicated the result of its examination, and the expression of its high esteem for Messrs. Daniell and their important publication, in a report, which was read to the Society on the 6th November. On the occasion of that report being read, it was resolved, that the greatest possible publicity should be given to it, and that it should be immediately sent to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, as a proof of the ardent desire felt by this Council to join with that Society in the encouragement of the publication of the Illustrations of India. That report I have now the honour of addressing to you, and request that you will communicate it to the learned body over which you preside.

The Council of the Asiatic Society of Paris, in unanimously adopting the conclusions contained in that report, has been actuated by the desire of shewing that it will not neglect any opportunity of uniting its efforts with those of the Royal Asiatic Society, for the advancement of the studies to which the Orientalists of both nations are equally devoted.

Accept, Sir, the assurance of the most distinguished consideration with which I have the honour to be, your very humble and obedient Servant,

(Signed) J. P. ABEL-REMUSAT.

Sir Alex. Johnston received along with this letter the report to which it alludes, and a letter from the Baron Atthalin, first aid-de-camp to his Royal Highness the Duke of Orleans, of which the following is a translation.

*To Sir Alexander Johnston, Knt.*

SIR,—I was travelling when Mr. Daniell arrived in Paris, which prevented your letter, of which he was the bearer, reaching me till quite recently. Directly it was delivered I endeavoured to accomplish your wishes by making known to his Royal Highness the Duke of Orleans the interest that the Royal Asiatic Society, in its zeal for the promotion of the knowledge of Asia, takes in the pub-



lication of the Illustrations of India, by which those distinguished artists, Messrs. T. and W. Daniell, propose to complete their magnificent works, which have already so largely contributed to our acquaintance with that part of the globe.

His Royal Highness, highly appreciating the great skill of Messrs. Daniell, and desirous of encouraging a work which is so splendid a monument of persevering industry and highly cultivated talent, hastened to promote its success by immediately writing to Baron de Sacy, President of the Asiatic Society of Paris, recommending the Society, over which that much-respected Orientalist presides, to support, with all the means at its command, the intended publication.

In addition to addressing this recommendation to the *Société Asiatique*, His Royal Highness has subscribed for two copies, and their Royal Highnesses the Duchess of Orleans and Mademoiselle d'Orleans have each subscribed for one copy of Messrs. Daniell's very beautiful and interesting views; to which also their Royal Highnesses have graciously expressed their intention, as opportunities offer, of directing the notice of those August Personages whose patronage will effectively promote the rapid increase of the list of subscribers.

His Royal Highness has been highly gratified by the occurrence of this opportunity of testifying his esteem for Mr. Daniell, and of evincing his anxiety to execute the wishes of the Royal Asiatic Society which has enrolled him among its honorary members, and of which you are the organ. That Society could not have chosen a more acceptable medium of communication to his Royal Highness, who recollects with much pleasure his former acquaintance with you, and is highly sensible of the obliging manner in which you have conveyed to him your ideas on Mr. Daniell's unrivalled collection of drawings relating to India.

Permit me to congratulate myself on having been selected to address you on this occasion, as it has given me an opportunity of rendering homage to talents, of which I am one of the most ardent admirers, and accept the expression of the high consideration with which I have the honour to be, Sir, your very humble and obedient  
 Servant, (Signed) **BARON ATTHALIN,**

Aide-de-camp to his Royal Highness the Duke of Orleans.

Neuilly, the 29th of September, 1827.

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\* \* We have great pleasure in observing the useful objects to which the zeal and erudition of a few active members have directed the attention of this learned body. It is to be regretted that no institution should exist, by the members of which the same solicitude might be evinced to improve the moral and political condition of the people of India, as is displayed by the Asiatic Society, in exploring the treasures of Eastern literature, science, and art.—Ed.

### PROGRESS OF MR. BUCKINGHAM'S LABOURS IN THE COUNTRY.

WE are enabled to continue the most satisfactory reports of Mr. Buckingham's progress throughout the remaining part of Scotland, in every town of which that he has yet visited, he has been received with the most cordial and distinguished welcome; and in each the impression left by his visit has been such as to give the strongest assurances of universal support, by petitions and deputation, when the question respecting the East India monopoly comes before the Legislature, as it will do, early in the next Session. We content ourselves for the present, therefore, in communicating to our distant readers in the East the following additional testimonies as to the value, the importance, and the effectiveness of Mr. Buckingham's labours in their behalf.

### MR. BUCKINGHAM'S LECTURES ON THE EASTERN WORLD.

*From 'The Aberdeen Journal,' July 29.*

On Monday and yesterday evenings we attended the Lectures of this gentleman in the Banqueting Hall of the Public Rooms, Union-street; both of which, and especially the last, was attended by a numerous and highly respectable audience, including many of the principal families of the town and surrounding country. In consequence of a desire expressed by several of the leading members of the community, Mr. Buckingham gave a Preliminary Lecture, in which he introduced a selection of the most remarkable things contained in his longer course, especially of the wonders of ancient Egypt, the tomb of Christ, the scriptural illustration of Palestine, the perils of a journey across the deserts of Arabia, and the ruins of Ur, of Nineveh, and of Babylon.

It would be difficult to say which of these portions gave the most unmingled satisfaction to the audience—they appeared to be delighted with all; and although the first Lecture lasted from seven o'clock till nearly ten, every one seemed reluctant to depart when it was brought to a close. We have never, on any occasion, witnessed more unequivocal satisfaction and delight.

The second Lecture, which was given last evening, was still more fully attended than the first; and the regret was continually felt and expressed that Mr. Buckingham's stay was confined to two evenings only. We were glad to see, however, that his allusion to an intended repetition of his visit in the next year was received in such a manner as to manifest the most cordial support of all who heard it; and we doubt not but his full course would be attended here with very ample numbers.

The Lecture on the India Company's Monopoly, being the essence of the whole, was listened to with profound attention; and we doubt whether there was a single individual who before had any idea

of its being so full of evil to the country, or who did not leave the room with a fixed resolution to do every thing within his power to prevent the renewal of the charter of exclusive privileges, which is productive of such unmixed evil.'

*From 'The Aberdeen Chronicle,' August 1.*

MR. BUCKINGHAM, who lectured in the County Rooms on Monday and Tuesday last, was attended on both occasions by numerous and respectable audiences. The appearance of this gentleman confirms all that has been said of his previous talents. He has eloquence, fluency, argument, and wit; and such powers of striking illustration that he arrests the attention of his audience, and gives at the same time such comprehensive and clear views of his subject, as impress the truth irresistibly on the mind. The subjects treated of by Mr. Buckingham are of the deepest importance, with a view to the great question, so soon to be discussed, of the renewal or non-renewal of the East India Company's charter; and he has very clearly proved, that this political anomaly of a trading company ruling our vast dominions in the capacity of a sovereign, is of the most pernicious nature, and has been attended with the worst consequences. The government of the East India Company has always been directed to one plain, simple, and selfish end, namely, the preservation in their own incapable hands of their vast possessions at whatever expence. To this end every thing has been sacrificed, the happiness alike of the millions whom they govern, and the interests of Great Britain. The commercial sovereigns of Leadenhall-street have behaved to their subjects in every respect like the false mother, who would rather divide the child in two than part with it. They have resisted the most obvious improvements—opposed the wisest laws—and countenanced the basest idolatries and the most bloody superstitions, from a slavish fear of some nameless perils, arising from what was to benefit their subjects; and the only object they have been at all solicitous about has been to extort money from them, and to remit it home. It is clear that the colonization and settlement of Europeans in India, is essential to the improvement of the country; it is in this manner only that European improvement, both in arts, in morals, and in religion, can be diffused over this vast continent. Yet, this is rigidly prohibited by the East India Company, in whose dominions alone it is that the name of an Englishman is the badge of slavery.

*From 'The Dundee Advertiser,' July 30.*

MR. BUCKINGHAM.—This celebrated Orientalist commenced his first lecture, yesterday evening, in the Thistle Hall, Union-street; and was enthusiastically greeted on his entrance by a numerous and respectable audience. We cannot, at this late hour, even venture upon an outline of his lecture: suffice it to say, that the facts he produced were so intensely interesting, and his manner of delivering them so vivid, familiar, and free from any thing like affectation,

that not one of his auditors exhibited the least impatience, or left the room till the conclusion—so completely were they riveted by his eloquence for upwards of three hours. To show their respect for the character and talents of Mr. Buckingham, and their zeal for the great cause which he is advocating, several of our principal merchants waited upon him at the hotel, and conducted him to the Lecture-hall. This, we trust, is a symptom that our merchants are alive to the importance of a free trade to the East, and that they will follow up the hints which we anticipate Mr. Buckingham will offer to them this evening.

*From 'The Dundee Courier,' August 4.*

Mr. Buckingham's Lectures took place here on the evenings of Wednesday and Thursday last, in the Thistle Operative Hall, Union-street, and were heard throughout with the deepest attention, and we may add, with conviction, by all present. Mr. Buckingham has distinguished powers as a lecturer. His readiness, his fluency, his eloquence, his complete mastery over the subject in all its details, his lively and apposite illustrations, as well as the point and sarcasm of his observations, all concurred to impress on his hearers the most profound admiration of his talents, and to secure attention, which is the first great step to conviction.—There cannot be a doubt, we think, that Mr. Buckingham made out a most triumphant case against the East India Company; proving that their whole attention was directed, not to the happiness of the people, or the prosperity of the country, but to the more selfish end of preserving those dominions for a possession to themselves. Accordingly Europeans are prevented from colonizing the country and settling in it, and by that means, of introducing among the Natives the industry, the arts, the manufactures, and, though last, not least, the intelligence and morality of Europe. If European merchants were allowed to settle freely in the interior, and to establish houses of agency, British goods would be dispersed throughout every corner of that immense continent, which would be a vast and profitable market, that would excite a demand in all parts of the country, and would give employment to our superfluous capital, and to our idle and necessitous workmen. This, and the opening of the China market, would certainly give a spring to industry, and would be of immense benefit over all the country. And why, it may be asked, should the British merchant be shut out of the China market, to which the Americans freely trade? Is there any policy in this? Is there any common sense in it? Then in regard to tea, we pay for that article, in consequence of the East India Company's monopoly just six shillings, where but for that, we would only pay three shillings; and thus a tax is levied by the East India Company on the tea-pots of this country amounting to about 3,000,000*l.* per annum.—We are not only excluded, therefore, by this Company—by those princely grocers of Leadenhall-street—from a most beneficial branch of trade,

which is engrossed by foreigners, but we *pay* for being excluded. We absolutely pay a heavy tax of three millions per annum to support our own exclusion from this excellent market for our goods. We should really think that this grievance *must* be redressed when the Company's charter expires.

From a notice by Lord William Bentinck, inserted in a former column, it will be observed, that the East India Company are beginning to think a little about the improvement of their dominions. The speedy expiry of their charter is a decisive argument; and they wish, before the question comes to be discussed, to have it to say that they have not altogether neglected the good of their subjects. That this is not the motive for this tardy act of justice there is little reason to doubt; otherwise, why would such an obvious duty have been so long delayed. This measure is clearly extorted from the fears of the Company, rather than from any overabundant anxiety for the happiness of their subjects.

'Mr. Buckingham was waited upon at his hotel by the Dean of Guild, the Deputy Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, Bailie Brown, and several other respectable merchants, by whom he was accompanied to the new Hall in Union-street, and introduced to his audience, consisting of about 150 of the most respectable people in the place. On Thursday evening there might be 300 present.

*From 'The Glasgow Chronicle,' July 22.*

Mr. Buckingham, the celebrated Oriental traveller, is soon to gratify the literary and commercial public of this city with a course of Lectures on the state and resources of those interesting eastern regions which he has visited. As the fame of that highly talented gentleman has got the start of his arrival amongst us, as most of our readers must be acquainted with the peculiar circumstances which gave rise to his public appearance as a lecturer, and as many of them may have perused the synopsis of the course of Lectures, which a few months ago he delivered to respectable, crowded, electrified audiences, in Liverpool and elsewhere, it is quite unnecessary to insist on the advantages which may be expected from his disquisitions, or on the claims which he has on the countenance of those who feel interested in the extension of our commerce, and in the amelioration of our colonial possessions and their dependencies in the eastern world. We know of no method more likely to interest the public mind, or better adapted to advance objects the most important, connected with the commercial interests of this country, and the amelioration of our foreign dependencies, than the extemporaneous discussions of one whose talents and personal observation unite to qualify him for this discussion. It is not, therefore, too much to expect that many will be prepared to welcome to our popular assemblies, an individual whose active and spirited exertions, have already done much to break down those barriers of monopoly

and of intolerance, that have so long impeded the advance of commercial and philanthropic enterprise; and whose continued exertions, seconded by the countenance of an enlightened public, will form a powerful auxiliary to that cause which stands so much in need of his manly and intrepid advocacy.

The efforts of Mr. Buckingham, since his arrival in this country, to enlighten the public mind on the religion, literature, commerce, &c., of Oriental countries, and to expose the evils and injustice of monopoly in connection with some of these, afford at the same time a singular and striking proof of its impolicy and absurdity. Who have a British public to thank for the mass of valuable information that has thus been communicated, and for the admirable exposé that has been made of maladministration in the affairs of India? It is to the East India Company themselves, it is to the very intolerance and illiberality of their government that we are indebted for this. For it was the Company and their government who banished this gentleman from India, nay, who sent him in glorious exile back to his native country. What a master stroke of policy was this? Was there not another spot on the face of this wide terraqueous globe, to which this sworn foe to monopoly and oppression might have been banished? Was there no solitary, no barren rock of the ocean from which his uplifted hand could not have beseeched release, and from which his lonely voice could never have been heard? Why was not the El Dorado of emigration mania selected as the appropriate residence of the man who had provoked Demetrius, incensed the craftsmen, and attempted to turn the Eastern world upside down? But no, even although he had, with bare and bended knee, intreated the choice of any of these alternatives, the boon would not have been conceded—a decree, irrevocable as the laws of the Medes and Persians, has willed it, and home to Britain he must infallibly go. Thus has the champion of anti-monopoly been admitted within the walls of the citadel, and like a wise and skilful tactician, he is closely following up the advantage.

*From 'The Glasgow Herald,' August 3.*

We have the pleasure to announce the arrival of Mr. Buckingham in Glasgow. It will be seen by the advertisement that he is to commence his Course of Lectures on the commerce and resources of the eastern world, in the Assembly Rooms, this day at two o'clock; and we have no doubt that our fellow-citizens will avail themselves of this opportunity of obtaining the information which Mr. Buckingham is so eminently qualified to impart. In Edinburgh, Leith, Aberdeen, and Dundee, he has been received with the most enthusiastic greetings; and we may mention that in the last place he was instantly waited upon at the hotel, by Bailie Brown, Dean of Guild Lindsay, Mr. Edward Baxter, Deputy Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, and several of the principal merchants, who

accompanied him to the Hall, where his lectures were delivered to a very numerous and intelligent audience. An association for promoting the opening of the India and China trade is about to be formed there immediately, as has been done in various other places, which Mr. Buckingham has visited in the course of his tour. His Lectures have thus been eminently useful in awakening the public mind to the great importance of having a free and unshackled trade to the East. The intense interest excited by his descriptions of Egypt and Palestine, induced Mr. Buckingham to repeat these lectures, as well as his concluding lecture in Edinburgh. His arrangements being now completely fixed, must prevent a similar repetition in Glasgow. We state this, that those who wish to hear these lectures may not disappoint themselves.

*From 'The Glasgow Free-Press,' August 5.*

MR. BUCKINGHAM.—'This distinguished Oriental traveller commenced his Lectures here on Monday last in the Assembly Rooms, Ingram-street, to a very respectable and highly intelligent audience. His subject on Monday was Egypt, and yesterday Arabia; and we feel assured that we express the sentiments of every one who heard him when we say, that he crowds more information and entertainment into a short space, than any Lecturer who ever before addressed a Glasgow audience. His utterance is rapid, yet very distinct,—although occasionally, at the close of the periods, he permits his voice to fall so low as to escape the hearing of those who sat at any great distance; his elocution at the same time is good, his ideas acute and striking, his gestures animated, and his manner and appearance very gentlemanly and prepossessing. He is thoroughly master of every detail connected with his subjects, and he thus, with as much ease as familiarity, pours out upon the minds of his hearers a flood of knowledge, at once varied, extensive, original, and interesting. Perhaps his most distinguishing characteristic is his graphic power, by which he conjures up before the imagination, in as much vivid distinctness as if it were actually present, every image (and they are most multitudinous) of which he attempts the delineation. At the progress of so eloquent and able and advocate of freedom in commerce and legislation as this, the East India Monopolists have good reason to become apprehensive.

Of course it would be ridiculous in us here to attempt anything like a report of the Lectures of Mr. Buckingham. Were each one given accurately (and, from being so crowded with information, unless it were given almost verbatim, it could have no pretensions to accuracy) it would itself fill nearly the whole of our pages. We, therefore, are obliged to content ourselves with these descriptive generalities, more with a view to excite curiosity than to gratify it; for, to obtain a proper idea of Mr. Buckingham, as a Lecturer, he must be heard, and not described. We trust that no one who can

at all afford it, and particularly those who take an interest in our connexion with the Oriental world, will suffer to pass unimproved the present excellent opportunity of so greatly increasing their stock of information concerning a range of countries so extensive and important. As the audiences are on the increase, we are not without hope that Mr. Buckingham may be induced to repeat his Course previous to his departure.

By the bye, while on this subject we may be permitted to remark, that the East India Company have of late been evincing a remarkable disposition to conciliate, both in this country and in India,—from motives and for reasons which it requires no great sagacity to penetrate. The consciousness of insecurity which this displays, is a good omen of victory, which ought to stimulate to still farther exertions.

*From 'The Glasgow Free Press,' August 8.*

MR. BUCKINGHAM.—We are truly rejoiced to see the extraordinary manner in which the audiences attending the Lectures of this gentleman have increased since Wednesday. His popularity is now unbounded, and were he to repeat his whole Course three times over, he would each successive time have an enlarged attendance. This, we are glad to perceive, has induced him to give us an evening Course before his departure. By that means hundreds of our fellow-citizens will be enabled to embrace the opportunity of hearing him, who cannot leave their places of business at the present early hour. Yesterday Mr. Buckingham, in a splendid Lecture, gave us his *description* of India: to day he is to grapple with the *Monopoly*; when we earnestly call upon every one who takes an interest in the question to attend, and witness this modern Hercules of the commercial world strangle our modern Nemean Lion.

As a proof of the rapid manner in which the question respecting Free Trade with India is forcing itself on the attention of all classes of the community, since the commencement of Mr. Buckingham's tour through the country, for the purpose of awakening the public mind to a due sense of its importance, we may here mention that the College of Glasgow has proposed, for a Prize Essay, the following subject:—'The probable effects, both in England and in India, of removing all the existing restrictions on the commerce between the two countries.' It may be added, that when some of the intending candidates for this Prize wished to consult the pages of Mr. Buckingham's 'Oriental Herald,' as the latest and best authority on most of the points embraced by the proposed Essay, they were unable to find a single complete set of that work in Glasgow, although there is certainly no town in the whole kingdom that has a deeper interest in the success of the object to which that work is devoted than the city of Glasgow, where the mercantile, manufacturing, and shipping interests have all equally a large stake at issue on the



result of the efforts now making to open India and China to their enterprise.\*

*From 'The Glasgow Herald,' August 10.*

THE close of Mr. Buckingham's Lecture on Saturday was marked by the loudest and most enthusiastic applause, which continued to be reverberated and prolonged from every part of the Hall. Before it had subsided, Mr. Spiers of Culcreuch, a leading Member of the East India Association of Glasgow, rose, and addressed the assembly to the following effect :

'Ladies and Gentlemen.—After the brilliant display of eloquence with which you have heard the subject of India and its administration treated to day, and after the enthusiastic manner in which you have evinced your admiration of the talented individual to whom we are indebted for this exposition, I am sure that I shall only be expressing the unanimous feeling of every one who hears me, when I beg to propose that we tender to Mr. Buckingham our united and cordial thanks, for the vivid and convincing manner in which he has condensed and arranged the vast mass of information submitted to us to day ; and the triumphant case which he has established against the East India Company ; so as to satisfy the most scrupulous, that we ought to unite with the other great towns of the kingdom to prevent the renewal of their exclusive privileges, from which so little of good, even to themselves, and so much evil to others, have already sprung.'

The vote of thanks to Mr. Buckingham was seconded by Mr. Douglas of Barloch, and carried by loud and long-continued acclamation.

Mr. Buckingham acknowledged his deep sense of the honour conferred on him, in very feeling and appropriate terms, and the meeting then separated, the Speech, or Lecture, having lasted nearly four hours ; and being kept up with increasing intensity of interest, both in the speaker and the hearers, to the very last.

In 'The Glasgow Chronicle' of August, immediately after the close of the Lectures, appeared the following letter, addressed to the Editor :

A SEAT IN PARLIAMENT FOR MR. BUCKINGHAM.

*To the Editor of 'The Glasgow Chronicle.'*

SIR,—At the conclusion of a very powerful address of Mr. Buckingham, on the India Monopoly, by which, on last Saturday, he exceeded every expectation of his most sanguine admirers, and en-

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\* 'The Oriental Herald' has long been taken in at most of the Public Rooms at Glasgow ; and although, from the manner in which separate numbers of Periodicals are often mislaid, only incomplete sets could be found : that evil is now remedied, as there are several complete sets of the work since supplied.

gaged for four hours the untired and eager attention of a most respectable and numerous auditory, nothing was more gratifying than the universal expression of ardent approbation which followed the motion of Mr. Speirs of Culcreuch, of thanks to Mr. Buckingham for his conduct, and for the extensive and valuable information which he had compressed into so small a compass, and conveyed in a manner so particularly interesting. The repetition of the lectures in an evening course, is most judicious, and will, no doubt, be attended by the large proportion of the reflecting part of the community, whose interests are so deeply engaged in this question—but who could not spare so many business hours of the forenoon.

On Saturday, a very general feeling was expressed in the respectable mercantile and manufacturing circle assembled at the Lecture—that if the commercial metropolis of Scotland had, like Liverpool, any power to elect a Parliamentary Representative, those who had witnessed Mr. B.'s capacity for abridging the largest subjects, and simplifying the most complex details of commercial affairs—or state policy—his distinctness in argumentative discussions—his correct easy style—and graceful and animated delivery and action—his equal facility of transition from the grave to the gay—from playful irony or pleasantry to the pathetic and deeply impassioned—the general result of a profound impression of the importance and truth of his doctrines—would bestow, by acclamation, a seat in Parliament on one so well qualified by peculiar knowledge and capacity for meeting with effect the Parliamentary manoeuvres, which the great Leviathan of Indian Monopoly will assuredly spare neither cost nor exertion to put in motion, to exclude the British nation from a free-trade intercourse and settlement in the Eastern world.

The best method of securing an advantageous arena on which this able champion of the public cause may meet its wily and potent adversaries, is to raise a national subscription from every class in proportion to their stake and their means---the very interest of which, vested in the funds, would defray every needful expense, and the principal under the charge of local committees, be returned to the subscribers to this Grand---National---Free---India Trade Savings' Bank.

That there are public-spirited merchants and manufacturers in this city, and in the West of Scotland, who would be zealous and proud to lend a little of their time in organizing such a scheme, and in superintending the conduct of the efforts for obtaining free admission to the soil and trade of India, under the protecting influence of British law---it would be an insult to the extensive knowledge, enterprise, talent, and spirit of the public to doubt.

If a general expression of opinion to this effect were first collected by subscriptions, obtained by a few active individuals to a short paper, the principle would at once lay hold of the public attention, and a sense of its advantages diffuse it over the whole kingdom.

This expression of opinion would undoubtedly induce one of the many patriotic noblemen whose families have for centuries devoted their Boroughs to the patronage of men who have disclosed talents for upholding any branch of British liberty, or public right, which was peculiarly endangered—of Fox, Burke, Sheridan, M'Intosh, Brougham—to introduce to the senate the oppressed advocate of the liberty of the Press, of British law, of free ingress and egress to all British subjects to a colony conquered by our own blood, and retained in dependence by our own efforts; more especially when the shutting of some foreign markets, and the glutting of all, have produced such a depression in every branch of our national industry, and when the question is, whether we shall for another quarter of a century be excluded from one half of the world for the mere pleasure, not profit, of a Company, whose monopoly 'not enriches them, while it makes us poor indeed.'

The feeling on this subject is at present so strong and general that it only requires direction and motion from a very few merchants and manufacturers of good sense and activity.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

A GLASGOW MERCHANT.

We are enabled to add, that this suggestion of procuring for Mr. Buckingham a seat in Parliament, has been followed up with great spirit at Glasgow, a committee being organized for that purpose, a correspondence opened with the other large towns, and such a subscription ensured as will render the accomplishment of the object a matter of certainty.

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#### MR. BUCKINGHAM'S SPEECH AT THE GRAND MASONIC DINNER.

THE following is an accurate report of the speech of Mr. Buckingham, at the grand dinner given by the Public Authorities of Glasgow, in the Town Hall, on Tuesday, the 18th instant, at the close of the splendid Masonic procession and honours on laying the foundation of the New Bridge across the Clyde, (at which not less than 50,000 spectators were present,) R. Dalglish, Esq., Preceptor of Hutchesons' Hospital, in the Chair, Lawrence Hill, Esq. Chamberlain to the Hospital, croupier. Among the company were the Lord Provost and Magistrates, Mr. Campbell of Blythswood, Sir Walter Stirling of Faskine, a gentleman who, 60 years ago, was present at laying the foundation stone of Jamaica Street Bridge, the Sheriff, Principal Macfarlane, Rev. Dr. M'Leod, J. S. Buckingham, Esq., Mr. Cunningham of Lainshaw, Mr. John Grant of Nuttal, Mr. Wallace of Kelly, Colonel Hastings and the officers of the guard of the 12th Lancers and 42d Regiment, William and Walter Stirling, Esqs. of London, Captain Gray, 57th Regiment, Mr. Ewing of Lunoon Castle, Robert Finlay, Esq., Mr. Wilson of Thornley, Robert Stevenson, Esq., engineer, James Dennistoun, Esq. &c.

In introducing the health of a distinguished visitor, Mr. Buckingham, the chairman passed a high eulogium on the value of the recent public labours of this gentleman, in endeavouring to call the attention of the whole country, and of Glasgow in particular, to the importance of a more extended intercourse with our Eastern possessions.

The mere mention of Mr. Buckingham's name drew forth the loudest demonstrations of applause, and his health was drank with all the honours in a most enthusiastic manner.

Mr. BUCKINGHAM rose to return thanks, and addressing the chairman, spoke nearly to the following effect :—Mr. Preceptor and gentlemen, or if I might be permitted to use any other terms, I would rather say, Friends, fellow-countrymen, and brothers,—for in each of these relationships have I mingled with you to-day : in the first, with individuals whom I had the happiness to know, years ago, on the other side of the globe ; in the second, as having come among you for a great public object, which requires the union of every branch of the country ; and, in the third, as a free and accepted Mason, joining hands with the brethren of the Order, and forming one of your splendid procession, clothed in the appropriate emblems of purity which so truly characterize the end and aim of that sacred institution. If I were called upon to say in which of these relationships I felt most closely allied to you, I should find it difficult to answer. Feeling as I do, in all its superior force, the powerful charm of friendship, I acknowledge openly the strength and durability of the social tie. But the link of national union, and the love of country, is neither less powerful nor less enduring, and therefore the patriotic claim must have its share. While, as a mason, I yield to none in the enthusiastic ardour with which I honour its precepts, and endeavour to observe its rules ; and therefore I feel the fraternal bond between us to be as strong as either the social or the patriotic. Instead, however, of singling out any one of these, as that in which I would prefer to address you, it will be more in harmony with my own views and wishes, that I should be permitted to thank you and to salute you in all. It was the object of my visit here to-day, to assist in paying honours, and not to receive them. In this cordial spirit I have been borne along by the flowing tide of conviviality which has already set in so strong among us, maintaining my full share in that open expression of joyous hilarity, which the assembly, the occasion, and the manner of its being conducted, are so well calculated to inspire. Since, however, instead of my being permitted to remain in the crowd, by which I, here feel myself so agreeably pressed on all sides around, you have condescended to draw the attention of your guests to the humblest among them all, and to single me out by name, as worthy of your special commendation, I should neither do justice to you, Sir, who have so been pleased to honour me, nor to the generous

hearts in which your flattering eulogium found so immediate and powerful an echo, any more than I should do justice to my own feelings, if I could content myself on such an occasion, by merely returning you my formal thanks. Not, however, that I mean to occupy your time or attention long. Much as I feel, I will not weary you with its expression. But I cannot be wholly silent, when so many motives combine to persuade me to another course.

Sirs, I may truly say, that if the duration of human life is to be estimated by the number of ideas that pass through the mind, and of sensations that affect the heart, to-day I have lived a year; for, from the first moment of my entering the sacred edifice in which we commenced the holy labours of the morning, up to the moment in which I am now addressing you, I have been literally oppressed with thoughts and feelings, too varied and too large for utterance. If I were to devote an entire year to their detail, and were to write them with the rapidity of the most practised hand, I do not believe that I should complete my task within the period—or that any thing but a pen of lightning could follow such a tempest of thought.

Let me first, then, express my humble acknowledgments of deep and unaffected gratitude, to that learned, pious, and venerable minister of God, who, in the sacred temple, in which the multitudinous host were congregated for devotion, poured forth such a strain of sound doctrine, pathetic appeal, and holy ardour—as must have touched the heart of the most apathetic among his hearers,—more especially when he so beautifully illustrated, by copious and appropriate references to the sublime authority before him, the most useful duty that man can perform toward his fellow-men, or the created dust to its Creator—that of spreading out the sea of knowledge, till it washes every habitable coast upon the globe---that of diffusing the light of education, science, and divine truth, until it embraces the people of every country, colour, creed, and clime. (*Loud Cheers.*) As a travelled Mason, more especially, I may say that every portion of the public worship, founded as it is upon the sacred volume, as well as every part of the sublime mysteries of our Order, have for me an additional charm: and I can never hear the one, or mingle in the other, without emotions as agreeable as they are powerful, and which nothing but the particular associations from which they spring, could ever give birth to. If, for instance, the Hill of Zion, or the Towers of Salem---the beauty of Jerusalem, or the glory of Lebanon, are spoken of---the rocks, the spires, the pinnacles, and the forests, instantly reappear before me, for I retain the most vivid recollection of them all. If Nineveh or Babylon are alluded to, their desolate remains are as distinctly seen as they were while I trod them in reality; and when the Temple of Solomon, the Garden of Eden, and other renowned edifices and sites are named, the Brotherhood will easily understand the additional charm with which these sounds fall upon my ear, since these too have I visited as a part of my long and distant pilgrimage.

In passing from the sacred edifice---where, I may say, the great Architect of the Universe appeared to have given to the very reverend and venerated individual who led our devotional exercises, an especial inspiration, befitting the solemnity of the occasion---and in going from thence into the crowded streets of this increased and increasing city---my sensations, though of a new order, were still powerful and pleasing. For who could see unmoved the twice ten thousand cheerful and happy countenances that beamed from every casement, lattice, roof, and terrace, in the streets through which we passed---here and there illuminated, if I may so speak, by brighter eyes and lovelier features than those composing the general mass? or who could witness, without something bordering on awe as well as admiration, the ten times ten thousand spectators that hemmed in the procession on either side, in such a manner as to make a solid platform of human heads, on which, as on the testudo of the ancients, an army might have mounted to the breach, had they been disposed to besiege and carry off in triumph the fair captives who were to be seen hanging out their banners upon every battlement? Sirs, I repeat, that a feeling of awe was inspired in my mind by the sight of so much inert power, which an evil-minded leader could so soon rouse into action, and at the head of which he might spread terror through the land: but that awe was mingled with admiration, when I beheld our little rivulet of moving men, meandering, as it were, like an embroidered thread, through an immense surrounding mass---one single effort of which, had it been set in hostile motion, would have overpowered and annihilated the whole;---and yet, notwithstanding every apparent motive to excitement, when the marching centre was throughout its whole line of length covered with the external emblems of rank, of wealth, and power---when unarmed and undefended individuals bore about their persons a profusion of jewels, the most insignificant of which would have formed a treasure for life to any one of the spectators by which they passed---and when the civic baton was the only ensign of authority any where displayed, except in the mere guard of honour which brought up the rear---notwithstanding, I repeat, all these outward and apparent motives to discontent, such was the influence of freedom, knowledge, and religion, upon the countless multitude---that a smile of joyous participation in all the glories of the pageant as it passed, sat upon every countenance, and not a hair of any man's head appeared to have been hurt, nor any feeling manifested among the old or young, amidst the myriads that thronged around the procession, but that of humility, content, and joy. Truly, indeed, has our sublime poet Milton said

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‘—————Peace hath its triumphs,  
No less renowned than war.’

And this was one of them. Never, in the whole course of my experience---which has been more extended than my years would

indicate, and into which an age of events has been crowded—never did I before witness such a mass of human energy so passively submissive, without subservience or fear ; nor in all the gorgeous and festive pageants in which it has been my lot to take a part, do I remember any thing approaching to the perfect peace and good-will which everywhere prevailed on this occasion. Well, indeed, did the reverend expounder of the sacred text, who addressed us in the morning, choose for his theme this beautiful passage, which, as I before remarked, seems to have been pointed out to him by an especial inspiration—‘ And all thy children shall be *taught* of the Lord, and great shall be the *peace* of thy children.’ Yes, Sirs, peace is everywhere the handmaid of knowledge and truth, and after witnessing its ‘ renowned triumph ’ to-day—where the well educated population of this busy town breathed not a murmur to disturb the serenity of the scene—let no one henceforth dare to say, as some oppressors of the human race still insult both the majesty of heaven and the dignity of men by saying—that the increased knowledge of the poorer classes tends to subvert the due order of society, that ignorance is essential to secure the subjection of the mass, and that education uproots loyalty and obedience. Never was any maxim more false, as well as more degrading : and it must be especially gratifying to the friends of knowledge to see, as we have seen to-day, a union of the sacred text, of sound theory, and extensive practice—all allied in one holy league against this monstrous prostitution of truth and nature. Away then with the scandalous sophism for ever ! Let it be sent to brood again over that utter darkness, which, alone could have engendered any thing so foul or so offensive. (*Loud cheers.*)

Passing from the procession itself to that which was its end and object, the laying the foundation stone of the additional bridge to be thrown across the Clyde, in order to connect and facilitate the intercourse between the opposite banks of this noble river, I could not but reflect that—if *you* were engaged in this smaller work—I too, and upon a somewhat more extended scale, aspired to be a Bridge-builder. That you conceive it an object of great importance, to facilitate the intercourse, of which the Bridge we have founded to-day is to be the medium, I have the best proof in the vast pains taken by you to commence it with all becoming splendour and solemnity. That it is believed the interests of the Individuals living on either side of the stream will be improved by this intercourse, is equally certain, from the splendid donations which persons possessing property on its banks have given to aid the work. And that the city of Glasgow conceives it an object, in the accomplishment of which all its inhabitants have more or less an interest, may be inferred from the fact of its Corporation having given the munificent present of three thousand pounds, to assist the undertaking. Sirs, the world will applaud your wisdom, as well as your liberality.

in this act ; and from it I, too, gather hope ; for if it be judicious to expend time, and labour, and money, to connect together the opposite banks of the Clyde, notwithstanding that two bridges already exist within a few hundred yards of each other for that purpose—will it not be an object equally worthy your attention to give me your support, when I say that my humble endeavour is to construct a Bridge which shall unite together the shores of England, and those of her extensive and valuable possessions in India. (*Immense cheering.*) I too, Sirs, wish to facilitate that intercourse, which, as our reverend teacher so impressively taught us, is but fulfilling the divine command, and which, as you have shewn us, is the best and most effectual means of connecting together divided parts of the same country by the strongest of all links—mutual and reciprocal interests. I ask the aid of all true Masons throughout the world (for we are a large family, and embrace all kindreds, tongues, and kingdoms,) to assist me to construct the arches of this Anglo-Indian Bridge. It cannot fail to be a magnificent structure, be the designer who he may. The four hundred millions of Asiatics to whom it would open a new road, would form a splendid procession ; and as to the wealth of which this Bridge would soon become the bearer, I may without exaggeration say that it is perfectly inexhaustible. And yet, the pile might be completed for less money than you have cheerfully consented to pay, to throw your smaller structure across the stream of the Clyde. To erect the Indian Bridge, nothing more is wanted than a removal of the dams and impediments that clog the approach to the opposite shore. Let these be taken away—which your voices may easily command—and nothing more is needed ; the Bridge will then build itself, provided we lay the foundation. This is all that I ask the masons, the merchants, the patriots, the christians of Britain to do, and after what I have seen and heard to-day, I am most anxious that the people of Glasgow should lay the first stone. (*Loud Cheers.*) They have already shewn a promptitude which makes it unnecessary for me to say much to urge them on ; but thus I will say, that if they do not make haste, the people of Liverpool, of Manchester, of Bristol, of Leeds, and of Birmingham, will be before them ; and in contending for the honour of priority in this matter, let them be assured that great and lasting will be the renown of those who take a lead in an enterprise, which, more than any other that history has yet recorded, will in its accomplishment bring countless blessings in its train. (*Continued cheering.*)

But, Sirs, I will not trespass too much on your indulgence ; and, yet, I cannot sit down without giving expression to another idea which was suggested to me, as we stood upon the banks of the Clyde, engaged in the solemn rites and mystic ceremonies of the day. The connexion of the two shores has been spoken of as a union of interests. Let me call it then a *nuptial union*. You all



remember that the Doge of Venice used annually to wed the Adriatic to his splendid city, 'seated on the waters,' and that one part of the ceremonial was, to drop a ring into the blushing wave, by which to bind the bride and bridegroom fast in their embraces. In the nuptials of the opposite banks of the Clyde, the wholesome custom of Europe has been literally followed: the lovers have seen and known each other well, and for a fitting period; and the full measure of their coquetry as well as courtship has been enjoyed before the consummation. But I would wed the Clyde itself, and to a noble family—aye, even to a whole family—for though I am no advocate of polygamy with mortals, yet since it is an Eastern bride that I would provide for your colder stream, with whom the Eastern fashion must be followed of wedding without previous courtship or acquaintance, I see nothing to prevent the nuptials being wholly Eastern, so that the Clyde may become polygamous on the occasion, and wed at once those splendid streams, the Tigris, the Euphrates, the Indus and the Ganges. (*Loud and reiterated cheering.*) Sirs, this would be a splendid marriage indeed; for every single bride would bring her lord a truly regal dower; and as to the progeny that would result, I fear to venture on so *prolific* a theme; for in less than a single lunar year these Oriental ladies would bring their Scottish husbands a long line of descendants, enough to fill at least a dozen times over all the wards and classrooms in Hutcheson's hospital or school. (*Loud laughter, mingled with great cherring.*) Lord Byron has said indeed—

"The cold in climate are cold in blood."

but only let the Caledonian's veins be once swelled with the amorous embrace of these Eastern brides, and, my life upon the issue, he will never afterward be cold in blood, though his uncovered limbs were shivering on Ben Lomond, or

"Freezing on the hoary Caucasus."

Sirs, I should tire even *your* patience, which I see is as courteous as it is excessive, if I were to indulge this current of thought that runs in full stream through my mind. I imagine the pithy lines of Hudibras to be breathed in whispers from other quarters,

"For brevity is always good,  
If we are—or are not—understood."

And profiting by so undoubted a truth, I beg to say, that whether what I have uttered be intelligible or not to those who hear me, I shall inflict no more of it upon the hospitable kindness that has so politely heard me through. Before I sit down, however, allow me to repeat how sincerely and deeply I feel the compliment you have paid me, in sending forth your commendations of my humble labours to the world. Sirs, I am too frank to flatter. It is a characteristic of my early profession to speak bluntly as well as freely. The sailors of every country that I am acquainted with, are

too honest to be parasites, and the sailors of Britain especially. I have been banished for speaking too freely, but I have never yet been suspected of being too courteous in phrase. If this should give additional weight to any praises I may venture to express, let that weight be added now; for I repeat, with all the candour of one who habitually wears his heart upon the outside of his bosom, and whose inmost thoughts dwell constantly upon his tongue, that I have never, in any one day, seen more to admire, nor in any one day had more exalted sources of pleasure, than in this in which I am now addressing you. (*Cheers*). Let me then not sully this happiness, by 'bestowing my tediousness' upon you any longer, but conclude by proposing a toast, which I believe you will all drink with enthusiasm. 'The marriage of the Clyde with four Eastern wives—the Tigris, the Euphrates, the Indus, and the Ganges; and may no hostile power ever interpose to divorce the union.'

Mr. Buckingham was greeted at the close of this speech with the loudest and most enthusiastic plaudits, and personal congratulations from all quarters of the Hall; and the toast was drank with three times three, amidst the most deafening acclamation.

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'The SHEFFIELD IRIS' thinks that the suggestion of our Correspondent 'A Merchant,' in favour of a subscription for procuring a seat for Mr. Buckingham in Parliament, is well worthy the attention of all whose interests are involved in the speedy settlement of the great question now in agitation; the more so, as neither cost nor exertion will be spared by those who have too long enjoyed the exclusive right of trading to the Eastern world. As Glasgow, although containing a population of 200,000, has only the privilege of returning one-fourth (other three boroughs, Dumbarton, Renfrew, and Rutherglen, sharing the honour,) of a member to the 'Collective Wisdom' of the state, it recommends the public-spirited and enlightened merchants of that city to take the lead in promoting the measure suggested by their fellow-citizen, of seeking to obtain for Mr. Buckingham a seat in the House of Commons. It only requires (says 'The Sheffield Iris') that a beginning be made, and there can be no doubt of the willingness of the inhabitants of Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, and Sheffield, to lend their aid, in forwarding a cause which so much concerns their future prosperity.

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#### LECTURE ON INDIA.

Mr. Buckingham having been earnestly pressed to give a development of his views on the question, 'What is to be done with India?' for this purpose, a supplementary lecture was delivered yesterday afternoon (Thursday, August 20) in the Trades' Hall, Glasgow, to an audience more numerous and fashionable, if possible, than on any former occasion. For the gratification of the ladies, the lecture was preceded by an account of a very perilous journey, undertaken

by Mr. Buckingham in the Arabian desert, also by some interesting details of the life, habits, and manners of Lady Hester Stanhope.

[The reports given in the newspapers of Mr. Buckingham's Lectures in the country, are generally so inaccurate, even in the small portions which they record, as well as so incomplete from the innumerable omissions, rendering what remains difficult to be understood, that he has despaired of rectifying the evil, and has therefore hitherto abstained from all attempts at correcting them. In the Glasgow papers, however, one or two points, in the last lecture, given on the question, 'What is to be done with India,' were so inaccurately stated, that he thinks it right to revise the errors, here at least.

In speaking of the disputed question, as to whether the sovereignty of India was in the East India Company or the King, after reading a portion of Lord Grenville's beautiful speech on this subject, Mr. B. is made to say in the newspapers, that the King's flag flies on the Company's Factory in China, and on all their vessels of war. Whereas, he stated directly the reverse. What he really said was in substance nearly this :—

The flag hoisted on the Company's factory in China, where the King of England has no sovereignty, as well as on all their own vessels of war, is a flag peculiar to the East India Company, being striped like the American; but the flag which floats on all the fortresses in India is the natural British Union Flag, and possession of every new conquest is always taken in the King's name. The Judges at the Supreme Courts are also all King's Judges; and every act of the British legislature made for India, proves that the sovereignty of that country is not in the East India Company, but in the King, Lords, and Commons of England.

Again, when pointing out the advantages of sending all the young gentlemen, destined for the civil or military service of India, out by land (a point dwelt on in detail as long ago as the fifth volume of 'The Oriental Herald'); and contrasting the superiority of such a journey, in its effects on the body and mind of the person who performs it, with the inactivity and ennui of a long sea voyage, the newspapers make Mr. B. to say, that 'the passengers are generally so ill as to be unable to look out.' Whereas, his observation was, that whatever might be the disposition to improve themselves, a number of concurring circumstances rendered this exceedingly difficult, especially to persons not accustomed to sea voyages; and, therefore, in many cases the period was a perfect blank in their existence.

On the subject of Indian marriages, the newspapers are unintelligible; and on the subject of Indian progeny, quite incorrect. Mr. B.'s remarks on these heads were nearly as follows :—

Mr. B. thought it highly probable that if gentlemen did not leave this country for the civil and military service of India, till twenty-two (up to which period their education might be continued with advantage), most of them would probably have formed attachments before they left: and supposing them to be three years occupied in their travels, and not to enter on their duties in India till twenty-five, he conceived that if they still continued faithful to the objects of their affections at home, and wished them to come out by sea for the purpose of marriage, that the Government, as a reward for the fidelity of both parties, and to encourage European rather than Asiatic alliances, should pay the whole of the expenses of the lady's passage, if not give her a moderate marriage portion besides.]\*

The remainder which is given from the papers is sufficiently accurate in substance.

At the conclusion of a Lecture, which lasted upwards of two hours, and was listened to with intense interest and great applause, Mr. Buckingham took leave of his audience in very feeling terms.

After the applause consequent on this ardent expression of the Lecturer's feelings, had subsided,

LAWRENCE HILL, Esq. rose, and expressed his regret that some one in the assembly, better qualified than himself, had not made some proposal or suggestion, to evince that Mr. Buckingham's Lectures had not been lost upon them, and that they had given rise to some beneficial result. However, the conviction he felt of the importance of the subject on which Mr. Buckingham had just addressed them, compelled him not to allow the meeting to separate without offering them some resolution. With this view, he would propose,

‘ That after the repeated and convincing proofs which Mr. Buck-

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\* We take this occasion to mention, that by inadvertence of the compiler, several portions of these imperfect abstracts of Mr. B.'s lectures were inserted in the last Number of ‘The Oriental Herald.’ The intention of the Editor was merely to give those portions from the country papers which expressed the general effect produced on the public writers, and the community of the place in which the lectures were delivered; and thus to shew the progress which the cause was making in every quarter, in which Mr. Buckingham has yet advocated it. This, as matter of opinion merely, was no doubt stated with sufficient accuracy; but in the reports of the lectures themselves, nothing could be more imperfect than any attempt to compress within three or four pages, that which took as many hours to deliver with a rapid utterance. In addition to this, many of the few points that were included in these skeleton reports, were grossly inaccurate. so that those papers which confined themselves to mere general expressions of the effect produced, and impressions left on the minds of the hearers, by the delivery alone, escaped these errors. We have thought it necessary to notice this inadvertent insertion of the parts referred to, to prevent any unwarrantable inferences being drawn from them, as coming from our own authority. —Ed.

ingham has given to the world, and of which we ourselves have been this day witnesses, of his rarely united qualifications, to advocate the great cause of a ~~more~~ extended intercourse with India and China, by his abundant information, his unwearied zeal, his great eloquence, and his capacity to bring all these into operation in the most crowded and intellectual assemblies, it is the opinion of this meeting, that a subscription should be immediately opened, and a committee appointed for the purpose of taking such measures as may be most expedient, and likely to make Mr. Buckingham's talents and information available to the country, and as may be most conducive to the desirable object of a free trade with the Eastern world, and beneficial to the other important interests involved in that great question.'

JOHN WILSON, Esq. of Thornly, in seconding the resolution, said, he considered it as a tribute and a testimony due to Mr. Buckingham, for his zeal and talents in a great cause, and for his delightful method of conveying information, with a view to the promotion of that cause, to the understanding and the heart.

The resolution was unanimously carried, amid the acclamation of the meeting.

Mr. BUCKINGHAM, evidently much affected at this unexpected demonstration of regard, briefly returned thanks. Whatever might be thought of his talents or capacity, he hoped no one would call in question his ardent zeal in the cause; and which, if it were ever his lot to address another assembly, he hoped would not be found to have become relaxed in the slightest degree. Supposing it to be possible that he should be compelled to choose between offering up his life as the only sacrifice by which this cause could triumph, or of living in ease and affluence, but yet compelled to witness the continuation of the system, he declared, that though bound to society by the strongest of all possible ties, and having a family, every individual member of which was as dear to him as himself, yet he knew he had still sufficient of the Roman in him to prefer the former course. And he took heaven and earth to witness the sincerity of this vow, that so long as he possessed life, health, and adequate strength and means to maintain this crusade against the despotism and monopoly of the East India Company, nothing should prevail on him to turn aside from so holy a path. All he asked or hoped for was the sympathy and support of his countrymen; and if he had but this, their triumph would be certain and complete.

## TRADE WITH CHINA.

The following is an extract from the letter of an intelligent and patriotic gentleman, received by Mr. Buckingham during his tour in Scotland :

‘ All well-informed and candid persons must concur with you in the expediency of availing ourselves of the resources of our Indian Empire, and of laying open the China Trade, the monopoly of which has done this country irreparable injury, not merely in the annual loss we have sustained, but in forcing the trade into channels from which it cannot now be reclaimed—into the hands of our active rivals the Americans, who, at the India Company’s expense, have more than shared their profits and monopolized the supply of foreign countries, of which our merchants have been deprived, and our navy of the nursery for seamen, to increase that of a power, which alone is likely, at no very distant period, to contend with us for the empire of the main.

‘ I don’t know whether it has struck you in the same way, but it has appeared to me, that our late Burma conquests might be rendered very useful towards an intercourse with China. The great variety of climate and immense population of that country, justify the hope that it may become an important outlet for our manufactures. The lessons impressed on the Burmese by the events of the late war, the residence of their ambassador at Calcutta, the occasional changes of his Suwarree, and the intercourse with our establishment on their coast, must all have opened the eyes of the king of the world and of the white elephant to our comparative power, and to the prudence of cultivating our friendship.

‘ If the Chinese government have found it impossible to repress contraband trade at a single point (Canton), to which all its vigilance has been directed, how utterly impossible would it be if depôts were established along the Chinese and Burmese frontier. Ceded, as the coasts have been to us, and possessed, as we may consider ourselves, of the whole line from the Hooghly to Singapore, we should be more free from the interference of foreigners, and entirely so (the depôts being at the Burma side) from the consequences of the arrogance and ignorance of the Chinese government, to being embroiled with which we are at Canton always liable. A small duty would be ample remuneration for the privilege to the Chinese government, which would probably grasp at it, or at a moderate, stated, annual sum, by treaty, if arranged before its cupidity was awakened by, perhaps, exaggerated notions of the importance of the traffic. It appears to me, that a most beneficial outlet might there be found for our manufactures, to a rich and populous country, the varied temperature of which would induce the consumption of almost every species of them.

# BRITISH ARMY IN INDIA.

From 'The Times' of Wednesday, August the 26th, 1829.

*Memorial of the 11th Regiment of Native Infantry.*

Barrackpore, Jan. 31.

Sir,—1. Under the influence of the most intense feelings, and with sentiments of the highest respect for the authority of the Right Hon. the Commander-in-Chief, I venture, on behalf of myself and the officers of the 11th Regiment Native Infantry (whose names are signed in the annexed paper), to approach his Excellency, through your medium, with the following representation :—

2. We can but faintly describe the distress and dismay produced among the officers of the regiment, at the conclusion of a long march from Kurnaul, of nearly 1,200 miles in 104 days, to find themselves placed, by the operation of the general orders by the Governor-General in Council, No. 254, of the 29th of November last, on half-batta, from their arrival at this station.

3. In referring to the possible causes of so unexpected a measure, we in vain look for one that could, to the feelings of gentlemen and soldiers, who have served from one to twenty-seven years without the least reproach, justify, in reason or in equity, so severe an infringement of the table of regimental pay and allowances, under which we have all entered the service ; and which, as it was established under supreme authority, and with the sanction of his Majesty, through his Ministers, we all understood to be final, at least as far as we were concerned, and as establishing our future rights and prospects in the service on a permanent basis.

4. That table was fixed in 1796, when the regimental, or general rank and claims of the Indian army were hually discussed and settled ; and to that table we must ever most respectfully refer, as containing all our pecuniary rights or prospects, sanctioned, as they are, by the usage and practice of thirty years that they have been in operation with this army.

5. If, in 1801, an inroad was made in that practice, by the abolition of the double-batta before received by all officers in the western provinces (or beyond the Caramnassa river), we trust that its being received by the army with respectful silence, will not now be alleged against us on the score of precedent, as a reason for submission to the gradual extinction of every other claim we possess in right or equity, to the enjoyment of the remainder of our regimental allowances.

6. When that measure was adopted on the 9th of April, 1801, the Government, moreover, did not pay the double-batta, but the Nawab Vizier of Oude, and it was accompanied with the extension of full batta to all the officers at the old half-batta stations within the provinces, in consideration of their purchasing from Government the bungalows and quarters, before provided to the officers, with bhistees and sweepers at the public expense. These acts being simultaneous, were too readily viewed by the army as a compromise, though, in reality, they were totally distinct measures, and rested, as we now find, on grounds wholly independent of each other, and which rather aggravates the hardship of our case, especially if taken in conjunction with the other changes in our situation, which we shall hereafter briefly state.

7. We can prove, by reference to official documents, that the double-batta so paid by the Nawab Vizier up to 1801, was (which the army could not then anticipate) when the general order of the 9th of April, 1801, was issued, then on the point of acquisition from the Nawab, by a permanent cession, or transfer of territory, from his Highness to this Government, amounting, per estimate, to 135 laks of rupees per annum ; while the expense of all the force subsidized by his Highness, was, including the double-batta to the officers, only about fifty-six laks per annum ; and that the treaty, which was pending full two and a half years (of course then unknown to the army), was signed on the 10th of November following the issue of the order, by which one of the items of the estimated charges against his Highness as a permanent burthen to the State was struck off from the officers.

8. We can further prove, by a similar reference, that the abolition of half-batta and the sale of quarters to all officers, at the stations of Barrackpore, Berhampore, and Dinapore, and their being, in consequence, placed on full-batta, was a measure wholly distinct; that it stood by itself, and was founded on a calculation of the profit and loss (framed in the Audit-office, the Military Board, and the office of the Secretary to Government in the Military Department, jointly) by which it appeared, on an average of only seven years, that, comparing the expenses of keeping up the public quarters, or bungalows, for officers at those stations, for the usual establishments for their repair, bhustees, and sweepers, and the allowance of half-batta on the one hand, with the simple issue of full-batta on the other, Government had, in the preceding seven years, been losers to the following amount:—

At Barrackpore	.	.	.	.	.	.	32,201	12	0
At Berhampore	.	.	.	.	.	.	2,84,674	3	0
At Dinapore	.	.	.	.	.	.	90,580	9	0
Up to 1801, Total Loss in Seven Years to Govern-									
ment	.	.	.	.	.	.	Rs. 4,07,456	8	0

And, consequently, that, by the adoption of full-batta at those stations (not including the prices obtained for the quarters, which were fixed by the Government), the Government have ever since been *pro tanto* actually the gainers by this arrangement, in even a greater ratio, every seven years; inasmuch as the number of Native corps at Barrackpore (and of officers in a greater proportion) are full a third more; and that the number of his Majesty's corps are within that very limit, treble what the whole force of his Majesty's infantry in all the Bengal Presidency amounted to when that balance was struck; and full-batta, with sale of quarters, and cessation of all repairs, establishments, or extra and uncertain expenses, ordered in lieu of half-batta, with those expenses.

9. Under these circumstances, we must leave His Excellency to judge of the inevitable results that must be produced on our minds by the late order; referring to it as we must, simply in connection with the pay tables of 1796, or with the order of 9th April, 1801, and with the whole train of causes or events which led to both those measures.

10. We have, however, still stronger grounds of objection to the order, which we shall briefly urge, as being founded on a necessity so obvious, that it cannot require enlargement—that the pay and allowances of the regimental officer have, at no period in the annals of this army, been beyond the unavoidable expenses of his situation. Up to the moment that the double batta was likely to become a permanent charge to the state, though covered by an acquisition of territory and revenue now six times greater than the whole charge, this Government considered the double batta only a fair equivalent to cover the expenses, and state of constant preparation for march, which all officers, especially of native regiments (so liable to sudden and numerous detachment duties, as they almost exclusively are) were expected to maintain in the upper provinces.

11. That which was, up to 1801, only an equivalent, can hardly be more or less now. In 1801, the highest station of the army was only at Futtyghur, a distance of 755 miles; now it is at Loodiana, a distance of 1,268 miles from the Presidency. There are at this moment as many troops beyond the then limits of the British territory, as the whole Bengal army (of His Majesty's or of the Honourable Company's service) then consisted of. The expenses of marching, of servants, of food, are increased in the last 30 years, from 50 to 150 fold, at the different stations—taxes and duties before unknown are now laid on the officers equally with the rest of the community by Government;—1st, by increased rates of postage for distance;—2nd, by transit duties on all articles of supply, commissioned from Calcutta, even on our equipments as officers; on our supplies of wine or European articles of consumption for our living, as well as the charges of transportation and insurance now doubled to half the army by the very extension of territory since 1796 or 1801;—3rd, by the taxes on our boats, even when proceeding to or from our regiments;—4th, by a stamp duty on all bills and receipts. We could increase



the catalogue, but shall conclude this part of our representation, by referring his Excellency to the deduction of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. made from the pay of all the troops, at the very stations only to which half batta is now applied, by calculating our pay and allowances in Sonat, and issuing them in Sicca rupees, deducting that difference; that the necessary remittance for the use of such of us as have families in Europe, for education or health, has fallen 25 per cent. below the rate at which we receive our pay (*vide* the appendix to the pay tables of 1796, in which the pay and allowances of all Indian regimental officers are fixed in British currency); and that relief in this behalf, though applied for by a former Government in 1823, was, as we are assured, refused on the plea 'that the civil servants of the three Presidencies would have an equal claim to the same indulgence;' as if there were analogy in other respects between the allowances, advantages, wants, claims, or prospects of the two services!

12. Finally, we urge the state of preparation in which the officer of this army is always obliged to be for march; not only detachments, but whole regiments are sent off at little notice, to distant stations or marches, without the slightest assistance on the part of Government. We are left entirely to our resources for the carriage of our camp equipage and baggage, as well as the provision of both; we may cite the march of this very regiment now arrived from Kurnal, after a journey of 1,200 miles, and expenses ruinous to the officers, who come on half batta immediately. In a country, 12,000 miles from our native England, we are compelled to maintain the appearance of British officers; to command and lead a race of soldiers, strangers to every thing European but what we have taught them; whose language, ideas, habits, and prejudices are so peculiar and inveterate, that we can only command them through the medium of their affections, or by a delicacy of conduct, and a dignity of manner and appearance, which, to estimate properly, the effects of an opposite conduct should be witnessed, as it sometimes has.

13. Our soldiers must infer, as we indeed feel, a sense of degradation, from the reduction of that which has so long been established as to confer a right, even had we no better arguments. We shall not only feel degraded, but distressed; for if, under the influence of a just and prudent economy, we were before barely able to make good the claims on our purses, arising from the expenses and losses above detailed; to balance the expenses incurred in marching, with economy in cantonments; to maintain the establishments of servants we each require, according to our station (and which, owing to the prejudices of caste and a prescription from time immemorial, are indispensably five times greater than in any other country,) to march on every call of the service, over a continent as large as all Europe, even in the ordinary course of relief; and with an establishment of officers, only half that are allowed to European troops, which necessarily involves a double share of duty and exposure to the climate, we respectfully urge, that we cannot submit to a reduction from that scale of allowances; while, on the other hand, every expense has almost doubled; and that even the sources of expense are more numerous, by the unforeseen increase of territory, consequent length of marches, the rise in price, of all local productions or articles of consumption, or of servants' wages, owing to the very amelioration and prosperity of the British Indian territory, and by the imposition of new taxes to the state, which we pay equally with the rest of the community, in proportion to our means.

14. In short, Sir, we shall all be distressed, and we must all feel that we are injured; but we cannot without the most poignant feelings contemplate the situation of deep distress and difficulty, to which the subaltern officers and even the captains will be reduced by an order which revokes, without a reason assigned, the very advantages (trifling as they were) which induced us all to enter the service;—viz. the regimental pay and allowances of 1796.

15. To His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, as the Head and Natural Guardian of the interests of the Indian Army, we intrust our cause. To his authority and the high sanction of his name, and the rank it has pleased His Majesty to confer on his lordship as our chief, we look for success in an appeal for the recal of the order of Government, from the date on which it was issued; and

from the experience and intimate acquaintance of His Excellency with all that concerns our claims or our wants, we confidently hope for such a representation of our case, in support of the contents of this memorial, as may procure a prompt and favourable decision from the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council, and prevent the otherwise inevitable distrust, dissatisfaction, and want of confidence in every public institution which must ensue.

16. All that concerns our well-being, comfort, happiness, or respectability, as an army, devoted to constant service, to an uncongenial climate, to a perpetual banishment from our country and friends, is at stake, and we refer to His Excellency's sense of equity and justice, to restore us to that cheerfulness and content of mind, which under a just and frugal economy we before enjoyed. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

G. P. BAKER, Lieutenant-Colonel,  
Commanding the 11th Regt., N. I.

Colonel C. FAGAN,  
Adjutant-General of the Army, Head-quarters.

We, the undersigned officers of the 11th Regiment of Native Infantry, do entirely concur in the sentiments expressed in the annexed memorial, which, agreeably to the regulations, is only signed by the Lieutenant-Colonel commanding the regiment :—

(Signed)

D. HEPBURN, Captain.  
J. CROUDACE, Captain.  
T. SEWELL, Captain.  
J. R. BIRRELL, Lieutenant.  
F. B. TODD, Lieutenant.  
A. C. DENNISOUN, Lieutenant.  
C. H. THOMAS, Lieutenant.  
T. F. BLOIS, Lieutenant.

T. GOULD, Lieutenant.  
A. MACKENZIE, Lieutenant.  
W. CUMBERLAND, Lieutenant.  
J. E. CHETHAM, Lieutenant.  
W. K. M. ROSE, Assist.-Surg.  
P. GORDON, Ensign.  
W. LYNDARD, Ensign.  
A. M. WALLIS, Ensign.

(Separate.)

On Service.

LETTER FROM THE OFFICER COMMANDING THE 11TH REGIMENT, WHICH ACCOMPANIED THE ABOVE MEMORIAL.

Barackpore, Feb. 5, 1829.

Sir,—In transmitting to you for submission to his Excellency the Right Honourable the Commander-in-Chief, the memorial of the officers of the 11th Regiment of Native Infantry, respecting the reduction of that which they have always considered as an indispensable part of the terms of their service (the full batta established by the pay table of 1796), I trust his Excellency will permit me to notice separately and briefly as I can, many other points in which the general order of the Governor-General (No. 254), of the 29th of November last, must increase the force and weight of those arguments which they have urged in the memorial against the measure, and which they have not adverted to therein, in order to contract the document as much as possible; but on a candid consideration of which, I am sure his Excellency will confirm my opinion, as an officer of twenty-seven years' service, that the arguments I shall now offer, added to those in the regimental memorial, form a mass of evidence together quite unanswerable as to the policy, equity, right, or reason, of the question to which it refers: and that the most serious consequences must be apprehended from a perseverance in that which every officer of this army views as a violation of faith, and infringement of a vested right, and of the compact of 1796, on which they entered the service.

1. The rents paid by the officers at this station not only far exceed the amount granted by Government in the new table of 1824, for each rank, but these new rates of house-rent are far inferior to those heretofore granted on all occasions, when the Government at the half batta stations of 1801, could not furnish the officers with quarters, as will be seen by the following scale.—

	Lieut.-Col.	Major.	Capt.	Lieut.	Ensign.
At Calcutta heretofore.....	180	180	135	90	90
At all other stations.....	120	120	90	60	60
Rates now applied, published 1824	100	80	50	30	25

So that it is not only the batta which is reduced, but the house rent granted in lieu of it is diminished, in general, from a third to one-half below the old rates.

2. *Officers' Horses.*—It is impossible in future that the subalterns, or perhaps the captains at half batta stations can purchase horses, or enjoy that accommodation which in our climate, in our extended cantonments, or in marching, is indispensable to the health, and consequently to the services of the officers being always available. Even the staff, field, and commanding officers are allowed but for one horse, and but one horse can they now keep. If that horse is sick or dies (a loss which recently occurred to myself, as I was obliged to shoot a fine Arab horse for the glanders at Balligunge, ten days after I had paid a large price for him, and not a rupee of remuneration can I expect from this Government), I leave his Excellency to judge how, on half batta, officers are to provide horses, or how the public service is to be carried on with a dismounted staff. Although Government do allow the staff for the keep of one horse, there is no allowance for the purchase of that horse, or compensation for his loss, in the infantry, except in battle.

3. The troops and their officers being always kept two months in arrears in Bengal, is no considerable aggravation of the measure, and is, in fact, inconsistent with it—they cannot exist together.

4. The expense of officers' regimental equipments.—As a Lieutenant-Colonel, it would not, perhaps, become me to urge this as any serious objection on my part; but I must respectfully urge, on behalf of the captains and subalterns, now compelled to provide the uniforms and equipments of their rank, directed in the General Order of the 28th of January, 1828, that I know not how in humanity I can enforce his Excellency's orders regarding dress, when, after so long a march from Kurnaul, and ruinous expense to the officers, the regiment arrives upon half batta. Hardly two officers in the regiment are dressed alike, though the orders are a year old; and they all urge with some reason, that they may be allowed to wear out entirely what they have got, before they incur an expense they are now so little able to afford. Orders are useless where equitable means of enforcing them are wanting.

5. The expenses of the band form another item of deduction from our officers.—We pay two per cent. from our regimental pay and allowances in support of it, and these allowances being reduced, the band sustains a loss of from 30 to 40 rupees a month in our diminished subscriptions. The Government only allow us some men as musicians, to whom we give in general double or extra pay, beside all the expense of a master (50 to 100 rupees per mensem), instruments, music, and clothing annually, which falls entirely on the officers. As the musicians are men enrolled, and therefore kept short as soldiers, Government, in fact, contribute nothing to the band; though it is still a public institution, and confers at least as much credit on the Government, as comfort or amusement to the officers. I would respectfully ask his Excellency how it can be supported as it ought, on half batta?

6. There is now no mess in the regiment. It was dissolved, I find, in 1827, at Kurnaul, and the half batta must render ineffectual every effort on my part to re-establish it. The officers, to do them justice, seem, in general, well disposed, active, and zealous young men; but whenever I mention a mess, they agree in its utility, &c., but ask me whence the subscriptions are to come, in order to effect it?

7. The situation of the medical officer in charge of the corps is not less pitiable than the rest: Mr. Rose, two years back, was with the 3d Cavalry, as assistant, under a surgeon, having no medical charge, and but little to do; he then received 395 rupees per month: next he went to the medical charge of the 71st Regiment Native Infantry at Bhopalpoore, where he drew 615 rupees, out of which paying the

medical charges of the corps (say 115 rupees) balance 500 rupees per month. By the recent orders of Government he is placed on half batta, the medical contract abolished, and after two years' service, and in medical charge of a regiment of nearly 900 officers and men, he receives Sonat rupees 261-3, or about 250 Sicca rupees per mensem, including the palanquin allowance and captain's half batta, which a lieutenant does not get. It is for his Excellency and the Supreme Government to decide, whether this is a fit remuneration, or how long gentlemen, on whose education so much time and expense are bestowed, will enter a service thus paid at 12,000 miles distance from their native country.

8. Amongst other indivious results of the order in question, I will beg leave to quote two circumstances, which probably were not anticipated, but which have a very strange effect. By the manner in which the half batta system was promulgated, it did not even reach this, the lowest station, till nine days after its taking effect. It was dated the 29th of November, first published in the *Gazette* of the 8th of December, which did not reach Barrackpore till next day. Thus it had all the effect of a retrospective order at all the stations or corps affected by it; and allowed no time to those injured by it to show cause against it. Secondly, by the manner of applying the order only to the regiments next arriving, the following results have been produced at Barrackpore —The 11th, 35th, 38th, and 53d regiments and officers just arrived, after long and expensive marches, are all placed on half batta, including Lieutenant-Colonels Doveton, Baddeley, Dun, and myself. The corps before here, the 2d and 59th regiments, stationary, and at far less expense than those just arrived (who, beside paying off marching establishments, have to provide and furnish their houses), are on full batta. These regiments are commanded by Majors Engleheart and Moore, who, though majors, and some in cantonment, receive the same rate of income with four officers superior in rank, and in their length of service! What must the officers, and the men in particular, conclude from such singular facts as these! No one envies Majors Engleheart and Moore their full batta, for it is but the common right of all in this army; but in an appeal against a measure so injurious as any reduction of the Indian officer's pay or regimental allowances, it is generally conceived that it has been executed also in such a way as to aggravate considerably the disgust with which every honest mind must view it, though perhaps not foreseen or intended. Bhagulpore, which is below Dinapore, a half batta station, is still on full batta; and so, I trust it will ever remain, by the restoration of that which was pledged to us at our entry into the service, at all stations of this army.

9. The Home Government, we understand, vindicate their claim to reduce our regimental allowances as they please, by virtue of a clause in the last charter, which they say confers on them that right. Now, Sir, admitting this, for the sake of argument, to be the fact, (though I strongly doubt it, except by their adopting a different interpretation of the word "regulate" from ours), I would humbly submit that the just use and the abuse of a power conferred, are two different things. I entered this service on a certain public table of regimental pay and allowances (that of 1796), looking merely at results and totals, and not at the particular items certainly; and by that table, in equity and reason, I have a right to expect to be paid in every successive rank I may attain in the service till I leave it, as a minimum standard. The Government may increase it, as His Majesty has so frequently done with his army, but cannot, without injustice to all in their service, reduce a single item. With those who may hereafter come into the service, or with the staff, and all other contingent allowances of an extra nature, the case is of course widely different, excepting always the staff-pay of general officers, which, as it formed part of the pay table of 1796, and is considered as a wind-up of our service, the common object of all officers before retirement, must be held as having conferred or established a right. That the home government have no fair precedent for a reduction of the allowances of their regimental officers, I must infer from their own conduct in 1796; when the established allowance of 30 rupees to all subalterns was struck off, it was only applied to those cadets appointed to their army after 1796; those then in the service continued to receive it, as long as one remained on the list!

10. Government having, in 1801, sold the bungalows at all the old half batta stations to the officers, and given them full batta, to cover the purchase and the expense (and we have shown in the regimental memorial that the Government made an excellent bargain of it, saving more than four lacs of rupees in seven years by the measure), they now wish to deprive the officers of the very equivalent tendered by themselves, and accepted by the army in lieu of the expenses of houses or quarters. The officers of the army having faithfully performed their part of this understood compact, and relieved the Government from a very considerable expense for the last twenty-eight years, cannot now be expected, in reason or equity, to part with the equivalent then received, without reflections on the transaction, which no just Government should incur, and which this army would most unwillingly adopt. I may add, Sir, that if our bungalows are burnt down, or are lost to us by a change of station, the Government make no compensation for them, but invariably reply "full batta was given in lieu of all expenses of houses or rent." I now appears that half batta is to form a similar substitute; and who can foresee where it is to end? The faith of Government was considered as pledged to the tables and regulations of 1796, and yet almost every valuable privilege, conferred by them, has gradually disappeared, the staff pay of generals therein fixed at 4800 rupees per month in the field, and 4400 in the provinces, was reduced, in 1816, to 3333 rupees, in all stations, with an allowance of 600 for tentage in the field only, which is not even allowed when the generals are marching on the tours of inspection. nor at Meerut, Cawnpore, Sagor, and Sirhind, to which stations the highest rate of tentage before applied. The table allowance of 1000 rupees to colonels of regiments, when present with them, was struck off in 1804, and now the personal allowances of all officers are to be reduced! What must the army infer from this, and to what reflections must it not necessarily give rise?

11. It is also deserving of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's consideration, how seriously the orphan and military funds may be affected by these orders. The officers, now in the service, are bound to subscribe to the former institution up to the rank of major, inclusive, but, as they all allege, that is no longer binding on them, when the means or conditions of paying the subscription are broken or taken away. None beyond the rank of major will now continue to subscribe, who have not an interested view in so doing. Every public institution will be dissolved or ruined, that has heretofore been supported by the subscriptions of the officers. The Military and Orphan Funds and expenses will be left on the shoulders of Government; the regimental bands, messes, and libraries dissolved: discontent, and all its train, will follow; the army will only exist in name, and then I may safely trust to his Excellency's judgment to inform the Government of what may be expected to ensue.

12. The reply of the Honourable the Court of Directors to the Memorial of the Madras Officers, dated the 15th of September, 1809, par. 61 to 71, of which I beg to enclose you a transcript.—It is impossible, Sir, to add to the force or the reason of the arguments therein urged by the Honourable Court in defence of our rights. They have advocated them in stronger and in better language than we could do ourselves; and they refer to principles, of which every man of sense, candour, and education, must acknowledge the truth; for if 'right reason, equity, and the nature of things,' contain an invariable, universal standard, by those principles alone do we wish our cause to be judged; and as our rights are certainly not to be affected by any thing that has occurred since that letter was written, we may refer to it with all the confidence which the immutable nature of truth and natural justice must inspire.

13. Since the memorial was written, it has been my lot to be ordered down to Calcutta, as member of a general court-martial, which, as there are several to be tried, and some intricate tedious cases, may last several weeks, if not months! I am on half batta, and the allowance I receive for house rent is only about two-thirds of what I actually pay for a house. I therefore respectfully submit to his Excellency, how I am to provide a house in Calcutta also? The distance is too great for the six members from Barrackpore to return thither; but at the long adjournments; quarters are denied us in the fort, which is full also; and it cannot be the intention of any

Government that officers on half batta should have either tents or cattle, for this plain reason—that it is entirely impossible, that on half batta they could either purchase or keep them up in this country.

14. Finally, Sir, I hope I may be permitted to add, with reference to officers of my own rank, that Government, by placing us on half batta, at the four lower and principal stations of the army, have thus rendered the situation of the invalid lieutenant-colonel far superior to one in active service, and commanding a regiment of the line. Every invalid lieutenant-colonel commands either a battalion of invalids, of provincials, or an invalid fannah. I leave it to your discretion, Sir, to point out to his Excellency the fact of this superiority in allowances (not to mention his liberation from all the expenses of marching establishments, horses, tents, cattle, and even numerous servants) of the lieutenant-colonel of invalids over one in active service, when on half batta particularly, as only one of the absurd results of the measure discussed, and to assure his Lordship, that so far from wishing the invalid lieutenant-colonel's advantages to be reduced, I only desire to see them augmented. I have mentioned the matter merely as one of the anomalies attending the present order.

In conclusion, I claim his Excellency's pardon for this intrusion on his time and on yours. I have only done so from a principle of public duty, that in forwarding the memorial of the regiment, I felt myself bound to supply its deficiencies from my own experience, imperfectly as it has been done. To your longer experience of this army, I must refer his Lordship for any further explanations required, and to the decision and high authority of his Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief, I confidently leave the rest. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

(Signed)

G. P. BAKER,

Lieutenant-Colonel, commanding the 11th Regiment of Native Infantry.

To Colonel C. PAGAN,

Adjutant General of the Army, Head-Quarters.

(Extract from the State Papers in 'The Asiatic Annual Register' of 1812.)

GENERAL LETTER FROM THE HONOURABLE COURT OF DIRECTORS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF FORT ST. GEORGE, DATED THE 15TH OF SEPTEMBER, 1809.

#### MILITARY DEPARTMENT.

61. The address then again reverts to the claim of an equalization of military allowances at Madras and Bengal, a claim which, though it neither be grounded on any solid principles, nor can ever be admitted as the basis of any practicable regulation, we shall examine somewhat more in detail than we have thought necessary in considering the other subjects of the address, because it is a question of extensive prospect, embracing many points besides the one brought before us.

62. In the different presidencies of the Company in India, distinctions have from the beginning subsisted in respect to emoluments and advantages (not only in the military, but in every other department); these distinctions have arisen from the comparative importance of the presidencies themselves, and of the public business to be transacted under them.

63. Thus Bengal, the first great territorial possession of the Company, had its establishments early settled with some analogy to its income, and that country, as being the seat of government, the centre of the British interests in India, came to have a standard of public allowances, which could not be exactly imitated at the other presidencies under very different circumstances.

64. The style of living also among the Europeans has, we presume, gradually adapted itself to the scale of income.

65. The persons nominated to civil and military employments have entered the services perfectly aware of these inequalities; and are therefore not entitled to expect that they should afterwards be removed.

66. The Company have hence always resisted the idea of a general equalization of allowances and emoluments of the different presidencies, as not founded on right or reason, or the nature of things.

67. Supposing for a moment that such a principle could be admitted and enforced, the consequence in the present state of the finances of the Company must be to reduce the few remaining distinctions of the Bengal presidency to a level with those of Madras and Bombay, as it would be utterly impossible to provide for the extreme of raising the emoluments of the inferior presidencies to a level with those of Bengal, extended as this rise must be to all the civil as well as military branches of the service, if once the principle of equalization were adopted.

68. In all the presidencies, however, the scale of allowances has been more than sufficient for comfortable subsistence, and in the case of all the private and non-commissioned officers of the army, the rates have been at all times very generally the same at all the presidencies.

69. From a concurrence of circumstances it has also happened that an approximation to an equalization of allowances has in fact taken place, in so far as to reduce the allowances of the Bengal military service generally, almost to an equality with those of the other presidencies; and if the comparative slowness of promotion at that presidency be taken into the estimates, it might not be incorrect to say, that the military service in Bengal has not been for many years past on a superior footing, upon the whole, than at either of the other presidencies.

If the Madras officers possess a reasonable plea to have all their allowances put on a level with those of Bengal, the Bengal officers have a plea, at least as specious, to an equalization of rank in proportion to length of service. The infantry have the same plea of complaint against the quicker promotion in the cavalry, and the artillery against both. In short, there can be no end to the operation of this principle of equalization, if it is allowed to supersede all established usages, and all consideration of expediency.

70. The regimental allowances, however, both officers and men, are very nearly the same at all the presidencies, and whenever mere comfortable subsistence is concerned, it has been the object of the public regulations at all times to approximate as nearly to an equality of allowances as the local circumstances of each presidency have admitted.

71. But staff and other extra allowances rest upon a different foundation. They are gratuitous advantages, conferred on individuals at the pleasure and discretion of the Government, and are calculated, not with reference to what other men receive, who may perhaps perform similar services in other places, but in reference to the means of the governing powers, and the view which it may take of the merits and services of the receiver.

We are, your loving friends,

(Signed)

CHARLES GRANT.  
WILLIAM ATELL.  
WILLIAM BENSLEY.  
HENRY INGLIS.  
SAMUEL TOONE.  
CHARLES MILLS.  
WILLIAM WIGRAM.

GEORGE MILLET.  
JOHN INGLIS.  
R. C. FLOWDEN.  
G. A. ROBINSON.  
ROBERT WILLIAMS.  
JOHN HUDLESTON.

London, the 15th September, 1809.

## INDIAN NEWS—CALCUTTA.

A CONTEMPORARY paper states, that on the return of the Governor-General, the government will be removed from the presidency to the upper provinces. We believe the fact to be this, that his Lordship considers that wherever he may be, there ought to be the government; and that in his projected tour to the upper provinces, the Governor-General will require the members of council and secretaries to accompany him, in order to constitute the government, and to conduct its business; and whoever may be left in immediate authority over us, will not have, we believe, any discretionary power in any matter of importance, but will have to refer his proposed measures to head quarters, unless in some very emergent case. All these changes sufficiently indicate that a very material alteration in the constitution of the government of this country is contemplated on the expiration of the charter.—*Beng. Hur. Feb. 25.*

*Rail Roads.*—A proposition has been suggested for the introduction of Rail Roads into Bengal.

*Permission to Europeans to hold Land.*—Official information has been published by the Government Secretary, dated 17th Feb., intimating that the resolution of the 7th May, 1824, shall no longer be confined to lands required for coffee plantations, but that the same principle shall be applied to all cases in which Europeans may desire to occupy lands for the cultivation of indigo or other agricultural purposes. Attached to the intimation is a string of regulations, one of which is, that Europeans are to hold the lands not as proprietors, but as lessees.

In animadverting on the above regulation, the editor of 'The Bengal Hurkaru,' remarks:—

'Let the power of summary transmission be repealed, and we may then consider that species of colonization granted, for which we have contended. The local authorities have in this very measure which reflects great honour upon them, given the sanction of their approval of it, to the utmost extent of their power, and the rest will follow in the train of those changes already decided on. We consider this regulation as it now stands, an official tribute to the value of colonization, and the commencement of that measure so essential to the interests of the British in India and those of the mother country involved in them. Under the present government we feel assured that the law of Transmission, like the equally odious and disgraceful Press Regulation will be a dead letter, and with the expiration of the charter, both of these impolite and unconstitutional enactments will we feel confident expire with it. With regard to colonization, the prejudices of some of those once most hostile to the measure are giving way; and for the press the change of opinion in regard to it is perhaps even more complete; so that we hope India will never again exhibit such an undignified scene as that of a British government exerting its power to crush the humble proprietor or printer of a useful Journal.'

*Assaulting Sheriff's Officers.*—A prevalent practice among the young officers in India, is to assist one another in cases of attempted arrests, to beat off the sheriff's officer. The grand jury have found a true bill against Lieut. Wade, of the artillery, for assaulting severely under these circumstances, Mr. Ross, a sheriff's-officer. It is expected that the court will award very heavy damages.

*Destroying Vermin in Vessels by Steam.*—A long and circumstantial report has been published by order of the Governor in Council, of an experiment tried upon the Company's ship 'Investigator,' at Calcutta, to destroy vermin, with which she was found to be very much infested. The following is extracted from the official report:—

'We had the Hon. Company's steamer *Irrawaddy* moored alongside the *Investigator*, and having fitted two lead pipes furnished with stopcocks to the head of the *Irrawaddy's* boiler, by means of a new manholl cover, we led the pipes into the *Investigator*, and put them down the fore and after hatchways into the hold. We



had, in the mean time, closed the scuttles of the *Investigator's* sides, as well as all the hatches; the stern and gallery windows, and the entire front of the poop, boring at the same time a hole in each gallery cell, to allow the steam to come up from the hold into the cuddy. We also fitted a pipe having a stopcock on it, to the main hatchway, which was opened occasionally to observe the state of the steam in case of danger from its overpressure. These preparations being made, we had the fires of the *Irrawaddy's* boiler lighted at 11 A.M. on the 7th ultimo, so as to let on the steam at noon the same day. By six o'clock the same evening, the steam began to show itself at the scuttles and at the hatches, and the poop and upper deck began to feel hot. We continued the steaming for forty-eight hours, by which time the whole of the decks and sides even to the outside copper close to the water's edge was so heated as to be scarcely touched by the hand. On opening the hatches to ascertain the result of the operation, we were pleased to see the effectual manner in which the penetrating heat of the steam had destroyed the vermin. The white ants appeared reduced to a substance like soap, and the cockroaches and rats to a soft pulp, capable of being washed down into the timbers. The putrid smell of animal decomposition came on at the end of twenty-four hours, but did not continue above a day. The paint on the beams and sides was shrivelled and peeled off, and the leather which covered the ring bolts in the cuddy was converted into charcoal. We have satisfaction in being able to report that we discover no injurious effect on the caulking, and further, the steaming for the destruction of vermin seems perfectly feasible, either of afloat or in dock, whether about to undergo repair, or to proceed to sea. The only circumstance demanding attention in the latter case, is, that the ship will require new painting. Although the destruction of vermin by steaming may be resorted to under all circumstances, yet the steaming the vessels in dock previous to their undergoing their usual quinquennial repair of caulking and coppering, will be the most desirable. The speedy riddance of rats, cockroaches, centipedes, and scorpions, would alone be of importance. The waste of property by the two first is very considerable, and fumigation is frequently employed to get rid of them. Smoking is dangerous, inasmuch as many ships have been burned in the process—but although smoking kills rats, it will not kill cockroaches, nor white ants, neither has it the slightest destructive effect on their eggs,—so that while the larger tribe of noxious animals may be got rid of by this means, the smaller, and much more dangerous ones, the white ants, are left to destroy the ship. Smoking is no doubt an effectual measure for the extirpation of these insects, but is one which can be resorted to only in small ships, and in them even at considerable risk of entire loss, and at considerable expense, a great waste of time in the employment of the vessel, and the disadvantage of laying a foundation, by the introduction of mud, for a future more successful attack. In fact it has invariably been found, that vessels which had been sunk to kill white ants were speedily infested afterwards, and rapidly destroyed. The being enabled to eradicate white ants from Indian ships, must have the effect of giving an enhanced value to this description of property. It is on record, as well as a truth familiar to the officers of the Marine Department, that several government vessels have been entirely destroyed by white ants. The success of the present experiment may form an era in the history of Indian shipping. The steaming of vessels to destroy vermin, must speedily come into general use; then the only wonder will be, that seeing the common application of steam to almost every purpose, its excellence for fumigation was not in this country sooner suggested.

*Supreme Court.*—At the session of Oyer and Terminer on the 27th February, Richard Thompson, before Sir John Franks, was indicted for wilfully and maliciously attempting to burn the ship *Penang Merchant*, with intent to defraud the Hope Insurance Company. The prisoner had once moved in a respectable circle of society, and had employed a friend at Calcutta, in Autumn, to insure gold dust and pearls, to be shipped from Macao in the *Penang Merchant*, to the amount of 1,200,000 sicca rupees. The vessel was set on fire on the voyage, but happily the fire was got under without injury. Suspicion fell upon the prisoner as the emissary, and the property he had on board was subsequently ascertained not to be worth a twentieth part of the sum for which it had been insured.

On opening the court on the 18th, Sir John Franks in addressing the *Grand Jury*, congratulated them on the lightness of the calendar, not more than six or seven cases appearing for trial.

Among other changes which have taken place, we learn that the sanatorium is abolished, and the sick officers are now to take up their quarters in the fort. Of all places else, we should have thought that would have been the last for the sick, from the excessive heat which prevails in it. Heaven help the feverish patients who are removed to it in these grilling days!—*Ben. Hurk. February 28.*

*School Society.*—The members of this society met on the 25th February last, at the Town Hall, Calcutta; Sir Edward Ryan in the chair. The statements of the secretary were perfectly satisfactory regarding the success of their object, but it appeared that the funds would have been inadequate for their purposes during the last year, had not the European Secretary generously come forward with a handsome donation. The Hon. Sir Charles E. Grey was elected president, and the Hon. Sir Edward Ryan, the Hon. W. B. Bayley, and Sir C. T. Metcalf, were elected vice-presidents of the society. The Governor-General consented to become patron. A subscription, amounting to 1,260 rupees, was collected on the occasion.

*Asiatic Society.*—The members of this institution held their first anniversary dinner, at their rooms in Chowringhee, on the 14th of February last. About eighty persons were present. Sir Charles Grey was in the chair, supported by the Hon. Mr. Bayley and Sir C. Metcalf. Amongst the toasts given, 'To the memory of Sir William Jones,' was drunk in solemn silence.

*Anglo-Indian College.*—The annual examination of the pupils of this institution took place at the Government House, before the Right Hon. Governor-General and Lady William Bentinck, on the 19th February last. About 400 pupils were present, consisting of the children of the principal inhabitants of Bengal. Seventeen classes were examined in different branches of literature, and exhibited specimens of drawing and penmanship, and also a number of essays on different subjects were read. The progress which the pupils have made, called forth the most decided approbation of the audience.

*Retrenchments.*—The system of reduction which is now generally adopting in the Company's service, has called forth in the country several weighty anonymous expostulations through the medium of the journals. The medical profession are loud in their complaints: several curtailments have lately been effected in their allowances; and the profession is represented as being now unworthy of pursuing in India.

*Local Improvements.*—The roads in the eastern suburbs of Calcutta are undergoing a thorough repair; some of them are to be widened, and other improvements are to be effected which will be conducive both to the comfort and health of the inhabitants in particular all the superfluous vegetation is to be removed. A canal from the northward to Chitpore, by that adjoining the Salt Water Lake, and terminating at Entally is commenced, and a still more important improvement, with a view to diminish the causes of malaria, is in contemplation, namely, to drain the Salt Water Lake.

*Commander-in-Chief.*—We understand, that his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief left Allahabad by water on the morning of the 13th February, and reached Mirzapore on the 15th, and proceeded, without going on shore, on the 16th to Chunar, where his lordship arrived about noon the same day, and attended by Colonel Dawkins and Captains Archer and Cotton, landed under a salute—and inspected the Fort, after which his lordship rejoined the fleet, which had passed on and anchored off Sultanpore.

The following official notice has been published.—The Governor-General invites the communication of all suggestions tending to promote any branch of national industry; to improve the commercial intercourse by land and water, to amend any defects in the existing establishments, to encourage the diffusion of education and useful knowledge, and to advance the general prosperity and happiness of the

British empire in India. This invitation is addressed to all Native gentlemen, landholders, merchants and others, to all Europeans both in and out of the Service, including that useful and respectable body of men the indigo planters, who, from their uninterrupted residence in the Mofussil, have peculiar opportunities of forming an opinion upon some of these subjects. Communications to be addressed to the private or military secretary of the Governor-General. By command, A. Dolbs, private secretary.—*Govt. House, 23d. Feb. 1829.*

On the morning of the 17th, his Excellency, attended by Col. Fagan, adjutant-general, the military secretary, and the whole staff, reviewed the 6th light cavalry, after which his lordship accompanied Mr. Hamilton to Benares, where his Excellency put up with Mr. Brooke, agent to the Governor-General.

The troops at Benares were reviewed on the 18th by the Commander-in-Chief, and in the evening, his lordship and staff were elegantly entertained by Sir Frederic Hamilton, Baronet; after which his Excellency and suite proceeded to their boats, and the fleet sailed at day-break, on the 19th instant.

His lordship, we are happy to understand, was in the enjoyment of excellent health.—*Govt. Gaz. March 2d.*

## MADRAS.

### COURTS OF JUSTICE.

From parliamentary papers that have been published, it appears that the East India Company Directors are of opinion that the officers of the Courts of Judicature are overpaid. The fees of Court having been alleged to be insufficient remuneration, a guarantee was granted by the Company in 1827 to pay the deficiency, which guarantee is intended to be withdrawn by the Company on account of the salaries and emoluments being now so ample. This promised alteration excites considerable discontent among the Law Officers, and is denounced by them as a breach of contract on the part of the Directors with his Majesty. It is suggested that a steam boat be provided for the sole judge, the Recorder, to visit each station four times a year, that he may be present at all the civil and criminal sessions of the settlement, and it is calculated that then the fees of Court would fully defray the expense of the establishment.

*Insolvent Debtors' Court.*—This Court was opened for the first time in this Presidency on the 31st March.

## BOMBAY.

### SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE.

*Writs of Habeas Corpus.*—*Rex v. Pandoorung Hirrajee, Mahdow Souba, Francisco de Rosa, and Shewba Sinoy.* The circumstances of this case have occupied a great portion of public attention in India, and the extraordinary issue of the affair is likely to engross still more, as it, according to the declaration of Sir J. P. Grant, forms a new era in law, and will in all probability be the means of causing some new appointments among the law officers.

Pandoorung Hirrajee claimed an account of dealings and transactions amounting to 11,425,340 rupees of Moro Ragonath, a boy, aged thirteen years, who resided with his uncle and guardian at Poonah; and along with some other relations the uncle was included with the boy in the debt. On the 9th of July 1828, Hirrajee, with the other persons named, went to the residence of Moro Ragonath, and presented a paper which they pretended to be an order of the Supreme Court of Bombay, directing the immediate attendance of the boy. Moro Ragonath was unwilling to go, and his relations with whom he resided offered to give ample securities for his attendance in any way other than being taken by that authority. Hirrajee and his party, however, refused all compromise on the subject, threatened the relations with a fine of 30,000 rupees, and ultimately carried away the boy under colour of the fictitious order of the Supreme Court.

Next day, the guardian of Moro Ragonath despatched messengers after his ward, and they recovered him from Hirrajee and his party. And for the abduction of the boy, application was made by his relatives to the Supreme Court to proceed against Hirrajee and the others by information. The boy had, it was alleged, settled and adjusted the balance of accounts claimed at Bombay during the time he was taken possession of by Hirrajee. When the application was made to the Court, by moving an information against the abductors, "Pandoorung Hirrajee, Mahdow Souba, Francisco de Rosa, and Shewba Sinoy, for a conspiracy to obtain possession of the person of Moro Ragonath, an infant, by illegal means, under colour of this Honourable Court."

The application was supported by a string of affidavits which carried forward the facts of the case, excepting that it became necessary to have the boy into Court to identify the paper, the fictitious order, as being the same paper with which he was served by the defendants at the time he was by them carried from under the protection of his guardian. This was suggested by the counsel for the defendants, contending that the evidence was broken. In consequence of this, the judge, Sir J. P. Grant, decided upon having the boy brought into Court; but another difficulty arose in the process, for as the boy resided at Poonah, he was without the ordinary jurisdiction of the Court, and could not be brought upon an ordinary summons. The judge then came to a determination of issuing a writ of habeas corpus for the production of Moro Ragonath.

It was said by the counsel for the defendants, that this was nothing more than an ordinary case of malicious arrest, and consequently not a case of sufficient magnitude to justify the extraordinary interposition of the Court.

The case was repeatedly adjourned and subjected to technical delays, and engrossed the serious attention of the two judges, Sir J. P. Grant and Mr. Chambers, who considered and re-considered the matter, and at last, in an elaborate speech delivered in Court on the 29th of February, Sir J. P. Grant stated that the opinion of his brother judge coincided with his own, and that after the most deliberate and grave consideration, and having industriously searched for authority, and precedents, which he cited at full, he granted the writ of habeas corpus.

At this stage of the proceedings, Mr. Advocate General opposed the order, and in answer to a question from Mr. Justice Grant, Mr. Advocate General said he could have no hesitation in stating that he did not appear in this case for any private person; that the prosecution was proceeded in by the Government, who thought it their duty to bring the case before the Court, and would become bound to answer for the costs to the defendants in the manner suggested by the Court. Mr Justice Grant said that was perfectly satisfactory, and he then proceeded to deliver his judgment at great length, and the writ was issued.

The grounds of the judge's authority for granting the writ to be executed without the bounds of the district is founded on the practice and prerogative of the Court of King's Bench, where, in cases of necessity, extraordinary powers were exercised; and he argued that as the Government of England extended all over that part of India, that the boy might, as a subject of his Majesty of Britain, be brought from his present residence, although without the ordinary jurisdiction of the Court of Bombay; and particularly as it was in affidavit that he **had once** resided in Bombay.

The writ was issued, and the officers of the Court were dispatched to serve it on the guardian of the boy, but they were repulsed by military, who stated that they were instructed so to do by orders from the governor. The attempt to put in execution the authority of the Court was several times repeated, and on one occasion the military, who acted by orders of the governor, hinted that their instructions to repel the service of the writ went as far as extremities, even to the effusion of blood.

An official correspondence was carried on between the governor and council and Sir J. P. Grant, in which the latter contended with much dignity for the prerogative of a judge, and the sacred character of the authority of the Court. The

governor, on the other hand, asserted his right of interference; and adhered to his determination of preventing the execution of the writ. The ground of the governor's conduct he founded on the principle that the present residence of the boy placed him under the jurisdiction of the native Court of Poonah, and that it was contrary to the intention of the British Government to disturb the institutions of the Natives by undue interference.

The long and formidable controversy between the two great authorities at last resolved itself into a determination of the two judges, Sir J. P. Grant and Mr. Chambers in forwarding a petition to England on the subject, which was set about; but before it was completed Mr. Chambers died; and then Sir J. P. Grant remodelled the petition, and after serving the civil authorities of India with a copy, forwarded it to England in his own name as the petitioner.

On the 1st of September, when Mr. Justice Grant took his seat, he said he had to communicate a resolution which he had most unwillingly come to. "I am," said he "placed in a situation which indeed I cannot call difficult since I have only one course to take, but which is exceedingly painful, because that course must be attended with great loss to many individuals and with much public and general inconvenience. I have the consolation to think that I cannot accuse myself of having contributed to this even in the least degree, either from any infirmity of temper which, God knows, I am conscious I am not always free from, or from any error in judgment, which I believe myself yet more subject to, if it be not that too great forbearance may have encouraged a mistake in regard to my character and my office. Unlawful compliances as a judge have been demanded of me by the persons exercising the local government of this Presidency. But as it was said by the judges of the Common Pleas in England on a memorable occasion, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, 'if the fear of God were departed from them, yet the examples of others' and the punishment of those who had in former times offended against the laws would deter them from committing the like offences'—So I say now, that if my own conscience were not sufficient to render such compliances on my part impossible, the honourable examples which English judges in all ages have set me in more important and hazardous contests, would be sufficient without the danger of impeachment, which I must in that case now prevent my yielding in the petty struggle which this Court is now so unworthily and innocently engaged in.

It has been demanded of this Court to conform its judicial acts to the notions the governor and council here may adopt in relation to what they may conceive cases of political expediency which have not been so considered by the legislature. It has been demanded of it to frame its judgments according to the uncertain estimate it may form of this capricious measure of justice, and in conformity therewith to grant or refuse the protection and redress of the law to such persons, as being aggrieved in matters of private right, shall apply for them. It has been demanded of it to issue the King's writ of Habeas Corpus to such officers of the company's provincial Courts, as may have any of the king's subjects, be they Englishmen or Indians, unlawfully imprisoned; although since the passing of the statute, erecting the Supreme Court of Judicature at Calcutta, in 1773, six and forty years ago, nearly coeval with any thing deserving to be called the British empire in India, writs of Habeas Corpus have been so directed by every Court of the king established at the several presidencies, whether Recorder's Courts or Supreme Courts, nor did it ever occur to any judge or lawyer in India or in England, that there was the slightest doubt of these Courts being bound by their oaths so to issue them on just and probable causes.

As representing the sacred justice of the king, in however remote and obscure a corner of his dominions, it was the duty of the Court to administer justice as the king is bound to do by Magna Charta, namely, "that he shall let to no man, that he shall deny to no man, that he shall defer to no man, justice or right," and how could the Court refuse to deliver to any applying for it the King's Writ of Habeas Corpus, directed to any one who kept him unlawfully imprisoned. And for any judge to hesitate whether any command of any governor of a province abroad, or of any authority whatsoever at home, even of the king, could justify the so proceeding

was impossible, for it is more than 200 years since the result of many parliamentary declarations from the earliest times were summed up by Lord Coke in the following words, 'that by no means common right or common law; shall be disturbed or delayed, not though it be commanded under the great seal or privy seal, order, writ, letters, message or commandment, whatsoever, either from the king or any other, and that the justices shall proceed as if no such writs, letters, order, message or other commandment were come to them.'

Nor were the judges without examples, in the conduct of their predecessors, of practical illustrations of this doctrine. When the judges, before Lord Coke's work were written, were engaged in a contest with a corporation yet more powerful than the East India Company, namely, the whole Church of England, who demanded of them that they should not grant prohibitions to the Church Courts in the way accustomed, the judges made that answer to the ecclesiastical judges which I now make to the governor and council of this little presidency. 'It is a strange presumption in them to require that the King's Courts shall not do that which by law they ought to do, and have always done, and which by oath they are bound to do. And if this shall be holden inconvenient, and they can in discharge of us obtain some Act of Parliament to take it from us, they shall do unto us a great case. But the law of the realm cannot be changed but by Parliament, and what relief or ease such an act may work to the subject wise men will soon find out, and discern.'

He then cited at length the famous controversy of Queen Elizabeth with the judges of the Court of Common Pleas, in which the latter made the obligation of their oaths an argument for refusing to alter the practice of their Court, when her Majesty required them; and her Majesty's submission to their determination on being convinced that their conduct was constitutional, that she sacrificed her own will and inclination rather than the existing laws and practice of the Court should be violated.

I have been induced to translate this report at some length, and refer to the answer of all the judges of England to the Church in King James the First's reign, and to the summary made by Lord Coke, of the nature of an English judge's duty, in reference to attempts by persons in authority to induce him either to act, or to abstain from acting, otherwise than agreeably to his interpretation of the law—by the consideration of two very material errors which seem to me to prevail here.

The errors I mean are these; first in regard to the totally independent, secluded and unbending nature of the office and character of an English judge—independent of all fear of displeasure, and all hopes of reward—secluded from the influence of all views of political expediency, and even from the knowledge of the wishes or opinions of the government; unbending, as bound to an even course of action by the most solemn engagements, the bequest of unimpeachable integrity and moral courage transmitted to him through a long line of official predecessors, and the observant confidence of an enlightened and virtuous nation. The second error is this; that it seems not to be understood that the king's judges in India are invested with the same dignity, entrusted with the same authority, and bound by the same obligations with his judges in England. This Court is of higher dignity in this presidency than the Court of Common Pleas in the realm of England—and from the nature of its jurisdiction, it is more essential that it should be on its guard against the influence or interference of those in power. Yet it seems to have been supposed either that the king's judges in India are not bound by the same oaths with his judges in England, or that the Court here would not dare to refuse that compliance with the commands of the governor and council of Bombay, which the Court of Common Pleas refused to yield to the commands of Queen Elizabeth, in the fulness of her power, and in the greatest splendour of her glory. But Queen Elizabeth well knew that the independence and integrity of her judges were the greatest safeguards of her throne, and it would have been well if those intrusted with the government here had followed her example, and had ventured to doubt their own notions of the law, when they found them in direct opposition to the opinions of the judges.

The well-known letter addressed by the Governor and Council to the judges, so far back as under date the 3d of October last, announced to the judges the desire of the Governor and Council that the Court should abstain from any acts, legal or not legal, which, under measures they did not mention the nature of, would produce collision with their authority, which acts, if the judges should perform them, the Governor and Council intimate their intention to oppose. It was an opposition to acts legal or not, for the words used were, '*howsoever legal you, the judges, may deem them*'—and there being no other persons who can decide on their illegality, if the judges deem them legal they must be taken to be legal, until, in such cases as may be lawfully appealed from, their decision shall be reversed by the Court of Appeal. It was an offer of opposition which in all cases set the law at defiance, and what the acts might be, which the government would so oppose, was left general and indefinite. So that when performing any act, or resolving on any act, the Court could not know whether it was to be opposed or not.

This was therefore announcing to the whole population, as well as to the Court itself, the assumption of a power to resist the decisions and the process of the Court when the Governor and Council should think fit,—a power to control the Court, whereas the Court was established, as declared in Parliament, to control *them*. It was, so far as in them lay, a complete inversion of the respective positions of the authorities by law. They are bound to govern according to law: what is the law, is *ex-necessitate* to be declared by the King's judges under the sanction of their oaths.

After recapitulating the whole circumstances of the affair, he said —

They must either believe that the sacred justice of the king is a puppet to be played with at their pleasure, or that the balance has fallen into the unsteady and trembling hands of infancy or of dotage.

He then recited the correspondence with the Governor, and annalverbed on the reply received, and stated his having appealed to England, and concluded with saying:

I have carefully weighed all the evils of a temporary closing of the doors of His Majesty's Court of Judicature; but I have no longer any choice.—It is not I who close its doors, but those who have taken upon themselves to paralyze its authority, and to render its attempts to exercise it the occasions of unlawful violence, or the objects of unseemly contempt.

I have therefore to announce that this Court has ceased on all its sides, and that I shall perform none of the functions of a judge of the Supreme Court, until the Court receives an assurance that its authority will be respected, and its process obeyed, and rendered effectual by the government of this presidency.

The Insolvent Debtor's Court, being a separate Court from the Supreme Court, and the closing it upon the hopes of so many who are now looking to it for relief, carrying with it so much apparent hardship, I shall sit in that Court on the days appointed—in the hope that the Supreme Court may be restored to its functions before there can be a necessity for any appeal to it from the Court for the relief of Insolvent Debtors.

On the receipt of the judge's petition, His Majesty's Council came to the following decision:—'That the writs of *habeas corpus* were improperly issued in the two cases referred to in the petition of Sir J. P. Grant. That the Supreme Court has no power or authority to issue a writ of *habeas corpus*, except when directed either to a person resident within those local limits wherein such Court has a general jurisdiction, or to a person out of such local limits, who is personally subject to the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. That the Supreme Court has no power or authority to issue a writ of *habeas corpus* to the gaoler or officer of a Native court as such officer, the Supreme Court having no power to discharge persons imprisoned under the authority of a Native court. That the Supreme Court is bound to notice the jurisdiction of the Native court, without having the same specially set forth in the return to a writ of *habeas corpus*.'

*Insolvent Debtors' Court.*—This Court was opened for the first time with an able congratulatory address by Mr. Justice GRANT, on the 16th March. He took a review of the benefits likely to be derived to society from the introduction of the administration of the laws regarding insolvency, and the natural tendency they would have to constrain persons exposed to temptations from the facility afforded them of obtaining credit, and consequently embarrassing themselves by living in extravagance beyond their income. As the security of creditors will in time be considerably shaken by the introduction, Mr. Justice GRANT infers that more care will, by them, be bestowed in considering whom they should admit to be their debtors; and the ruinous circumstances, which have hitherto so generally prevailed in India, be in a great measure checked. The Judge, at the conclusion of his address, announced that in framing the regulations, the Court had adhered strictly to the provisions of the act, with such variation of arrangement, and the supply of such additional provisions under the power it confers, as appeared necessary; promising, at the same time, that wherein they might, by experience, be found deficient, that due attention should be paid to correct whatever was found to be erroneous, and to assimilate the practice of the Court to the interests of the country. Mr. IRWIN, Barrister, is appointed to the office of Examiner, Mr. FRANK, Prothonotary of the Supreme Court, to be common Assignee; and Mr. Caw, to be Clerk. The Court is to be held more frequently at the commencement than once a month, which the act requires.

*Insolvent Debtors' Act.*—Regarding the introduction at this Presidency of the Insolvent Debtors' Act, we offer our congratulations to the community on an event which, while it will tend materially to alter the whole character of British society in India, must be productive of the most beneficial consequences to those persons, whether European or Native, whose embarrassments would otherwise consign them to perpetual incarceration. It is well known to every person who has at all given his attention to the habits of the European community in India, that, notwithstanding the liberal allowances of the services, and the average profits of the traders, the majority have, for a number of years, lived in a style utterly incompatible with their actual means, and have theretofore been constantly under pecuniary obligations to Shroffs and other money lenders. To be some thousand rupees in debt on an income of two or three hundred rupees a month, has long ceased to be an extraordinary or disgraceful condition; while to live within compass, or to be dispossessed of property, has been accounted something marvellous and incomprehensible. Every writer on 'Society in India,' every author of a *Vade-mecum* or *Young Man's best Companion*, has touched on the facilities with which fair credit to an enormous extent may be obtained in India, and has dilated on the ruinous consequences to youth of taking advantage of such easy access to money. Others again have enlarged upon the baneful effects of the system, and have shown the great evil resulting to our political condition from the pecuniary difficulties of persons entrusted with the administration of Justice, the collection of revenue, or the exercise of diplomatic charges. But these salutary counsels have too frequently been slighted, and we fear numbers of Englishmen now live to attest in their own persons the sad effects of purchasing transient gratification at the risk of becoming the tools and dupes of avaricious or designing Natives. The operation of the Insolvent Act will, we expect, strongly tend to reform this dangerous state of things. Few Natives have hitherto lent money or delivered goods without apparently good security for its reimbursement or payment at some future period. The creation of a means to escape payment, when the worst comes to the worst, necessarily lessens the value of all personal security, and hence will spring a general disinclination on the part of capitalists to afford accommodation to the needy: already, indeed, the bazar shroffs and others draw close their purse strings under the well grounded idea that restitution of borrowed money grows daily more problematical. The upshot of this caution may be seen at once. Every man will be compelled to live within his income; the demand for numerous expensive articles of life will consequently decrease, and their prices eventually fall so low as to preclude their importation, if European, or their cultivation, if indigenous, with any prospect of profit to the trader or manufacturer. With the disappearance of the material for display, the éclat attending European establishments must likewise vanish, and hence will arise a question whether our national conse-



quence will be affected by the adoption of moderate habits amongst a people fond of, accustomed to, and attracted by, external marks of dignity. We should say, for our parts, that the artificial strength, resulting from outward appearances, on which so great a stress has hitherto been laid, has been far from beneficial to the real interests of either the conquerors or the conquered. While it has directly tended to impoverish both, it has accustomed the former to indulgences with which it will now be painful, though essential, to dispense, and has to a certain degree lost them the confidence of the latter. It may perhaps be thought that in these observations we rather overrate the effects of the introduction of the Insolvent Act. The evil of granting extensive credit without solid security for repayment would, it may possibly be argued, cure itself, independently of the existence of any such 'white washing' act. The experience of years, the aspect of things as they are, and the character of the Natives furnish the best reply to this, and we verily believe that had it not been for the expected operation of this new act, the diseased system we have noticed would have continued for many years to come, only ceasing with the exhaustion of the country or the decline of European preponderance.—*Bombay Courier*, March 21.

*Scotch Church in India.*—A communication having appeared in a Bombay paper, the object of which was to expose the hardships entailed on those persons who, having been married at the Scotch Church previous to the year 1824, might lose their certificates, and find a difficulty in the absence of the witnesses to the ceremony, to prove their marriage, from the fact of no registry having been kept before that year in the records of the Church. The following reply to the statement appeared in 'The Bombay Courier' of March 14 :—'It is due then to the ministers of the Scotch Church to state, that we have since learnt there is an Act of Parliament, passed on the 5th of June, 1818, which bears an exclusive reference to the Scotch Churches in India, the second section of which provides that the minister who solemnizes the marriage shall certify such marriage in duplicate, delivering one copy of the certificate to the persons married and sending the other to Government, the requisition of which enactment, we have authority to believe, has in all cases been complied with. As, however, the duplicate certificates are, we believe, sent to England, the difficulties of proving a Scotch marriage in India are still very great and injurious, and forcibly suggest the expediency of a Register being kept, even though it be extra to the ministerial duties by law established, in which opinion, we are happy to say, the ministers themselves perfectly coincide.'

*Shipwreck.*—The *El Dorado*, a vessel under Portuguese colours, which had sailed from Macao to Bombay, with three lacs of Rupees and goods to the amount of two lacs of Rupees, was wrecked on the 23rd March, about thirty-six miles east of Singapore. All the crew, with the exception of the cook, were saved.

## SINGAPORE.

*Trade with Singapore.*—By the *Indian*, lately arrived from England, *via* Batavia, letters have reached this settlement, dated in July, containing information, on which we can rely, that the affairs of Singapore were about to be taken into consideration by Ministers and the Board of Control, during the ensuing recess. Among the points to which their attention has been directed, and on which they will most probably come to some definitive arrangement, is the admission of tin, and other ores, to be smelted in bond, the duty to be paid on the produce as if imported in its refined state. Another subject for consideration will be, the admission of Americans to trade with this port, to which all parties appear well disposed; and the American Government has been memorialized to instruct their Envoy, in London, to negotiate on the subject. Should this be granted, it will, we doubt not, be the means of very considerably increasing our commerce with China, by means of the country shipping and junks, as many vessels which would not undertake the risks and delay of a voyage to China, would come here to purchase an assorted cargo of China and Straits produce; and they generally bring what the commercial part of our community are so much in want of—namely, dollars and bills, or letters of credit on Europe or India. It appears further, from the letters we have alluded to, that a

hard battle has been fought to keep the settlement exempt from custom duties, but that the point appears to have been settled in favour of 'free trade.' If to the permission which it is confidently expected will be given to the Americans to trade here, were added that of bonding Turkey opium and warlike stores, then might we boast a 'free port,' as well as almost a free trade, and this might be accorded without injury to the interests of any parties except our friends, the Dutch, the French, and the Americans, who now supply those countries which would resort to this market, if then wants could be here supplied. The Dutch are too much alive to their own interests not to take advantage of our blindness or folly, and have declared the neighbouring port of Rhio free for such purposes, though it was but the other day that vessels, with warlike stores on board, were not allowed even to anchor in any of their ports, on driven out as soon as the circumstance became known.--*Singapore Chron.* March 12.

By the *Mercury*, Captain Brodie, from Batavia, the — ultimo, we learn that the celebrated priest Kai, Modjo, the able coadjutor of Dipa Nagoro, in the Japanese insurrection, had been taken, with five hundred of his followers, by the Dutch, who predict from the event a speedy termination of the war. The capture of Kai Modjo may, indeed, somewhat weaken the religious influence which Dipa Nagoro has possessed over the minds of the insurgents, but we are assured, by a well-informed correspondent, that it is by no means certain that it will produce the wonderful results which the Dutch anticipate from it, since Dipa Nagoro, has still a respectable force at his disposal, and could easily hold out during the rainy season, were his followers even fewer than they are. It is confidently asserted, that Kai Modjo has been taken by an act of foul treachery on the part of the Dutch. It will afford us nothing but pleasure to learn, that this story is untrue; if, however, it is well founded, the nature of the means employed to get this formidable personage into their power, must render the Dutch more hateful to the Natives than ever, and may have none of the pacific results which a fair and honourable capture might have produced. Kai Modjo, at the time the *Mercury* left Java, was confined in the jail at Batavia, and was, it is said, well treated, but complained bitterly of the alleged iniquitous means employed by the Dutch to get him into their power. The *Indian* and *Hippomanes* had arrived at Batavia, from England; the latter, from London, the 24th of August. These vessels remained at Batavia, but their packets have been received in this settlement by the *Mercury*.—*Chron.* Jan. 15.

*Pirates*.—The ship *Edmonstone*, encountered a frigate, disguised outside, and slovenly in her appearance, in the Straits of Sunda. The captain of the *Edmonstone* seeing her under Spanish colours, and concluding she was bound for Manila, went on board with letters for China, but the appearance of the crew, being without a captain, convinced him they were pirates. When they understood that the *Edmonstone* was loaded with sugar, they suffered the Captain to depart, who immediately altered his course to avoid pursuit. The pirate vessel was capable of mounting thirty-six guns, and was manned with a crew of not less than 300 men.

## PENANG.

In alluding to Penang, yesterday, we omitted to explain that it is already a free port, except as regards the tedious forms, which are a source of delay and annoyance. We would have these abrogated. As we are alluding to it again, it may be as well to supply the figured statement, on which our calculation of the annual loss to the Company, entailed by the maintenance of all the paraphernalia of Government, is founded.

The mean expenditure of the two years, 1825-6 and 1826-7, was ....	£141,309
Mean Revenue .....	£ 37,391
Annual Loss .....	£103,918

which, at the present Exchange is about 11 lacks of Rupees, as we stated. Mar. 25.

## SURAT.

A private letter from Surat of the 13th of March, mentions that His Highness Prince Anza Mahommud Shaw Roohi, presumptive heir to the throne of Delhi, had arrived at that station.

*Farewell Party to Colonel Cleland at Surat.*—On Wednesday evening, the 11th of March, the naval and military officers resident at Surat, gave a farewell party, at the mess room of the 12th regiment, on the occasion of the departure of Lieutenant-Colonel Cleland for his native land. The company composed all the ladies and gentlemen of the station. Dancing commenced soon after eight o'clock, and was kept up till a late hour, when the company sat down to an elegantly arranged collation, at which was displayed every delicacy the season could possibly afford. On the health of Colonel Cleland being drunk, he returned thanks confidently with great emotion, and dwelt with emphasis on the kind attentions he had uniformly experienced from the whole society during his sojourn at Surat. Dancing was then resumed, and at an early hour, as the party began to disperse, he shook hands with every individual on retiring, and finally took leave of his friends under feelings not to be controlled. —*Bombay Courier.*

## AUSTRALIA.

*Courts of Law.*—Lake most colonies under the command of a Governor, New South Wales is subjected to intense suffering, arising from the palliation of different directions of the individual interests of for different influences. The head of each department seems rather to view the colony with an eye of jealousy. The Governor and the Chief Justice are not on the best understanding, having split in opinion on some points of administrative policy when Mr. Dowling was sent out as Judge, it was not the least of the results to create a dangerous precedent, that he might adopt a judicious course calculated to promote our commercial interests, so as to prevent the objects from being mixed up with public prejudice. One incident occurred in the trial of a Native, who had murdered his fellow-criminal, Noddy, a Aboriginal Native of Western Bay of Wales, brought to the land to be tried for the murder of an European, but Judge Dowling refused to suffer him to be put upon trial, because the criminal was incapable of understanding what would be said in his presence, and the attorney-general had not provided an interpreter. To have given the criminal the prerogative of challenging jurors was allowing him no relief, for there were not, of his own countrymen, a single individual capable of sitting in a jury. The attorney-general urged in my pleas to press the trial, in particular he pledged himself to furnish indubitable proofs of the criminal's sanity. Judge Dowling over-ruled all the arguments of the attorney-general, and said he would not depart from the spirit and the letter of the British law, and as the criminal could not, in his present situation, make any defence, the judge ordered him to be remanded till next sessions, and an interpreter to be provided for him at his trial. Out of the two factions in the colony, two trials for libel have taken place before Judge Dowling, and damages awarded the plaintiff in each case. These circumstances were likely to have shaken the judge's popularity at first, for even the Australian public are not favourably inclined towards the law as administered here, but this may be naturally expected as the consequence arising from the spirit that appears to pervade the minds of the authorities.

*The Press.*—There is a marked barrenness of incident generally in the journals of Australasia, which the editors seem to endeavour to obviate by a manifestation of peevishness and carping at each other, but this may be naturally expected as the consequence arising from the spirit that appears to pervade the minds of the authorities.

# CIVIL AND MILITARY APPOINTMENTS, PROMOTIONS, AND CHANGES IN INDIA

[B. signifies Bombay—M. Madras—C. Calcutta.]

ACUTTS, G. P., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Feb. 20

Bristow, G. W. C., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Feb. 12

Bustow, C. M., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Feb. 12

Burt, J. R., Cornet, posted to 3d L. Cav.—C. Jan. 26

Buckle, E., Lieut. Artill., to be Aid-de-camp to Maj.-Gen. Sir J. Nicholls, v. Carmichael.—C. Jan. 30

Beresford, John, Lieut., 71st N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. Feb. 12

Bowe, Wm., Capt. 16th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. Feb. 30

Bond, C. S. T., Ens. St. Helena reg., to be Lieut.—April 9

Bar, Lieut.-Col., to resume his duties as town Major.—B. March 6

Briggs, T., Lieut. 24th N. I., to act as Deputy-Pay-Master at Sholapore.—B. March 11

Bulkeley, R., Lieut. 20th N. I., to act as 3d Assist. Commis.-Gen.—B. March 11

Brown, Thomas, Lieut., returned to duty.—B. Feb. 12

Billamore, T. R., Capt., returned to duty.—B. Feb. 12

Biggs, T., Lieut., to be acting 3d Assist. Commis.-Gen., v. Le Messurier.—B. Feb. 16

Boyd, James, Assist. Surg. 2d Lstr batt. on furl. to Eur.—B. Feb. 18

Bailhe, T., Capt., Acting first-Assist.-Commis.-Gen., on furl. to the Cape for health.—B. Feb. 18

Bowater, F. C., Lieut., to act as Quar. Mas. to the 2d Gren. reg.—B. March 30

Ballantine, Lieut.-Col., to command Sholapore.—B. April 3

Browne, A. W., Lieut. 11th N. I., on furl. to Eur.—B. March 31

Cameron, A., Mr., Assist. Commis. of Ordnance, to have charge of the Magazine at Whow.—C. Jan. 26

Cross, J., Dep. Commis., app. to Chunar Mag.—C. Feb. 3

Curey, P., Dep. Commis., app. to Allahabad Mag.—C. Feb. 3

Cumming, W. F., Assist.-Surg., to do duty with 19th Foot.—C. Feb. 10

Campbell, H. J., Assist.-Surg. 2d Eur. reg., on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. March 10

Crawford, J., Assist.-Surg., to be Vaccinator in the North West dist. of Guzerat, v. Johnston.—B. March 10

Canwell, A., Surg. 2d Gren. N. I., on furl. to the Cape and Eur. for health.—B. Feb. 12

Corke, J., Capt. J., 3d N. I., to assume the comm. of the troops at Surat, v. Cleeland.—B. March 30

Campbell, A. B., 3d Assist., and acting 2d Assist., to be 2d Assist.-Commis.-Gen., v. Reynolds, prom.—B. Feb. 16

Clarkson, G., Lieut. 12th N. I., to be Acting Adjt. to the detachment Broach, v. Maughan.—B. March 30

Cleiland, W. D., Lieut.-Col., Comm. 19th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. March 31

Campbell, D., Lieut.-Col., to command Cauderish.—B. April 3

Davidson, W. W., Ens., to do duty with 7th N. I.—C. Jan. 26

Day, E. F., Lieut., to act as Adj. to 7th batt. artill., v. Ludlow.—C. Jan. 30

Davidson, D., Lieut., Acting 3d Assist. Commis.-Gen., to be 3d Assist.—B. Feb. 16

Downey, C., Sen. Assist.-Surg., to be Surg., v. McMeekin, dec.—B. Feb. 17

Durack, F., Lieut. 24th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. March 30.

Edwards, Thos., Cadet Artill., prom. to be 2d Lieut.—C. Feb. 13.

Elliot, T. C., Assist.-Surg., app. to 2d troop, 2d brig. horse artill.—C. Jan. 26.

Edwards, J., Dep.-Commis., app. to Allahabad Mag.—C. Feb. 5.

Eckford, R., Surg., to be second Mem. of Med. board, v. Morgan, on furl.—B. Feb. 12.

Fallon, H., Assist.-Surg., to do duty with Artill. at Dum Dum.—C. Jan. 28.

Forster, G., Lieut. 6th L. Cav., to proceed to presid., in charge of remount horses.—C. Jan. 28.

Fullarton, R., Assist.-Surg., to do duty with Eur. regts. at Agra.—C. Feb. 5.

Faithful, H., Lieut.-Col. Artill., returned to duty.—C. Feb. 10.

Foy, W. H., Capt., furl. to Europe prolonged.—B. Feb. 12.

Goodday, G. C. S., Ens., to be Lieut., v. Midford, cashiered.—C. Feb. 13.

Gilmore, John, Cadet of Engin., prom. to 1st Lieut.—C. Feb. 20.

Gorfield, A. H., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Feb. 20.

Graham, G. J., Lieut., to be Adj. to the 6th N. I., v. Meean, res.—B. Feb. 12.

Graham, J., Capt. 7th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.

Hamilton, C., Lieut. 22d N. I., to be Capt. of a comp., v. Olephant, dec.—C. Feb. 13.

Hough, Jos., Messrs., Adm. Veter.-Surg.—C. Feb. 13.

Hulse, H. C., Adm. Veter.-Surg.—C. Feb. 13.

Horne, W. G., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Feb. 20.

Hopkins, P., Lieut. 27th N. I., to be Interp. and Quar.-Mas.—C. Feb. 5.

Hardy, Lieut., Col., Quar.-Mas.-Gen. of the army, on leave to the Neilgherry Hills.—B. March 5.

Hart, S. V., Ens., to be Interp. of Hindostanee, to 2d Gren. reg.—B. March 30.

Hughes, R., Lieut., to act as Adj. to 3d N. I.—B. March 30.

Hale, J., Lieut., to act as Adj. to 22d N. I., v. Parkinson.—B. March 30.

Innes, W., Lieut. 12th N. I., to be Interp. and Quar.-Mas., v. Mullins, res.—C. Feb. 5.

Jones, W. W., Lieut. 3d N. I., to be Interp. and Quar.-Mas.—C. Feb. 9.

Johnston, H., Assist.-Surg., to be Civ. Surg. at Allahabad, v. Stuart, prom.—B. March 10.

Johnson, C. H., Capt. 12th N. I., to act as Brig.-Maj. to Surat Div.—B. Feb. 12.

Knipe, T. B., Super Ens., to be effective Ens., St. Helena.—April 27.

Kennett, B., Lieut.-Col., returned to duty.—B. Feb. 16.

Locke, J., Ens. 22d N. I., to be Lieut., v. Hamilton, prom.—C. Feb. 13.

Leighton, T., Capt., to act as Quar.-Mas.-Gen. to the Guicawar Subsid. force, v. Campbell, on furl.—B. March 30.

Macdonald, H., Ens., directed to do duty with 7th N. I.—C. Jan. 26.

Macrae, J., Assist.-Surg., appointed to do duty with Artillery at Dum Dum.—C. Jan. 28.

Macnaughten, J. D., Cornet 5th L. Cav., to be Aide-de-Camp to Brig.-Gen. Carpenter, of Benares division.—C. Jan. 28.

Martin, W., Lieut. 52d N. I., to be Adj., v. Fraser.—C. Jan. 30.

Macvitie, W. J., Lieut., to act as Adjutant and Quarter-Master of Artillery at Benares.—C. Feb. 3.

Marshall, G. T., Lieut., 35th N. I., to be Interpreter and Quart.-Mas., v. Hay, promoted.—C. Feb. 3.

M'Mahon, Daniel, Lieutenant, to be Captain by Brevet, St. Helena.—April 20.

- Mearns, Assist. Surg., on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. March 9.  
 Morris, T., Capt. 24th N. I., to act as Dep. Milit. Auditor Gen.—**B. March 11.**  
 Maxwell, J. A., Super. Surg., to be 3d Member of the Med. Board.—**B. Feb. 12.**  
 Mayor, F., Ens., returned to duty.—B. Feb. 12  
 Morse, T., Lieut.-Col. 4th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—**B. Feb. 16.**
- Nares, G. W. A., Lieut. 53d N. I., returned to duty.—C. Feb. 10.
- Oakes, W. H. M., to be Accountant to Milit. Depart. v. Morley. C. Feb. 20.  
 Ormsby, W. C., Lieut. 63d N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. Feb. 20.
- Parkér, W., Capt., Maj. of Brig., app. to Malwa field force.—C. Feb. 3.  
 Platt, J., Lieut., to be Interp. and Quart. Mas. to 23d N. I., v. Bean res.—C. Feb. 3.  
 Pringle, D., Capt. 10th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. Feb. 20.  
 Pearson, E., Major, fur. to Eur. prolonged.—B. Feb. 12.  
 Payne, C., Capt., returned to duty.—B. Feb. 12.  
 Payne, R., Capt., to be acting 2d Assist. Commis. Gen., v. Molesworth.—B. Feb. 16.  
 Pinhey, R., Surg., to be Garr. Surg. at Presidency, v. Powell.—B. Feb. 17.
- Raleigh, E. W. W., Assist. Surg., to be 3d Assist. to Presidency Gen. Hos.—C. Feb. 13.  
 Robinson, C., Super. Surg., app. to Presid. division.—C. Feb. 3.  
 Ramsay, W. M., Lieut. 62d N. I., to be an extra Aide de-Camp on personal staff of Comman.-in-Chief.—C. Feb. 3.  
 Rainey, A. C., Ens., to do duty with 13th N. I.—C. Feb. 10.  
 Reed, T. S., supernum. Ens., to be effective Ens. St. Helena.—C. **April 27.**  
 Ross, J., Assist. Surg., placed at the disposal of the Super. of Marine duty.—B. March 9.  
 Rybat, Capt., Dep. Auditor Gen., to act as first Assist. Commis. Gen., v. James.—B. March 11.  
 Rooke, C., Ens. N. I., to be Lieut., v. Kensington dismissed.—B. March 12.  
 Reeves, G. O., Lieut. 3d L. Cav., to take rank, v. Meckarder.—B. Feb. 12.  
 Richards, R. H., Cornet 3d L. Cav., to be Lieut. v. Johnstone, deceased.—B. Feb. 12.  
 Ramsay, H. N., Lieut. 24th N. I., to act as Super. of Bazars at Poona, v. Robertson.—B. Feb. 12.  
 Robertson, R., Major, furl. to Eur. prolonged.—B. Feb. 12.  
 Reynolds, J., Capt., second Assist. Commis. Gen., to be first Assist., v. Snodgrass, dec.—B. Feb. 16.
- Shakespeare, R. C., Cadet Artill., prom. to 2d Lieut.—C. Feb. 13.  
 Stewart, Robert, Cadet, promoted to Ensign.—C. Feb. 13.  
 Smith, Sam., Cornet, posted to 9th L. Cav.—C. Jan. 26.  
 Shortreed, W., Lieut., to act as Adj. to 2d Eur. Reg. v. Lysaght.—C. Jan. 30.  
 Salter, G. Lieut., to be Adj. to 4th N. I., v. Macdonald, res.—C. Jan. 30.  
 Stoneham, A., Lieut.-Col. 53d N. I., perm. to retire on a pension.—C. Feb. 20.  
 Saunders, J., Lieut. 50th N. I., to be Interp. and Qu. Mas., v. Impey, prom.—C. Feb. 3.  
 Spens, A., Lieut., to act as Interp. and Qu. Mas., to 74th N. I. v. Beresford.—C. Feb. 10.  
 Shuldham, T., Maj.-Gen., on furl. to Eur.—C. Feb. 12.  
 Stark, R., Lieut., acting 3d Assist. Commis.-Gen., to be 3d Assist.—B. Feb. 16.  
 Stewart, J. W., Sen. Assist. Surg., to be Surg., v. Powell, dec.—B. Feb. 16.
- Taylor, Jas., Maj. Engin., to be Garr. Engin. and Exer. Offic. Fort William, &c., v. Wood, on furl.—C. Feb. 5.

Thomas, Wm., Surg., to be a Super. Surgeon on Estab., v. Todd.—C. Feb. 20.  
 Trevor, R. S., Lieut., 3d L. Cav., to be Interp. and Qu.-Mas.—C. Feb. 9.  
 Thompson, G., Capt. Engin., on furl. to Europe.—C. Feb. 12.  
 Turner, J. W. H., Capt. 59th N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—C. Feb. 13.  
 Torshire, C., Ens., to be Lieut., v. Crofton, dec.—C. March 9.  
 Thatcher, W., Lieut., to act as Quar.-Mas. to 6th N. I.—B. Feb. 12.

Venables, G. H., Cadet, promoted to Ensign.—C. Feb. 13.

Whally, F. E., Cornet, posted to 6th L. Cav.—C. Jan. 26.  
 Wall, F., Cadet, promoted to 2d Lieut. Artill.—C. Feb. 20.  
 Williamson, G., Maj. 69th N. I., appointed to charge of 46th N. I.—C. Feb. 3.  
 Williams, F., Ensign 2d Gren. N. I., to be Lieutenant, v. Munroe, deceased.—  
 B. March 5.  
 Williams, John, Cornet, posted to 3d L. Cav.—B. Feb. 12.  
 Wade, W., Lieut., furl. to Eur. prolonged.—B. Feb. 16.

#### BIRTHS.

Birdwood, the lady of Wm., Esq., Civil Service, of a son, Bombay, March 24.  
 Corbett, the lady of Capt. S., of a son, at Howal Bagh, February 24.  
 Dick, the lady of Capt. H., 56th N.I., of a daughter, at Calcutta, March 13.  
 Jenkins, the lady of Capt., 11th L. Drag., of a daughter, at Cawnpore, Feb. 3.  
 Nisbet, the lady of Josiah, Esq., of a daughter, at Durwar.  
 Ord, the lady of W. K., of a son, at Calcutta, March 10.  
 Ramsay, the lady of H. N., Lieut. 24th N. I., of a son still-born, at Poona,  
 March 14.

#### MARRIAGES.

Montgomery, E., Esq., Civil Service, to Isabella Ann, second daughter of Lieut.-  
 Col. Sullivan, 6th foot, at Poona, March 18.  
 Wilson, the Rev. E. H. H., to Francis S. Parr, eldest daughter of G. S. Siddons,  
 Esq., at Calcutta, March 11.  
 Yates, Alex., Esq., commanding the ship *Sesostris*, to Mrs. Mary Caroline Tate,  
 fourth daughter of the late J. Martin, Esq., Tyrone, Ireland, Bombay,  
 March 21.

#### DEATHS.

Burford, Lieutenant George, Adjutant 27th reg., N.I., aged 29, at Benares,  
 February 15.  
 Goodiff, J. B., Capt., commanding 15th N. I., at Sucheena, Feb. 8.  
 Robertson, Colin Campbell, infant son of Lieut. Col. Archibald, Mahabulswar,  
 March 20.  
 Rogers, Mr. Robert, aged 34, at Calcutta, February 22.

*Death of Mr. Howe.*—Mr. Robert Howe, editor and proprietor of the Sydney Gazette, on Thursday evening, the 29th of January, about five o'clock, left his home accompanied by his youngest son, Alfred Australia, and one servant, to take his usual excursion on the water in a pleasure boat which he had a few days before purchased. About seven o'clock, when preparing to return, a sudden gust of wind upset the boat, and the three persons went down together. The servant succeeded in making the shore, and procured assistance, the child was found floating, but Mr. Howe had disappeared. He was an expert swimmer. His body was not found till the following day, when it was discovered that the fishing lines which had been in the boat, were so completely entwined round his body as to resemble a net, and his wrists were as tightly laced together as if he had been purposely bound. Mr. Howe was born in London, on the 30th of June, 1795, and, at an early age, accompanied his parents to go to New South Wales. His mother died on the passage. His ancestors, as far as can be traced, either at home, or in the colony, have, almost every member of them, been directly or indirectly concerned in the printing business; some of his nearest relatives are now in charge of the government press of the West Indies. The late George Howe, the father of the deceased, had been employed on several of the first printing establishments in London, and, at one period, held a respectable situation on 'The Times' newspaper. He, after encountering many difficulties, founded 'The Sydney Gazette' in 1802. He died in 1821, and bequeathed his business to his son, who is the subject of our present sketch. On succeeding to the business of his father he had much to struggle against, and had only a short time previous to this unfortunate accident which cost him his life, attained comfortable circumstances sufficient to enable him to enjoy a partial retirement from the constant duties of his arduous profession. He has left behind him a widow and four young children.

*Gambling.*—This fashionable vice makes rapid strides in Sydney town. In the month of February last, one tradesman at a sitting won £2,700! The parties fleeced were four or five publicans, and the game of cards played was 'All-fours.'

*Privilege of Prisoners of the Crown.*—Captain Rossi, while he enforces strictly the Government Regulations regarding prisoners, is equally anxious to protect them from oppression. If a prisoner has a well-grounded complaint against his master, the Captain allows the prisoner a summons gratis, the fees of which to a free person would be three shillings and nine pence sterling.

*Conference with the Blacks.*—The Annual Conference which his Excellency the Governor holds with the aboriginal tribes took place on the 19th of January, in the town of Barramatta. There were about 200 natives present, including a number of chiefs, some of whom had come for the purpose from a distance of one hundred miles. They all wore clothing of some description, and in many other respects evinced proofs of the progress of civilization amongst them. They have now attained perfect confidence in the Europeans. A plentiful dinner of soups, roast beef, plum-pudding, and an ample supply of grog, regaled the sable visitors, and the Governor, and a number of civil and military officers were on the ground, and dismissed the aboriginals in the evening, with a present to each male and female of some article of wearing apparel.

*Grants of Land.*—His Majesty's government, by an order dated December 16, 1828, have established a principle that henceforth land shall be given in proportion to actual available capital only, and that in future no animals of any kind, not immediately imported by such applicants, will be recognised by the Land Board as forming any part of their capital. Out of the million of acres measured to the Australian Agricultural Company at Port Stephens, it is now discovered by actual survey that not above 30,000 acres are fit for cultivation, the remaining 970,000 consisting of rocky ground or swamps.

*New Acts.*—General Darling has passed acts at Sydney for naturalizing foreign settlers in New South Wales, for regulating the duties leviable at auctions; for ascertaining the names and number of the inhabitants of the colony; and for establishing houses of correction.

*English Laws.*—The New South Wales Act took effect on the 1st of March, by



which all the laws of England then in force, were introduced into the Colonies, as far as its circumstances would permit. The Judges were deeply engaged on the Act on account of the necessity of modifying several of the existing laws to adapt them to the infant community, in particular the Bankrupt laws had engrossed their very serious attention.

*Tupplers.*—Captain Rossi, lately appointed to the Police of Sydney, with a view to check the excessive habit of tuppling, invariably inflicts a punishment of four hours in the stocks on all those who have not five shillings to contribute to the Poor's-box.

*Mr. Prinsep.*—The people of Sydney are quite elated with the determination of this eminent barrister of Calcutta, to settle in Van Dieman's Land; and augur therefore, a rising tide of emigration from the wealthy shores of India.

*Census.*—The total population of Hobart Town, according to the town Almanac, is 5,700; that of the elder Colony is 20,000.

*Emigration.*—The Sydney Gazette, noticing the announcement of 700 emigrants, chiefly labourers and their families, being sent out to New York from Kent and Sussex, at the expense of their parishes, says—'Why are they not sent here?' The British Government ought to defray the additional expense rather than furnish the best supply to its greatest rival. A few such cargoes as this would be of greater service to the Colony than any other description of emigrants.

*Increase of Crime.*—At Sydney, in 1827, there were thirty informations tried, which was considered a heavy calendar, but on that occasion a complete gaol delivery was effected. At the Sessions concluded in January this year (1829), the number of informations tried amounted to seventy, the greater part of which were for capital felonies; and there still remained fifty prisoners for trial before the Supreme Court, who had been committed during the sittings, among which are many charges of murder. The jury sat for thirty days, averaging eight hours each day; and the Court was in all occupied forty days.

*Bank.*—The Australian Bank half-yearly Meeting took place on the 21st of January. The dividend was declared eight per cent. The institution is rapidly improving, from the 1st of July to the 31st of December £194,500 have been discounted.

### THE CAPE.

*Shipping.*—There was in Table Bay on the 24th December, no less than shipping amounting to 12,000 tons. Many of them from the East in ballast, having in vain tried for cargoes at every port. The River Plate is in a similar situation. Freights were as low as 20s. per ton: and no employment to be had.

*Death of Chaka.*—The news of the death of this cruel chief reached Cape Town on the 27th December. He is said to have fallen a sacrifice to a conspiracy of his own people. There were several of his favourites killed at the same time. The affairs of the Zoolahs were then administered by the chief by whom Chaka was destroyed, but it is expected that a half-brother of Chaka will be chosen his successor. The Zoolahs are at present so much reduced with their late expeditions, as to be no longer formidable to their neighbours.

*Import Duties.*—A letter from Port Louis, dated December 13th, states that all British manufactured goods imported from the Cape, or any port in India, are subjected to a duty of 30 per cent. with the exception of British salt provisions, which pay a duty of 15 per cent. The produce of the Cape and India remain as before, at 6 per cent.

### EXTRACTS OF GENERAL ORDERS—ARMY—BOMBAY.

*Bombay Castle, 14th March, 1829.*—No. 108 of 1829. Some difficulty having been experienced in making a valuation of Medicines, instruments, and other Hospital Stores, as directed by General Order of the 26th ultimo, No. 85, the Governor

in Council directs that Committees assembled for this purpose, be, if possible, composed of Medical officers, or that there be, at least, one Medical Officer employed on them, and that such Committees frame a List of Medicines, &c., alphabetically arranged, with the quantities that may be found serviceable, inserted opposite, and a blank column left for the prices according.

*Bombay Castle, 14th March, 1829.*---No 109 of 1829. It being of essential importance to the Interests of the Honorable Company, that the origin, progress and realization of all advances made to Engineers, and other Officers, employed in the erection of Public Works should be vigilantly observed, to prevent the useless accumulation of Balances, the Honorable the Governor in Council is pleased, in modification of the Channel of communication laid down in the 1st Article of the 3rd Section of the Engineer Regulations, dated the 1st of April, 1818, to authorize the General Pay-Master at the Presidency, and all disbursing Officers to call on all Officers receiving money for such purposes, to transmit their accounts for audit through the Offices of the Pay-Master and disbursing Officers respectively, in order that those Officers may satisfy themselves, and report to the Audit Department if otherwise, whether the Engineers, &c. have fully accounted for the advances made to them. The Governor in Council is further pleased to direct that the accounts which have hitherto been sent by the Officers themselves to the Chief Engineer, shall be forwarded from the Audit Department, to that Officer, who will then submit them to Government with his report thereon, as is done at present.

*Marines.*---By an order issued 3rd April, the Bombay Marine body are to be organized into a regiment, under the command of an Officer, having the rank of Major-General.

CALCUTTA.

*Pressing of Natives.*—Complaints having been reported at head-quarters of officers forcibly pressing the Natives into their service, as beggars and coolies, the Commander-in-Chief has issued a notice, that he will punish with severity any instance of disobedience of the order of August, 1318, which prohibits the practice of such impressment.

*Military Chaplains.*—In reply to a letter from Bengal, relative to Military Chaplains, and how far they are to be held responsible to the Military authorities. The Court of Directors state, 'That the Chaplains on our establishments are amenable to the ecclesiastical tribunals for such offences only as would render the clergy of the Established Church amenable to the ecclesiastical tribunals in England; and for all other offences they are liable to be tried, as all other Europeans in India are, by the ordinary tribunals of the country. If, however, the offence should be committed out of the jurisdiction of the ordinary court, and in places where the rest of the community are subject to military law, in such a case, and in such a case alone, we deem it right that our Chaplains should be subject also to military law for all offences of temporal cognizance.'

MADRAS.

*Liquor Allowance.*—The Right Hon. the Governor in Council has, with a view of relieving the soldier from the discomfort and inconvenience attending the necessity of receiving his allowance of spirits at stated periods, rescinded a standing order, and directed that the daily issue of drams from the public stores to European troops, when not marching, or in the field, shall be discontinued. Arrack will hereafter be drawn from the public stores on the 1st, 10th, and 20th of each month, upon indent signed by quarter-masters of corps, and countersigned by commanding-officers of corps and garrisons, in proportion to the strength of regiments, not exceeding the established allowance of two drams per man per item, which is to be paid for to the commissariat, and retailed to the men from the canteen, to that extent only, at the established rate. But commanding-officers are empowered to exclude from that indulgence, for such periods as they may think proper, all soldiers who may be undeserving of it. By this alteration the soldier

will be released from the necessity of receiving a quantity of spirits at a fixed time, without reference to his own immediate inclination.

*Medical Board.*—Members are hereafter to be relieved at the expiration of five years. Those who have been in that station not less than two years, and have resided in India twenty years, including a three years' furlough, are allowed to retire on a pension of 500*l.* per annum. Those who have served five years at the Board, are allowed 700*l.* per annum. Superintending Surgeons, who have been in that station for the same period, with the other terms of service completed, are allowed, in the one case, 300*l.*, and in the other, 350*l.* per annum.

*Allowances of Aides-de-Camp.*—A General Order of the 27th June, 1823, by which Aides-de-Camp were authorized to draw their salaries from the date of appointment, is cancelled, and those officers will in future receive their staff-allowances from the date of joining their stations, on the general principles applicable to all other appointments.

THE SULTAN.—Mr. Macfarlane, in his clever and interesting volume on Constantinople, alluding to the tyranny and rapacity of the Sultan, says:—'I have heard certain persons, whose feelings of justice and mercy have been somewhat blunted by a long residence in the Augean stable, and a familiarity with its abominations, seek an excuse or a justification for these arbitrary proceedings, in the fact that the sufferers are servants of Government, and show by their speedy acquisition of wealth that they must betray their trust. But their arguments, bad as they are, cannot apply to the case of a wealthy Jew, a certain Shapdji. This man had acquired, in trade and in banking transactions, an immense fortune; but he had never been in the service of Government, either as director of the mint, or in any other capacity. At the time he was reposing on his laurels, or his sacks of sequins, and seems to have retired in a great measure from the dangerous arena; for nothing in Turkey is so certain a danger as the gaining of money. Of his wealth he made the most noble use: his generosity to the unfortunate secured him the title of 'Father of the Poor,' and this from the unanimous voice of Constantinople; for, superior to the restricted spirit of his caste, he gave to all, and whether the sufferer was Christian, Turk, or Jew, was disengaged by his universal philanthropy. Popular sympathy was strong in favour of such a man, and even the tenets of the Koran (fertile in its imitations of charity) sanctified and defended him. But to the eyes of Mahmoud, instead of Shapdji's charity, covering a multitude of sins, his wealth covered all his virtues! Money was wanted, money must be had, and he unrelentingly ordered the murder of the good man, and the confiscation of all his property. The executioner and some chiaoushes were despatched to the Jew's residence; the latter advanced, and knocked at the door, which was forthwith opened by the servant. The chiaoushes desired to speak with Shapdji; the servant requested them to enter; they declined doing so, and said Shapdji must descend to them, as they were bearers of a message from the Porte. The charitable Jew was confined to his bed by sickness; but he sent down his brother to hear the business, or to invite again the messengers to ascend. The chiaoushes repeated that they must communicate personally with Shapdji; that he must come down; that their business with him would not occupy a minute. The sick man, nothing doubting what awaited him, rose from his couch, threw on his *hernish*, and, supported by his brother and a servant, went down to the door. His foot had scarcely touched the threshold, when the executioner, who had hitherto remained concealed, rushed upon him, and passing the fatal cord over his neck, strangled him, without giving him time to offer up a prayer to his God. Shapdji's brother fell senseless into the street. The myrmidons of despotism turned the domestics out of the house, and put the imperial seal on its doors. The immense wealth was presently secured, and conveyed to the *hazne*; and a donation of 100,000 piasters, or about 1,800*l.*, to the victim's brother, to keep him from starving, was generously made by the Sultan. When I was at Constantinople the tragical tale was in every one's mouth, and even Turks grieved for the fall of the good Jew, and regarded the proceeding of this Sultan with horror.'

## SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

## ARRIVALS FROM EASTERN PORTS.

Date. 1829.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander	Place of Depart.	Date. 1829.
July 30	Weymouth..	Kh. Stewart Forbes	Chapman..	Bombay ..	Feb. 22
July 31	Dover ..	Sesostris ..	Yates ..	Bombay ..	Mar. 24
July 31	Downs ..	Lady Kennaway	Delafons ..	China ..	Jan. 21
July 31	Falmouth ..	Princess Louise	Barmessen	China ..	Jan. 21
Aug. 3	Portsmouth	Lord Cochrane	Sutton ..	Ceylon ..	Feb. 14
Aug. 3	Cowes ..	Harmonica ..	Lange ..	Batavia ..	Mar. 1
Aug. 3	Downs ..	Manlius ..	Johnstone	Batavia ..	Feb. 19
Aug. 3	Downs ..	Hopeful ..	Mallors ..	Cape ..	May 30
Aug. 3	Dover ..	Meteor ..	Watson ..	Mauritius	May 2
Aug. 3	Portsmouth	Auguste ..	Brumenyer	Batavia ..	Mar. 20
Aug. 4	Dover ..	Eliza ..	Doutty ..	N. S. Wales	Mar. 21
Aug. 4	Portsmouth	Mar. Lansdowne	Noyes ..	V. D. Land	Mar. 29
Aug. 7	Downs ..	Warrens ..	Bliss ..	South Seas	
Aug. 10	Portsmouth	Isabella ..	Parker ..	Bengal ..	Feb. 11
Aug. 13	Portsmouth	Maria ..	Wakefield	Mauritius	May 4
Aug. 13	Falmouth ..	Indian ..	(Late Eadie)	Singapore	Mar. 23
Aug. 13	Liverpool ..	Malvina ..	Pearson ..	Bombay ..	April 11
Aug. 14	Portsmouth	Abberton ..	Peircival ..	Bengal ..	Mar. 23
Aug. 14	Portsmouth	Flora ..	Philpson ..	Cape ..	June 7
Aug. 14	Isle of Wight	Coldstream ..	Tiegartha	Bengal ..	Mar. 9
Aug. 14	Downs ..	Newton ..	Rising ..	Batavia ..	April 10
Aug. 15	Portsmouth	Sir Thos. Munro	Crockley ..	Singapore	Mar. 14
Aug. 15	Downs ..	Zephyr ..	Fell ..	South Seas	
Aug. 17	Downs ..	Samuel Crawley	Hutchinson	Mauritius	
Aug. 18	Hastings ..	Barossa ..	Hutchinson	Bengal ..	Feb. 25
Aug. 18	Dover ..	Nithsdale ..	Christian ..	Bombay ..	Mar. 8
Aug. 18	Portsmouth	Civilian ..	Blair ..	Batavia ..	Feb. 24
Aug. 18	Isle of Wight	Maitland ..	Short ..	Bengal ..	Mar. 12
Aug. 20	Portsmouth	Rose ..	Marquis ..	Bengal ..	Mar. 22
Aug. 21	Liverpool ..	Adahilina ..	Murray ..	Bengal ..	Mar. 9
Aug. 24	Downs ..	Sir Josph. Banks	Fraser ..	Singapore	Mar. 27
Aug. 25	Margate ..	Edward Lombe	Freeman ..	Bombay ..	Mar. 19
Aug. 26	Dover ..	Mermaid ..	Henniker ..	V. D. Land	April 8
Aug. 27	Gravesend ..	Milo ..	Starke ..	C. G. Hope	June 18

## ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

Date. 1829.	Port of Arrival	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Depart.
March 8	Bombay ..	Hyman ..	Edington ..	London
Mar. 18	Bombay ..	Claremont ..	M'Kinlay ..	Glasgow
Mar. 19	Calcutta ..	Nandi ..	Hawkins ..	Liverpool
Mar. 19	Calcutta ..	Britannia ..	-----	Liverpool
Mar. 20	Canton ..	Nautilus ..	Nash ..	London
Mar. 20	Calcutta ..	Roberts ..	Corbyn ..	London
Mar. 26	Bengal ..	George & Mary	Roberts ..	Greenock
Mar. 29	Bombay ..	Protector ..	Bragg ..	Liverpool
April 3	V. D. Land..	Pyramus ..	Elder ..	London

## DEPARTURES FROM EUROPE.

Date.	Port of Depart.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
1829.				
July 26	Liverpool ..	Skerne ..	Duckles ..	N. S. Wales
July 30	Gravesend ..	Euphrat s..	Buckham ..	India
July 31	Liverpool ..	Ann ..	Robson ..	Cape
Aug. 1	Downs ..	Craigeivar ..	Ray ..	Ceylon
Aug. 1	Downs ..	Cicely ..	Gilpin ..	Cape
Aug. 4	Downs ..	Ellen ..	Camper ..	Cape
Aug. 5	Downs ..	Parific ..	Todd ..	Mauritius
Aug. 5	Downs ..	Matilda ..	Vaux ..	Cape
Aug. 8	Liverpool ..	Rachel ..	Potter ..	Bombay
Aug. 12	Liverpool ..	Herculean ..	Battersbury	Bengal
Aug. 13	Liverpool ..	Isabella ..	Leeds ..	Batavia
Aug. 14	Portsmouth	Wanstead ..	Frend ..	Swan River
Aug. 14	Liverpool ..	Consbrook ..	Strachan ..	Bombay
Aug. 16	Portsmouth	Juliana ..	Tarbutt ..	Bengal
Aug. 19	Downs ..	Triumph ..	Green ..	Bombay
Aug. 24	Gravesend ..	Agnes ..	Bilbarney ..	Cape
Aug. 25	Gravesend ..	London ..	Jolly ..	Rio & Cape
Aug. 25	Gravesend ..	Exporter ..	Amwyl ..	Cape & Maur
Aug. 25	Downs ..	Barretto, Jun. .	Shannon ..	Bengal

## GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

## HOMEWARDS.

Per *Edward Lombe* from Bombay Lieut. Pottinger; Dr. Mearns; and Mr. Price, from the Cape.

Per *Mesnard* from New South Wales. Capt. Montague; Messrs. Murdoch, Walker, Jennings, and Secombe; Mrs. Montague and 3 children.

Per *Maitland* from Bengal. Capts. Clarke, Country Serv., and James Clark, 47th foot; Lieuts. Merr, Campbell Frazer, W. D. Hewson, and J. Lardner; Assist.-Surg. Robert Battersby; Master Clarke; Mesdames Clark, Clarke, and, Pollard; Misses Clark, Clarke, and Cookes; 153 privates of the 47th foot.

Per *Barossa* from Madras. Gen. Shouldham; Col. Doveton (left at St. Helena); Capt. Pringle; Master Home; Mesdames Shouldham, Home, Bentham, Simons, and Macnamara; Misses Shouldham and Browns.

Per *Abberton* from Bengal. Capts. Dickson, 60th N.I.; Thompson, 2d European reg.; and Colebrooke, Inv. Estab.; Lieuts. T. Sampson, 22d N.I.; and Southall, 38th foot; Messrs. G. H. Blake, and Macdonald; Masters Arnot, Dickson, Burton, and Playfair; Messdames Cab, Playfair, Dickson, Kuyvett, Studd, and Harris; Misses P. Harris, Barton, Studd, Phillips, Allen, and Dickson; and 3 servants.

Per *Rose* from Bengal. Col. W. Cotton, C.B., 14th reg.; Capts. J. W. X. Turner, 89th N.I.; and G. Bryant, Inv. Estab.; Dr. S. Patterson, 3d Buffs; Wm. Paxton, H. W. Taunton, C. T. Trower, R. H. Matthew, S. Goddard, and Colin Turner, Esqrs.; Master J. W. Watson; Lady Toone (died at Sea); Mrs. Toone.

Per *Tumerlane* from Bombay. Drs. Boyd and Griffiths; Messrs. Kinclant and Pilcher; Mesdames Boyd, Griffiths, and Richardson.

Per *Sesostri* from Bombay. Capts. Liddell, Bomb. N.I. (died at sea); and Martin, Country Serv.; Ens. Rose, 92d foot; Dr. Conwell; Assist.-Surge. H. J. Campbell and Duncan; Hanson Watson, Esq.; Messrs. Bird and Dowdeswell (2); Masters Davies; Mesdames Conwell and Yates (2); Misses Conwells.

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